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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE NATION APPLAUDS PRESIDENT TRUMAN for his courage in vetoing the Price Control Extension bill. As he rightly said in his message, Congress had presented him with a choice "between inflation with a statute and inflation without one." Now Congress must decide whether to leave prices to the mercy of the free market or to write a new bill which will afford genuine price control. Public opinion must be mobilized to insist on the second alternative, and to block any attempt to enact a modified version of the vetoed measure. No control at all is better than an invitation to speculators to hold back goods pending price increases which OPA could have delayed but not denied. That would have been the result of the Taft amendment which made it mandatory to allow manufacturers their 1941 profit margins plus all subsequent increases in costs. As the President pointed out, 1941 was the year when manufacturers enjoyed greater margins than in any year in history. This year, with volume in many lines mounting to new records, such margins would mean an unprecedented profits boom. Replying to Mr. Truman, Senator Taft (who never, never plays politics) complained that he was the victim of an unfair political attack. But he was very much on the defensive when he asserted that: "Any increase in prices of manufactured goods brought about by the Taft amendment would be of minor importance compared with the importance of actually being able to buy them." A crushing answer to this claim is provided by an article in *Business Week* of June 29, written before the veto, which declares: "Failure of Congress to act long ago on OPA extension has meant withholding of goods as we neared the June 30 deadline; now the compromise bill promises to cause a new round of holdbacks. The Taft amendment, for example, will encourage such practices."

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THE SPANISH PLOT UNFOLDED BY DEL VAYO in this issue presents a sharp challenge to the State Department. It is one thing to stick grimly to past mistakes; it is a much worse thing deliberately to implicate oneself in new ones. From the beginning our policy on Spain has been a travesty of the principles we profess so loudly in international relations. If we compound our error by accepting a substitute Spanish regime contrived by dissident army men in Madrid to satisfy the squeamish tastes of the Vatican and the Foreign Office—and perhaps of General Franco, too—where shall we find an excuse to hide behind? Del Vayo suggests that American complicity is already a fact, but as long as Franco remains in office, enjoying the confusion into which the Spanish issue has thrown the Security Council, we have time to extricate ourselves. After Pétain and Badoglio, one would think the State Department must have lost its old appetite for regimes of "order." Here at last is a chance to end a shameful chapter in our dealings with fascism, to establish an independent democratic position. If this seems breaking the threads which have entangled us with Britain's policy from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, few Americans will mourn.

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IN SPITE OF THE SOBER LANGUAGE USED BY Sir Alan G. Cunningham, in announcing the British military drive in Palestine, there is a sharp note of hysteria in the whole operation. To put the country into a virtual state of siege, conducting hundreds of raids, arrests, and searches in the chief cities and many of the communal settlements and invading the headquarters of the Jewish Agency itself, is to ask for trouble on a big scale. And to what end? Do the British authorities seriously expect to put down terrorist elements by turning their armed might against those responsible Jewish leaders who have steadily refused to continence acts of terror? So absurd is this pretense that one must look elsewhere for an explanation. What the British are apparently trying to do is to break up the Jewish defense force, the Hagana, as Mr. Atlee proposed in his speech in London after the publication of the report by the Joint Committee of Inquiry. If this is the purpose, we warn them that they will fail. The Hagana will become invisible, its arms will go underground—literally—but it will not disband. For the organization has become the resistance army of Jewish Palestine, and nothing can put it out of business except a new British policy there. The country-wide offensive against the Jews is an act of

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reckless provocation which will succeed only in building new barriers of hate and resentment, reducing still further the chance of a peaceful settlement. Such tactics will win little sympathy in America as long as the Joint Committee's report remains stalled in London.

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THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH IS OVER. Or is it? After months of fanfare and trumpets, public relations efforts and public expenditures running into hundreds of millions, the fourth atom bomb in history was dropped over Bikini atoll. It will be months before the results of the test are all in, years before they are all released by the Navy. It is, therefore, out of a sense of obligation to our public that we present now our own findings based on radio reports from a yacht moored to a Long Island pier at which we were buying fresh lobsters. First, the test itself has probably done considerable damage to international good will by emphasizing that the atom bomb is part of our active war equipment and an integral part of our future military strategy. The Russians may well view with some suspicion those who talk about the immediate destruction of our bomb supply. Second, and following immediately on the first, the government-subsidized propaganda placed behind this giant Fourth of July explosion contrasts sadly with that behind the whole effort, domestic and international, to bring the development of atomic energy under control for the purpose of eliminating atomic weapons and releasing atomic energy for peacetime uses. Third, the test demonstrates the Imperial arrogance induced by possession of this weapon when the American Navy could block off some hundreds of thousands of square miles of the Pacific and warn that any uninvited foreign ship or plane entering the area would be blown out of existence. Finally, the meager results of the test allowed to filter out may lull popular fears as to the potency of man's latest plaything. Apparently the 200,000 fairly innocent Japanese who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki will have died in vain.

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RETURNS FROM THE PRIMARIES CONTINUE to be mildly satisfactory. While the light vote indicates that the public is not awake to the need for a drastic clean-up in Congress, the minority who have taken the trouble to go to the polls have done reasonably well. In Maryland, Senator George L. Radcliffe, who was among those marked for defeat by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, lost to Governor Herbert R. O'Conor. Little is known of Governor O'Conor's views on national issues, but the voters could not be far wrong in assuming a change would be for the better. At the same time, W. Preston Lane, with the backing of the P. A. C., defeated the Tydings candidate, J. Millard Tawes, for Governor. Mr. Tawes made Moscow's alleged domina-

tion of his opponent the main issue in his campaign. Especially heartening were the results in North Dakota, where Gerald P. Nye, arch-isolationist, ran a poor third in the short-term election for United States Senator. The victor, Milton P. Young, Republican, is by no means a progressive, but his record has been consistently better than Nye's. The Democratic candidate, P. W. Lanier, a World War II veteran, waged his campaign on a straight foreign-policy issue and received twice the votes of Nye. Although Senator Langer, who cast one of the two ballots against American participation in the United Nations, was renominated on the Republican ticket for the full-term Senate vacancy, his margin was unexpectedly small. Since Langer is personally popular in the state and has well-established political backing, the North Dakota results can hardly be reassuring to those who have staked their political future on a post-war revival of isolationism.

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THE BRITISH CABINET MISSION TO INDIA is returning home with its task unfinished but not entirely empty handed. After months of gruelling labor it has induced both the major Indian political organizations, the Congress Party and the Moslem League, to accept the proposals for a United States of India which it brought forward when agreement on a joint plan between these two parties proved impossible. This achievement, unfortunately, does not necessarily mean that any basic unity of purpose has been established. Negotiations between the two parties with a view to setting up an interim government, pending the construction of a constitution, broke down, and this time the alternative scheme sponsored by the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy proved acceptable only to the Moslems. Congress rejected it because it involved nominal parity between the two groups, for Congress claims to speak for the vast majority of Indians, while the Moslem League admittedly represents a minority. In order to carry on the government the Viceroy is now proposing to name a "caretaker Cabinet" of officials, an obviously unsatisfactory expedient in a time of political and economic crisis. However, preparations for the election of a Constituent Assembly are going forward. The polls will provide a new test of political sentiment in the country, and when they are concluded it may prove possible to make a new approach to the problem of a representative interim government. In any case India is moving toward freedom, even though progress seems painfully slow. The British Labor government has shown that it means business and is not going to be discouraged by setbacks. The only remaining obstacles to independence are those which the Indians must roll away themselves. We hope their leaders will rise to the opportunity, refusing to allow factional differences to keep them from their goal.

Letter to Congressional Liberals

GENTLEMEN: In a few days the House will be called upon to give one of the most momentous votes in its history—the vote on the British loan. Our advices are that it will be a near thing, even though the issue is a non-partisan one. Since the conservatives on both sides are split, the action of the liberals may prove decisive. That is why we address this appeal to you to weigh with the utmost care the effects of a defeat for the loan.

Last year, when the agreement with Britain was being negotiated, most liberals were in favor of helping our recent ally to get back on its economic feet, but since that time the climate of opinion has changed. Some of you have been disgusted by arguments of reactionaries who have given their support to the loan solely because they think it is a good way of hitting at Russia. We consider these bad and stupid arguments, but to vote against the loan just because some crusted tories hail it as an anti-Soviet move would be to compound their error. The denial of help to Britain may worsen our relations with that country, but it does not follow that it would improve them with Russia. On the contrary, the defeat of the loan would surely serve to strengthen the isonationalist forces in this country, the vanguard of the anti-Soviet crusade.

Again there are some among you who feel that the behavior of the British government in regard to Palestine is a reason for voting against the loan. An adverse vote on that ground would be a gesture of protest, but would it be more than a gesture? Would it bring one Jewish D. P. one foot nearer the promised land? On the contrary, we believe that the rejection of the loan will make the British government less inclined to change its Palestine policy. The unwillingness of the British to implement the report of the Anglo-American Commission—and we do not say this in extenuation—arises in part from the fact that their resources are being stretched to the limit. They fear that abrogation of the White Paper might involve them in new commitments for man-power and foreign exchange, and they are desperately short of both. The denials of financial assistance will not make them bolder.

Apart from such considerations, we should like to suggest that the use of American financial and economic power to secure political ends is a dangerous policy. In some cases we may be able to buy complaisance, though not friendship, by means of loans to which irrelevant conditions are attached. But that is hardly likely in this instance. We beg you, therefore, to put aside your just criticisms of British imperial policy, criticisms which we have made ourselves on many occasions, and consider

this matter of the British loan purely on its economic merits. We must not forget that this is not an isolated proposition. It is part and parcel of the post-war international economic program which owes its inception to the farsighted idealism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The loan, and the all-important agreement attached to it by which Britain undertakes to cooperate with the United States in plans for securing freedom of world trade, is one of a series of integrated measures which will serve to make effective the economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

That program cannot be carried out without British cooperation, simply because Britain plays so large a part in world trade. Those of you who have examined its post-war balance-of-trade problem will realize that, even with the aid of the loan, Britain will be hard pressed to restore its international trade to a level which will make possible the attainment of its pre-war standard of living. And without American assistance it will be compelled to fall back on remedies which will be detrimental to American interests and nullify all hopes of a multilateral extension of world commerce. As Secretary Byrnes has said, if the loan is defeated, the British will have to "buy what they need almost exclusively from countries which buy equal or larger amounts from them," or from countries "which are willing to accept payment in pounds and spend the pounds for goods in Great Britain or some other part of the sterling area." Because we have consistently sold more goods abroad than we have bought, and because of our national prejudice in favor of private trading, we should find it very hard to compete in a world where unilateral barter trading was commonly practiced.

With the current shortage of goods for domestic consumption, it is easy to underestimate the importance of foreign trade for our economy. But you at least are fully aware that in the long run we are much more likely to be plagued with overproduction than underproduction. In a few years we are likely to have an urgent need for foreign markets if we are to maintain domestic employment, particularly in our feast-and-famine heavy industries. As responsible men you cannot let the tears of rage that Mr. Bevin inspires blind you to the vital connection between the loan and America's own economic interests.

Beyond that you are compelled to consider this question in its relation to world peace. Many of the international tensions which we now find so alarming would be immensely reduced, if they did not vanish altogether, were hunger banished from the world and the nations given a better opportunity to concentrate on improving living standards. That objective cannot be achieved while the exchange of necessary goods is impeded at every turn; it will become an even more visionary ideal if we encourage a new era of economic warfare. So again we urge you: weigh this issue carefully, examine it with minds and consciences. It is not only to your present constituents that you must answer for your vote but to future generations.

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITORS OF THE NATION

Goodbye, Ilya Gregorevich

ILYA EHRENBURG has left our country for his own. His somewhat rhetorical and disingenuous letter of farewell, though it represents fairly enough the "realism" we have learned to accept as the official attitude of the U. S. S. R., hardly does justice to Ehrenburg himself —a more engaging and impressive figure than one would guess from the mixture of specific objections and general affection that constitutes his message to us.

His itinerary—suggested, no doubt, by Senator Bilbo, and lovingly itemized by Samuel Grafton, whose communiqués of Ehrenburg's Raid must have reminded readers of a little boy tagging breathlessly along behind his big brother—specialized in places like Dogpatch, Skunk Hollow, and Van Buren, Arkansas. There the surprised Ehrenburg saw bad things and, by questioning the older inhabitants, heard of worse—the Scopes trial, for instance; and he returned to New York able to refute any objection to an unfortunate feature of the Soviet Union by a quick counter-objection to some analogous evil in the United States. But though he finds the United States an adolescent country full of contradictions, he recognizes that we and the Russians are "two great and noble peoples," who are kept apart only by the "curtain of fog" which has been drawn by slanderers, rabble-rousers, fascists, and correspondents who have come to Moscow, Russia, without the clean hands and pure heart which Ehrenburg brought to his trip to Moscow, Alabama.

How pleasant it would be if one could leave one's head at the nearest checkroom, and accept the views of this talented but transparent propagandist! It is not editorials about Russia in the Chicago *Tribune* or New York *Daily News* which disquiet Americans, but the actions of the Soviet Union itself; and it will take deeds from Stalin, not words from Ehrenburg, to change their feelings. In the last year few foreign correspondents except those of the *Daily Worker* have been able to say anything about Russian policy that could please Russians or reassure Americans; if Horace Greeley were alive still, and could summon from the grave his regular European correspondent, Karl Marx, to write a series of articles on Russia, it is a safe bet that within a few months there would be one more slanderer and rabble-rouser whose articles Ilya Gregorevich Ehrenburg would be deploring.

Showdown on Inflation

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System

THE Midwestern voice of President Truman has just finished. The furious rain storm that broke over Washington this afternoon has left the night air fresh and cool. The halls of the Capitol are silent and still until Monday. The hands of the clock are moving closer to the end of price control.

The words spoken in the halting twang of Harry Truman have a bold, familiar ring. They sound like the fighting talks of Franklin Roosevelt, throwing the responsibility for inflation back to Congress— "Now every member has a clear-cut opportunity to show whether he wants price control or not." The battle had been taken to the people . . . "Your determination must be made known."

It was a bold stroke, planned, written and executed by the President, Chester Bowles and Paul Porter. Bowles and Porter mapped this strategy two weeks ago—whether it wins the battle for price control rests now with the people. Congress will have at least two days, probably longer, to hear from the country and decide.

This final, uproarious chapter on price control began last Wednesday. Alben Barkley, the majority leader, rose in the Senate to make a discouraging report. "We present to the Senate," he said, "a bill which does not altogether satisfy anyone, but which, in the democratic processes of give and take, is the result of considering every viewpoint expressed to Congress. I say earnestly that notwithstanding its imperfections, notwithstanding that no one would have written the bill just as it is, we have produced the best possible bill under the circumstances."

Senator Downey, one of the few champions of strong price controls, said gloomily, "I personally shall cast my vote for the conference report, although I do so most unhappily and with a deep sense of reluctance. I feel that it may result in a rapid and marked inflation and establish an entirely unworkable system."

Of the Taft amendment, the clever now-you-see-it, now-you-don't device for raising profits, Downey commented, "We will establish a base period of from October 1 to October 14, 1941, to measure the right of business to prices and profits. We will give them the same profits and costs which they had then and add to this all the accumulating costs. I ask, why do we take this particular base period? Is it because at that time corporate profits were the greatest they have been in history?"

The Senator cried out a dark prophecy to indifferent ears. "This amendment, by subjecting industry to a continuing series of price increases, will result in withholding goods from the market. This amendment is a monstrosity. It will be explosive in its effect on our economic stability. The value of the dollar will steadily decline; disabled veterans, dependents of men in the services, pensioners and all other persons on fixed incomes will be put in a terrific squeeze." But Senator Wherry, the small-town undertaker who entered the Senate by defeating George Norris, shouted scornfully, "Production is the only answer to inflation. We have been under the Bowles plan now for four years."

Toward the end of the troubled session young Senator Fulbright of Arkansas made one of his rare and statesmanlike speeches. He reminded his colleagues that economic stability had been wrecked last fall when Congress so blithely tore up the excess profits tax, and wage controls under the War Labor Board were dropped. Fulbright said, "Only three or four Senators opposed repeal of the excess profits tax. [*Editor's note*—He was one of them.] Many of those who now complain of the ineffectiveness of the OPA supported the repeal of the tax." He added that he would vote for the conference report "simply as a symbol." The young Senator said earnestly, "The greatest danger is that in adopting the conference report we shall lead the people to believe that we have done something effective."

A Senate tired of wrangling, tired of the sticky Washington heat, passed the conference committee report without enthusiasm Friday afternoon. Senator Barkley and Representative Spence, chairman of the House Banking Committee, plodded to the White House and pleaded with Mr. Truman to sign the bill. The atmosphere was clouded with storms of pressure. Western cattlemen and packing plants went on a sit-down strike and bombarded Congress with demands to end OPA. They put it bluntly—no price increase, no meat. Millers and grain elevator operators sent furious telegrams to Capitol Hill. Real estate operators were licking their chops and writing new rent increases into contracts.

But behind the scenes, one of the smartest organizers and strategists since Franklin Roosevelt was working fast. Chester Bowles was rounding up all the liberal support in the Administration to influence President Truman and his two advisers, John Snyder and John Steelman, to veto the bil, and thus force Congress into saying, "yes" or "no" to economic stability. Bowles' letter of resignation and his final press conferences were an appeal to the nation and to the President not to give up the fight.

Saturday morning was hot and humid in Washington. Shortly after 10 o'clock, President Truman's message on price controls reached Congress.

The bold words of the veto message echoed over the crowded House. . . . "The Taft amendment promises peak profits. . . . It is a sorry jest which would wholly destroy wage stabilization. . . . This is a choice between inflation with a statute and inflation without. . . . The bill legalizes inflation. . . . Bonanza formula. . . . Enrich industry at the cost of the public."

Spence rose and in a low, almost inaudible voice said, "A great danger confronts the people of the United States. The conferees brought forth a bill. We did the best we could. I urged the President to sign the bill because I hoped it might work. But he has the responsibility for enforcing it. I will vote to sustain the veto." There was a burst of applause from half of the Democrats. The Republican side was silent. Spence went on. He would introduce a joint resolution to extend price controls until July 20. That would give Congress another chance.

The halls and cloakrooms of the Capitol were filled with confused, angry, and despairing talk. A young House secretary wailed, "I guess I'll have to write home for money if prices go up." A reporter told her grimly, "You sure will, honey. They'll be charging us for a glass of water." A sweating Capitol policeman told my five-year-old boy: "Sonny, I bet you could do a better job than Congress." He mopped his forehead and added, "It looks like a bad summer.'

The Congressmen were faced with a painful dilemma which they had hoped the conference report would avert. They could let OPA die and try to explain to the voters this fall, or pass a strong bill and face the wrath of the special groups—the N. A. M., the Farm Bureau, the retailers, the real estate boards. The conference committee report had been a skillful evasion. The voters could be told: Sure, we voted for price control. And the lobbyists could be told: But look at the openings we gave you.

The vote sustaining the veto brought together strange bedfellows. Both the diehard enemies and the best friends of OPA voted to uphold the President and kill the conference bill, though they had different motives. But that was just the beginning. Using a parliamentary maneuver the diehards blocked immediate action on a joint resolution extending OPA three weeks. Wolcott in the House and Pappy O'Daniel in the Senate blocked the unanimous consent necessary for consideration of the resolution. Then Congressmen and Senators walked out until Monday morning, face to face with a real issue —inflation or a stable economy.

The nation will know the answer in a few days.

A Vichy Regime for Spain?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 28

AN INTRIGUE with many ramifications to sell out the cause of the Spanish Republic may come to a head before the end of July. In origin it is a British-American intrigue, and it goes far to explain the stubborn refusal of both nations to accept any decent proposal in the Security Council. Whether the plan is identical with the Vatican-inspired scheme revealed at the start of the Council session is not known. What is certain is that the British representative in the Council was under instructions to oppose any move which might prove an obstacle to the intrigue now in the making. It may also explain Gromyko's veto of the compromise proposal finally put to a vote.

The existence of this plan does not contradict in the least what I reported from London in my article, Why Britain Supports Franco, on June 1. The British government will continue to support Franco as long as possible, but it knows that this policy has a deadline. The Spanish issue may have been respectfully interred by the Security Council, but at the same time the World Federation of Trade Unions ended its meeting in Moscow with a resolution calling for a worldwide boycott of Franco. The Spanish issue will not be liquidated until fascism is liquidated in Spain.

It is in the tradition of British foreign policy to have an alternative ready in case of failure. The alternative to Franco is the plan I shall now describe. It has two parts: first, the replacement of Franco by a military directorate which will assume power for a brief period, and then the transfer of power to a provisional government made up of both military and civilian elements. The names of two of the most probable members of the directorate are already circulating in official quarters in Madrid, where the "coup of July" is being discussed as a settled affair. They are General Aranda, whose name has often been connected with rumors of a monarchist restoration, and Colonel Ungria, who during the Spanish war was chief of Franco's intelligence service. I see no objection to publishing these names because I have the feeling that Franco is fully informed of the work in which they are engaged. For the plan, although instigated by the British, was discussed last month in the Casino Militar of Madrid, the famous officers' club where

so many plots have been hatched during the last twenty-five years. There was not even any particular effort at secrecy. In contrast with Republican rebels who still end their lives before a firing squad, these amiable plotters could sit around a dinner table and openly drink to the success of their plans. All this would suggest that Franco is not blind to the operation and that he may even be hoping to remain the power behind the new regime if it is actually formed.

At that meeting in the Casino Militar agreement was reached on three points. The first was the constitution of a mixed government whose main task would be the maintenance of public order during the period of transition. The second was limited amnesty for political offenders. The Republicans in exile would be invited to come back to Spain, but a severe control at frontier and ports would prevent the return of those whose presence might be a menace to public order—a restriction which would exclude every militant Republican. The third was a plebiscite on the single question, "Do you want the monarchy?" Voters must say yes or no; not even the alternative "monarchy or republic?" would be offered. The plebiscite, it was agreed, should take place as quickly as possible; in other words, before the Republican forces could regroup themselves after seven years of persecution and exile.

The plan, as anyone can see, is simply a betrayal of the republic. While it originated among dissident Franco elements with British and American encouragement, it could never have been set in motion without the complicity of certain Republican leaders. The most active group on the Republican side in facilitating this maneuver is the Socialist faction of Indalecio Prieto, represented in the Giral Cabinet by two ministers, Trifon Gómez and De Francisco. Trifon Gómez is a member of the executive of the Transport Workers' International Organization and thus an old friend of the former head of Transport House, Britain's Foreign Minister. Having established contact with Mr. Bevin in Paris, Trifon Gómez arranged a private meeting between him and a very important Republican official. At that meeting, held last Sunday in Orléans, the Republican official was able to convince himself of the existence of a carefully articulated plan which completely ignores the republic as a possible alternative to Franco.

Señor Giral must also be well informed about the plan. Addressing the Permanent Committee of the Cortes in Mexico a fortnight ago, he said that during the summer a new—not his own—government would be set up inside Spain and that it would be recognized by Britain and the United States. But he mentioned this in such an offhand, gentle manner that the other members may have failed to realize the gravity of the announcement. I do not believe Señor Giral is implicated in the plot, but he is none the less compromised by the incredible fact that, knowing what is going on, he retains in his Cabinet men who openly favor sacrificing the republic. Perhaps in view of this development those people who urged Negrín and me to join the Giral government will now understand why we refused. The present plot had not yet been launched, but men capable of countenancing such a maneuver, men who during the Spanish war were always in favor of capitulation, have had a hand in the government from its inception. Even in November, 1945, when Giral's newly formed Cabinet presented itself to the Cortes in Mexico, Indalecio Prieto clearly announced that he would support the Republican government only so long as it presented no obstacle to some other solution of the Spanish problem. Immediately after this statement Negrín, myself, Gonzales Pena, chairman of the Socialist Party, and other Socialist members of the Cortes wrote to President Martínez Barrio calling his attention to the danger and impropriety of permitting a member representing the Prieto position to continue in the government.

Franco

This policy of capitulation is not new. It went on during the entire Spanish war and found its most terrible and shameful expression in the Casado coup of March, 1939, which delivered Madrid and the rest of the Republican territory to Franco and which was, by the way, also the result of British pressure. We are facing now a probable repetition of the Casado coup engineered by the same people—among them Socialists of the Paul Faure type, ready to sell out the republic just as Faure and his friends sold out France in 1940. The recent congress in Toulouse of the Prieto Socialists reaffirmed this dangerous tendency.

I know that many good friends of the Spanish Republic in the United States and elsewhere will say that, after all, the main thing is to get rid of Franco; that once Franco is out, the door will be open for a new drive to restore the republic. This is the most unrealistic kind of thinking. In the end the republic will be restored whatever happens, but the establishment of an interim regime of "order" insures a long process of violence in which thousands of Spaniards will be slaughtered and which might easily develop into a new civil war. Let no one be taken in by the proposal of a plebiscite. During

three years the Spanish people registered their faith in the republic with blood. But even if the idea of a plebiscite were today tolerable, no vote taken under the plan invented in the Casino Militar could be anything but a farce. To begin with, every exile who really wants to fight for the republic will be refused admission to Spain, and those who go back in defiance of the restrictions will be suppressed. But supposing the provisional government of officers and civilians which is to replace Franco should be the most honest, liberal government in the world, the plebiscite would still be a fake because throughout Spain the Falange and the clergy hold the real power in every village and every town. A simple decree on paper will not abolish years of fascist control. That is why when Prieto launched in Mexico his campaign in favor of the plebiscite, Negrín, who does not like to use strong words in criticizing the acts of other Republicans, pronounced the name of Laval. That is why it is necessary to oppose with uncompromising vigor the proposal of a plebiscite, together with the entire plan to replace Franco, when his hour strikes, by a Vichy regime of capitulators and reactionaries.

The Future of the Ruhr and Rhineland

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

German economist now living in this country; author of "The Coming Crisis," to be published in November

THE future status of the Ruhr and the Rhineland will indubitably have a decisive influence on the future of all Europe; but it is a very complicated problem, with economic and political aspects inseparably interwoven. One of the first questions requiring settlement is an economic one—how much production shall be permitted in the two provinces, especially in the Ruhr. A second is political—whether or not the Ruhr and Rhineland shall remain a part of Germany. A third, which seems to me the most important, is whether the key industries, notably coal and steel, shall be socialized and the basis thus laid for a change in the structure of German society in the western zones.

Before the Second World War the Ruhr was the greatest coal- and steel-producing area of continental Europe. For a long time it was one of the greatest coal-exporting areas. Today it is nowhere denied that the speed of European reconstruction depends on the speed with which the Ruhr can resume its peace-time production of coal for the supplying of Europe's industries. For a long time this was not recognized in the United States. Strangely enough, it was not recognized by the men who to a large extent were responsible for the Potsdam agreement. They were still too much under the influence of Morgenthau's ideas.

The memorandum summarizing the Morgenthau plan which President Roosevelt took with him to the historic conference at Quebec read in part as follows (see "Germany Is Our Problem," by Henry Morgenthau, Jr.):

> *The Ruhr Area:* Here in the Ruhr area lies the heart of German industrial power. This area should not only be stripped of all presently existing industries but so weakened and controlled that it cannot in the foreseeable future become an industrial area. The following steps will accomplish this. Within a short period, if possible no longer than six months after the cessation of hostilities, all industrial plants and equipment not destroyed by military action shall be completely dismantled and transported to Allied nations as restitution. *All equipment shall be removed from the mines and the mines closed* (italics mine).

More than a year has passed since the cessation of hostilities, but no one now considers closing down the Ruhr mines. On the contrary, the present problem is how coal production in the Ruhr can be raised. The world is crying for coal today almost as loudly as it is crying for food. The international coal conference in Paris reported that Europe faced a coal deficit of 46,000,000 tons in the coming year.

After the end of the war, coal production in the Ruhr under British administration slowly revived; in February it became about 1,100,000 tons a week, that is, 55,000,000 to 60,000,000 tons a year—barely half of the peace-time output. At the beginning of this year the British still hoped that by the end of 1946 the peace-time figure would be achieved, and that the Ruhr would be able to meet the needs of France and Western Europe and also of German industry. But, instead, production has decreased in recent months by more than 20 per cent.

The principal reason for this is hunger. It is true that the miners receive preferential treatment in the matter of food, but they are none the less undernourished, partly because they give some of their special rations to their hungry children. Hunger, however, is not the only cause of the Ruhr's diminished production. If output is to be raised above a certain level, the many totally destroyed pits and the even larger number which suffered heavy damage in the war must be rebuilt and reequipped. For that purpose the Ruhr requires great

quantities of steel. But the amount of steel manufactured in the Ruhr today is far smaller in comparison with peace-time output than the coal production. Not even 10 per cent of the peace-time amount is being produced. Under the Potsdam agreement Germany was permitted to manufacture 5,800,000 tons of steel a year—4,000,000 tons in the Ruhr—but only half of this quota is actually being produced.

One reason, of course, is the lack of coal. The German steel industry receives so little coal that it cannot manufacture the machinery necessary to raise the coal production—a vicious circle. That is why the British announced recently that they must reduce the export of Ruhr coal to France. The London *Tribune* commented correctly:

> Ruhr coal is needed not only today and tomorrow; it is a permanently essential factor in the economic recovery of Europe. In spite of the tremendous coal shortage, therefore, nothing would be more shortsighted and would more surely lead to a self-perpetuating catastrophe than to give in to the clamor for larger coal exports from the Ruhr *now*. Even the humblest peasant knows that if he is left with no alternative he must go hungry for a time rather than consume the seed from which alone future harvests can grow. This is the hard logic of the situation.

To increase coal production in the Ruhr two measures are necessary. First the miners must be given sufficient food. In this respect the situation may improve somewhat in the coming months; after the harvest all food rations will be increased slightly, and with recognition of the crucial significance of coal in the reconstruction of Europe the miners may receive still more favored treatment. Secondly, German steel production must be brought at least to the level decided upon in the Potsdam agreement, which means doubling production in the Ruhr.

At this point we see how inseparable are the political and economic aspects of the problem. The exceedingly low steel production of the Ruhr today is the result not only of insufficient coal supplies but of uncertainty about the future of the entire German steel industry, which will remain unclear until we know how the question of ownership is to be settled. The ownership of the coal mines is already settled. The decision of the British Labor government to dispossess the German owners without compensation, and to put their mining properties under public ownership with Britain as custodian, attracted little notice in this country although it may be of decisive importance for Europe. Since nobody knows whether or not the great steel works will remain in private hands, the present owners and managers are not interested in increasing production. More than that: in this transition period no plan for the development of the steel works without consideration of private interests is really possible. Clearly, the British Labor government should step in and socialize the steel industry in the British zone.

Socialization of all German heavy industry in the Ruhr should facilitate a sensible solution for the problem of the political status of the region. On this point agreement has hitherto not been possible between England and America on the one hand and the French government on the other. The French government demands not only that a part of the Ruhr production be made available for the reconstruction of Western Europe and France, but that the Ruhr and the Rhineland be separated politically from Germany. The chief argument in favor of the French proposal is that Germany, if left in possession of this great industrial area, may become strong enough to start another war of aggression. This argument is advanced by certain elements in America as well as in France and has a superficial cogency, but it is essentially fallacious. The danger of a third world war does not lie in any future aggressiveness on Germany's part but in a sharpening of the enmity between the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. Moreover, in this age of the atomic bomb new aggressive activities in Germany will not depend on the capacity of its industries but on *who owns them*—in other words, on what class holds the reins of power.

The French Socialists have clearly recognized this. Recently Léon Blum declared explicitly:

> We Socialists demand the appropriation and international direction of the mines and factories of the Ruhr. We demand the prolonged occupation of the left bank of the Rhine. But on the other hand *we are hostile to the political dismemberment of Germany*. This distinction is capital. The amputation proposed by De Gaulle and maintained against us by the Popular Republicans and the Communists is illusory and even fallacious, because it is of a nature to revive all the old imperialist instincts.

If in accordance with the wishes of the French Socialists and the policy of the British Labor government the Allies decide not to cut off the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany, that need not mean that the entire output of the region will be at Germany's disposal. A considerable part of it should be applied to the reconstruction of the devastated areas of Europe. For a long time the *production* of this great industrial center should be internationalized: that is, for a long time the Western powers should say how it is to be divided among Germany and other countries. During this transition period it can be determined to what extent the socialization of heavy industry, added to the destruction of the German middle classes consequent to the loss of the war, is altering the structure of German society; and whether the expropriation of the properties of the industrialists, the core of

German reaction, will so strengthen the democratic and socialist forces that they will be able to thwart all aggressive tendencies.

To sum up: for the whole of Europe an increase of production in the Ruhr, especially of coal production, is essential—reconstruction depends on it. An increase of coal production in the Ruhr will most easily be attained if the socialization of the coal industry is followed by the socialization of the steel industry and its systematic restoration. Measures in that direction taken by the Labor government in the British occupation zone can be expected to change the structure of German society and render tremendous service to the democratic elements there. They would parallel the policy begun by the Labor government in England with the nationalization of the English coal industry and continued with its nationalization bill for steel. And they would of course strengthen the trend toward the nationalization of heavy industry in France, where the coal industry has already been taken over by the state.

By such measures the economic, and therefore the political, strength of the monopolistic-reactionary forces throughout Europe would be decisively curtailed. Moreover the consequent increase of production would so improve the economic situation that the Germans would feel some hope for the future. France, however, need not fear such a development, for the democratic, socialistic forces in Germany would be encouraged at the same time.

This and *only* this is the answer to Russian expansionist efforts in all parts of Germany. It would demonstrate to the Germans—not with empty phrases but with deeds, that is, with production figures—that they will have an economic future by retaining a German state, political democracy, and personal freedoms.

Britain's Greatest Gamble

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan," Mr. Roth is now on his way to India and the Pacific for a first-hand view of developing events in the Far East. He will embody his observations in a series of articles for The Nation.

London, June 25

LONDON—still shabby, pockmarked, and underfed a year after the war's end—is awaiting the outcome of one of the greatest gambles in the history of imperial politics. The Labor government is gambling that by loosening the reigns of political domination and military occupation in seriously disaffected areas it will be able to keep these areas within the British economic and power bloc.

At the prospect of troop withdrawals from Egypt, independence for India, and dominion status for Burma the Tories have raised shrill screams of anguish. Retired colonial officials fume in their clubs and write indignant letters to the *Times* echoing Churchill's charge that an empire "built with great labor" is being "cast away with great shame and folly." They forget that 1946 is not 1896. The people of the dependent and colonial areas are today not only militant and well-organized but, in Palestine, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia, armed as well. And Britain is not the first world power it was fifty years ago. With its factories undermanned it cannot spare soldiers to suppress colonial uprisings, nor does its economic situation, which now dictates a life of shabby austerity for the mass of its people, permit the financing of such undertakings. These facts are recognized by enlightened Conservatives like the editors of the *Times*, who therefore support the government's attempts to reach a settlement with the nationalist leaders and hope that these leaders can control the more radical demands of their followers.

It is ridiculous to think of the Labor Cabinet as made up of men who would unnecessarily risk losing the Empire; by temperament and belief they are cautious, "sure-thing" players, and they are only taking the gamble in their Egyptian and Indian policies because otherwise they know they are in imminent danger of losing all.

Labor Party thought on colonial matters is predominantly "gradualist," stemming from the Fabian Society and more particularly from the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Until recently the chairman of the bureau was Arthur Creech-Jones, for years one of the few members of Parliament who took a serious interest in colonial matters. Today Creech-Jones, a sincere but timid man, is Parliamentary Under Secretary of the Colonial Office, and the activities of the bureau, increased by the demands of the Labor government, are being carried on by the vigorous, able, and earnest Rita Hinden.

Dr. Hinden gave me a very clear view of Labor's attitude toward the colonies. It calls for their gradual conversion into self-governing equals within the British Commonwealth but considers it "irresponsible" to fix dates for the completion of the process. She was enthusiastic about the measures now being applied. All the colonial constitutions are being revised and liberalized. In Malaya the Chinese and Indians will soon become citizens and participate in the Legislative Council; the

Burmese electorate is being tripled; Ceylon will have virtual self-government in internal affairs; in East Africa Negro representation is being increased; and in the Gold Coast there will be a majority of natives in the legislature for the first time in Africa.

These constitutional advances are underpinned by economic reforms. Allocation of taxes is being altered so that more wealth stays in the colonies, where it is produced, and less goes to London. Orders have gone out to establish consumers', credit, and marketing cooperatives in order to protect colonial peoples from native usurers and foreign monopolists. Labor attachés have been sent to Malaya, Burma, and East Africa to help in the establishment of trade unions.

These measures are concrete indications of the undoubted good intentions of the Labor government, but unfortunately they will take a decade or two to bear fruit and when read in the context of the nationalists' demands seem grudging rather than generous. Colonial nationalists resent the fact that the government's attitude is largely paternalistic—"we know what's best for you"—rather than a recognition of equality. The Labor Party's prestige in the colonial world would have been tremendously enhanced if it had invited to the recent Bournemouth conference not only the French Socialist Léon Blum but the Indonesian Socialist Premier Sjahrir and Socialists from India, Africa, and the West Indies.

In reading the texts of the proposed reforms—with the possible exception of those for Ceylon—it is difficult to escape the impression that a great opportunity was lost by too much concentration on retaining as many guaranties as possible for British interests. In Malaya, for example, the unification of the country, the reduction in the powers of the feudal sultans, the extension of citizenship to Chinese and Indian residents, and the establishment of a Legislative Council are all excellent and progressive measures. But these are amply counterbalanced: about half the Legislative Council is to be appointed, and how the others—who will have to be "proficient in the English language"—are to be elected is not indicated. The Governor will have reserved powers enabling him to do without the Legislative Council's consent in matters affecting defense, foreign relations, and even taxation. And the Secretary of State for Colonies can disallow any law passed by the Legislative Council even if the Governor has given his assent. Surely this is no bold play to capture the loyalty of a rich colony.

Dr. Hinden and others in touch with colonial peoples have advocated a policy of greater boldness and generosity but have been rebuffed repeatedly on grounds of strategic necessity. Only on such grounds can one explain conditions in Cyprus, a main pivot of the British position in the Mediterranean. Cyprus has been a virtual police state since the riots in 1931, when Cypriots burned down Government House. Civil liberties are almost unknown, hundreds of leaders have been imprisoned or exiled, and the church has not been allowed to hold elections for its own bishops. The reason for British hesitancy in correcting these conditions is that most Cypriots want to be united with Greece, and although Greece is now safely in the British sphere, pro-Soviet forces are strong there and the British want to be doubly sure by holding on to Cyprus separately.

It should be noted that the Labor government's sensitivity about strategic positions is shared by the British people. In a poll held in June by the British Institute of Public Opinion the public was asked: "Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to remove British troops from Egypt?" Of those with an opinion in the general population three out of five disapproved; among Labor voters two out of five.

Among the most powerful factors tending to drag Labor's colonial policy to the right is its close association with such giant foreign-trade monopolies as Dutch Oil, Imperial Chemicals, and Unilever. It should be remembered that in Labor's program for gradual socialization only 20 per cent of the British economy is due to be nationalized by 1950, and industries engaged in foreign trade are way down at the end of the list. Furthermore, because of Britain's present desperate need for foreign exchange, the government encourages those firms which can improve the country's economic position. In Burma, for example, Steel Brothers, Ltd., which dominated Burma's cotton, rice, and teak industries before the war, has now reestablished itself there with government assistance and has been able to pay two years' arrears on its 6 per cent first-preference shares. A substantial portion of the £87,000,000 loan to Burma will go to Steel Brothers and other English concerns in payment for their losses and very little to impoverished Burmese cultivators.

The machinery for dealing with the colonies which Labor took over on assuming office was vast, complicated, and antiquated. Although it is planned to recruit many more members from colonial peoples and non-upper-crust Britons, the overwhelming majority now in the colonial services look backward toward the nineteenth century. Labor men have been appointed governors of Malta and Bengal, but the *New Statesman* tells of an able candidate for District Officer in Palestine, a man risen from the ranks to become a lieutenant colonel in the army, who was turned down by the chairman of a selection board because he had not attended a public school and was therefore not quite right socially.

Neither of the Cabinet ministers in charge has shown any inclination toward a rapid purge of diehard elements in his department. In Burma, at least, the influence of these diehards has created a wide gap between the government and the young nationalists at a time when they should be cooperating to restore the devas-

tated country. The dominant notion among senior Burma colonial officers was revealed by Governor Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith in an unguarded moment: "You have to get tough with the nationalists or they don't respect you."

British army circles, still very influential in Southeast Asia, are similarly unsympathetic to the desires of colonial peoples, partly because a considerable number of the middle-rank officers are former colonial officials and business men. One of the things that most inflamed Britons against the Indonesians was the report, from army sources, that Brigadier Mallaby was killed by Indonesians while negotiating a truce. The actual fact is that he was killed after he had himself broken the truce by ordering Indians to fire on a turbulent mob near Union Square in Surabaya. Even now it is not known whether he was killed by Indonesians or by a grenade thrown by an Indian officer at some Indonesians who were approaching his car.

The real story of Mallaby's death was revealed in the House of Commons by Tom Driberg, one of the small group of Labor back-benchers who stand to the left of the government on colonial matters and have striven energetically to counter right-wing influences. These back-benchers want full and equal cooperation with the colonial peoples. Their thought derives from that of the English economist J. A. Hobson, whose searing analysis, "Imperialism: A Study" (1902), was later adopted in large part by Lenin. This group has been augmented by a number of young Laborites who have done military service in various parts of the Empire and returned determined to right the wrongs they observed. Their chief spokesmen in the Commons are Tom Driberg and Harold Davies.

Driberg, tall, brilliant, charming, and a skilled debater, was for many years the star columnist of the *Daily Express* and now writes for *Reynolds' News*. He won a by-election as an Independent in 1942 in Maldon, a conservative rural constituency, and was reelected in 1945 as a Labor candidate. Harold Davies, a pleasant, intelligent, and very earnest man, is serving his first term as a Labor M. P. from a South Wales mining district after seventeen years as an extension lecturer for Oxford University in workers' education. Both men traveled extensively in Southeast Asia last year, met most of the nationalist leaders, and have been kept up to the minute by correspondence and returning service men.

About the best attraction the House of Commons can offer these days is a debate on the Asiatic colonies between Captain Gammans, the blustering spokesman for the commercial interests, and Driberg and Davies. In the recent Burma debate Gammans favored arresting General Aung San as a murderer, while Driberg suggested that cooperation with Aung San would speed Burma's recovery. In the February debate on Indonesia, Davies, who had just returned from Asia, summed up the feelings of the back-benchers when he said: "Because a Labor government at this moment is in power, there is still faith in the Far East . . . Had a Labor government not been in power at the present moment, the Far East would have been on fire from one end to the other. They believe in us. Let us see that because they believe in us they will not be betrayed."

Georgia's Negro Vote

BY IRA DE A. REID

Professor of sociology at Atlanta University; to be visiting professor of education at New York University next year

Atlanta, Georgia, June 25

IN GEORGIA today a Caesarian operation is being performed on democracy in an effort to save its newest offspring, the primary. The mother has been so mauled about and bruised by her men folks in the state that she is having a difficult time. The delivery on July 17 is not going to be an easy one, what with none too skilful attendants and the incantations being cast upon the child by those who would like to have it still-born. The only hope is that the child comes of such good stock that it will survive all these adverse conditions. Supreme Court decisions have given Negroes the right to vote in the only elections that actually matter in Georgia—the primaries. Whether that right is going to become a living privilege will depend on the Department of Justice, the local registrars, the political machines, and the colored voters themselves.

In a state where the ratio between Negroes and whites in the population is one to three, it is one to seven in the registered voting population. The number of registered Negro voters has risen from 15,000 to approximately 116,000 in the past year, an increase of 673 per cent, but during the same period white registrants have increased by a number greater than the total number of persons who voted in the 1942 elections for governor. While outside the state this increase may be regarded as a victory for the democratic process, Georgians interpret it as meaning that the Democratic Party, and the elections, will remain in the hands of the white voters. In reporting the registration figures both the Atlanta *Journal*

and the Atlanta *Constitution* featured the fact that the whites outnumbered the Negroes seven to one.

The only issue, if it can be called an issue, in the present campaign is what former Governor Eugene Talmadge, in his less impolite moments, calls "the race issue." The two other candidates, former Governor E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael, are trying to refute this by saying "It aint so!" in a variety of ways. No candidate has publicly uttered a good word for the Negro. In fact, no candidate has addressed a Negro group at any public meeting. Not even Governor Arnall, a staunch supporter of Carmichael, has ever spoken to a Negro group in Georgia. In the past it has not been politically necessary to do so; the present candidates, by refraining, protect themselves from the Talmadge scalpel and pertinent questioning. Therefore what makes up the Negro voter's mind in Georgia is what he hears whispered over the scraggly grape vine, what he thinks is the lesser of the many political and social evils that affect his citizenship status, and who is being backed by the people he respects.

The last Negro representative left the Georgia legislature in 1908. Not until February, 1945, did the votes of colored citizens again become a force in Georgia politics. In a Congressional by-election held in Atlanta at that time the votes from a Negro neighborhood shifted the victory from the machine candidate, Tom Camp, secretary to former Congressman Robert Ramspeck, to Mrs. Helen Mankin. The racial reaction to that blow was Georgia's heavy registration. Later, the Negro vote was shown to have played a minor part in the defeat of the Cracker Party in Augusta, and the "threat" of "Negro domination" seemed less formidable. But Eugene Talmadge's Georgia is taking no chances.

Approximately half of the 116,345 Negro votes in Georgia are concentrated in the five "big-city" counties containing the cities of Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, Savannah, and Columbus. Yet these counties contain less than 10 per cent of the state's Negro population. In these same counties Negro registered voters form approximately one-fourth of the voting list. In 16 of the state's 159 counties the Negro citizen has had little trouble in becoming a registered voter. Here are to be found two-thirds of the Negro votes. It is in the small rural counties that the free primary will meet its real test.

In 46 of Georgia's 159 counties—each of the 46 is a two-vote county under the unit-voting system—Negroes form more than 50 per cent of the population. In no one of these counties does the proportion of Negro voters at all approach the proportion of Negroes in the population. The number of Negroes registered was generally reported to be 10 per cent of the total. But in Webster County, where 612 of every 1,000 people are Negroes, there is not a single registered Negro voter; in Burke County, which has a Negro population of 19,000, there are only 160 Negro voters. And if the trend now being noted by the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, an organization of colored Democrats, continues, it is certain that there will be a very high rate of disqualification among Negro voters everywhere by election day.

Caricature by Seligson

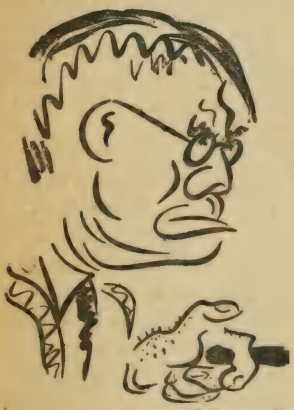
Ellis Arnall

The Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs is trying to expose these conditions throughout the state, but the restrictive devices in each county are limited only by the ingenuity of the registrars and their advisers. In one county "the colored books aren't ready." In another the registrar is never in when a colored voter comes around. More than 400 Negroes stood in line an entire day in one community without getting a chance to register. Sometimes the printed qualifications for voters are interpreted as meaning that they must pass both property and literacy qualifications: the "and/or" is treated as "and" only. One Negro was disqualified because he did not know the name of the sixteenth President of the United States. Another was asked: "Who elects the judges?" Another: "What is a document?" At a recent meeting of the association, investigators reported that Negroes were being asked either to recite the Preamble to the Constitution or to listen to the registrar read it and then write out verbatim the part read. A young college graduate, now a second-year theological student in a Northern seminary, has just come to Atlanta from his home in Fayette County to protest against the way the Negroes there were not permitted to register. He came at the behest of one of the county's Negro ministers, who has tried again and again to get the registrar's books opened to his flock. When I mentioned these abuses to one of Georgia's most widely known public men he admitted that in the "Talmadge campaign" registrars were being instructed in ways to handle the "nigger voters."

No other Southern campaign in recent years has so blatantly exploited the race issue. Talmadge announced at the outset that he would take his stand with "white folks." He has told all the usual race-baiting stories, including highly imaginary ones about Negro Congressmen, mixed schools, and the like. His radio speeches have been so inflammatory that some Negroes have considered asking the FCC to curb him. Yet Talmadge has

his Negro supporters. A former president of a state college returned to the state to aid his campaign. When this man went to a meeting of the colored Democrats in Albany, the Atlanta *Daily World*, the nation's only Negro daily, reported that he apparently sensed "the extreme displeasure of the delegates over his presence, together with his purported espousal of the Talmadge cause, [and] was persuaded to leave without incident."

The Supreme Court's decision on racial separation in interstate bus travel furnished Talmadge with new talking points. He promised listeners in southern Georgia that if he were elected he would have a law passed requiring all Negroes to buy new tickets at the state line in order to ride through the state. To Candidate Talmadge the Negroes want "social equality," and their aspirations are favored by the Supreme Court, Northerners, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Governor Arnall, and, in particular, his opponents Messrs. Rivers and Carmichael. Talmadge, says Talmadge, is the one candidate who would dare to speak out against "social equality" and to do something about it.



Caricature by Seligson

Eugene Talmadge

There is no doubt that his emphasis on the race issue has caused his opponents great concern. That is about all they too have talked about. Mr. Carmichael has said, and with a straight face, "The race issue is nothing more than a smoke screen to elect Gene." Carmichael isn't for "social equality." He has said so. Rivers says he isn't for "social equality" either. But Talmadge has put both men so on the defensive that neither has been able to make any public statement at all favorable to the hundred thousand new Negro voters.

Behind the scenes, however, interesting machinations are going on. The Rivers forces are definitely working to get the Negro vote. Carmichael's headquarters have been less overt in their solicitations, but the "smart operators" in that camp have "talked it over" with Negro leaders. This Negro vote, it must be remembered, is different from any other known in fifty years of Georgia politics. It is interested in issues and welfare; its leaders are not to be tempted by the promise of spoils. Georgia's politicians are novices in this kind of campaigning. Only once in forty years has a candidate for a state or national office come to a Negro group in Georgia and talked over the political issues of the moment. That candidate was elected.

As a result of Mrs. Mankin's victory the Democratic committees of Fulton, DeKalb, and Rockdale counties decided to employ the county unit-voting system in the coming Congressional primary election. This means that the heavy popular vote which Mrs. Mankin received in Atlanta (Fulton County) will be offset by her weakness in the two other counties, where Judge James Davis is a leading contender for the Congressional designation. Thus Mrs. Mankin could carry Fulton County, with its 112,000 voters and six unit votes, and lose to a candidate who carried DeKalb and Rockdale counties, which have a combined registration of fewer than 50,000 voters but six and two unit votes respectively. Negroes in the three counties, especially in Atlanta, have been working for a heavy registration in the outlying districts in the hope of preventing the nomination of Judge Davis, who is regarded as a Negro-hater. But their efforts may be ineffective since the Judge's enemies are said to be willing to kick him upstairs in order to get him off the bench. All this makes Representative Mankin's victory problematical.

Only three things are certain about the Negro vote, whatever its size, in the July election. First, it will not be a bloc vote; the candidates and the leaders have seen to that. Second, every previously elected official in Georgia has a black mark against him so far as the Negro voter is concerned. Former Governor Rivers, for example, will have to explain his alleged past affiliation with the Klan as a lecturer. Third, it will not vote for Eugene Talmadge of its own free will, a qualification understood only by those who know rural Georgia.

A not too quiet political revolution is taking place in Georgia. Involved in it are home rule for the big cities, labor's coming of age, and the differentials of religion, sex, education, and race. The situation can perhaps be explained by citing Mrs. X, the wife of a minor public official, and a churchwoman and leader of some importance in her community. Mrs. X was quite concerned over the social-action program of the denomination to which she belongs. She protested against the group's being addressed by Mrs. Roosevelt, its stand on labor, its attitude toward minorities (they ought to remain where God placed them), its general position on public issues. If only the women of her denominational connection in Georgia would go back to the teachings of the Old Testament and serve God in that manner, she and the women of her local church would see to it that the Honorable Eugene E. Cox, representative from Georgia's Second Congressional District, would introduce in Congress all the social legislation this country needs.

That being too far-fetched a solution, democracy will struggle on in Georgia—until July 17, at least.

The Jews That Remain

BY JOSEPH DUNNER

During the war Mr. Dunner was chief of the Intelligence Department of the London Office of War Information; after V-E Day he was in charge of the Munich Press Control Detachment of the Information Control Division, United States Army

CONSIDERING the intensity of anti-Semitic propaganda in Germany during the past twelve years, the German people are showing surprisingly little rancor, at least on the surface, toward the few returning Jews. Indeed, in many cases Jews enjoy a singular popularity, for some claim to pro-Semitism is considered one of the best safeguards against the impact of the denazification order. Every Military Government officer in Germany has known dozens of applicants for licenses or jobs who insisted that they were the illegitimate children of a Jew. For the last year two cartons of cigarettes, valued at 3,000 marks, the equivalent of $300, would buy in Berlin a certificate proving that its owner had a Jewish grandmother. However, anti-Semitism in Germany is not dead. And it is likely to revive as soon as the socio-economic and psychological factors which were its major causes reappear in fuller measure.

Some Jews never left Germany but were hidden away by German anti-Nazis willing to risk their lives and the lives of their families by protecting them. A few German Jews have returned from the concentration camps, in particular from Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt. But of the 30,000 Jews who lived in Frankfurt-am-Main before 1933, only 300 are still there. An additional 300 in Frankfurt today came originally from other German communities. Of the 4,500 Jews of Stuttgart only 180 remain. Munich before 1933 had a Jewish population of 13,000; today there are but 450 German Jews in the city.

With the help of the new German administrations, which are staffed largely by anti-Nazis, a Jew returning to his home community or coming out of hiding is usually able to find adequate housing. If his old residence has been destroyed, the apartment of a former Nazi Party member is placed at his disposal. With respect to food and fuel German Jews are, officially, slightly better off than the majority of the people. For a few months after V-E Day many of them received double rations. This allowance was later reduced to that of "heavy workers," which was also given to Social Democrats, Communists, and clergymen who had been in concentration camps. Actually, however, since the returning Jews are utterly destitute and unable to supplement their allowance of rationed goods by barter, their per capita consumption is no greater than that of non-Jews, many of whom add to their official diet from the stocks of food they have laid up.

With rare exceptions, Jews are able to find some sort of remunerative work. The provincial governments in the American zone, following the lead of the Social Democratic Minister-President of Bavaria, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, have appointed state commissioners for Jewish affairs whose tasks include the placement of Jews in the German civil service and in the few private enterprises that are operating. Jewish physicians and lawyers are resuming the practice of their professions, from which they had been barred by the Nürnberg laws; they report a plethora of clients, the vast majority of whom are non-Jewish Germans.

Bright as this picture may seem, it is not without dark spots. One of the fundamental errors in our occupation policy is its failure to discriminate clearly enough between Nazis, non-Nazis, and anti-Nazis in the social and economic sphere. To the average American officer the German who served six or more years in Dachau because of his courageous resistance to Nazism is not much different from the German who prospered under the Hitler regime. To him both of them are "Krauts who have to be put in their place." So far there has been no restoration of property stolen from the Jews since 1933. Younger Jews, who were denied all educational opportunities under the Nazis, often lack the necessary training for a specialized position. All Jews are fearful of competing with the non-Jews for the bits of debris left by the storm lest anti-Semitic feeling break out again.

This fear is shared by the so-called part-Jews, products of intermarriage who adhere to the Protestant or Catholic faith. During the Nazi regime they were treated somewhat better than the full Jews. Some, especially if their name and appearance were not too obviously Jewish, escaped persecution altogether. Today they usually enjoy the same benefits as full Jews, but like most of the full Jews they find it impossible to think of Germany as their permanent home. They cannot free themselves of the Hitler nightmare. The full Jews look forward to migrating eventually to Palestine, but the part-Jews hope to find a haven in the United States or some other hospitable land.

Of the almost three and a half million Jews in pre-war Poland, fewer than 160,000 survived the gas and torture chambers of Lublin, Oswiescim, and the other death traps for Eastern European Jewry. Most of the survivors are today D. P.'s in Germany. Some were liberated by the Allied armies from concentration camps; many have filtered in since. Among the latter are Jewish guerrillas

who fought with the Russian and Polish partisans during the war only to discover that all their sacrifices had not made them any more welcome in the land of their birth. A census taken on January 23, 1946, showed that there were 56,556 Jewish D. P.'s in the American zone—47,867 in Bavaria and 8,689 in Greater Hesse and Baden-Württemberg. There are approximately 35,000 Jews in the British zone, very few in the French and Russian zones.

Most of the D. P.'s are collected in camps, where they are housed in former barracks or stables of the German army. The rest live in private homes requisitioned for them by the Military Government or UNRRA. They enjoy the extra food ration and a few other privileges such as occasional free tickets for theaters and concerts. When one thinks of the price they have paid, the assistance given to them seems a mere pittance. I have talked with more than two hundred Jewish D. P.'s who saw their wives raped and tortured, their little children smashed against the walls until the blood flowed from their broken bodies. I could name Jewish boys of seventeen and eighteen who for months ate nothing but the flesh of their comrades executed or worked to death by their S. S. guards. Dr. Z. Grinberg, a Jewish physician from Poland, said at a conference of the Jewish D. P.'s in Munich on January 27: "With the money, the possessions stolen by the Nazis from us and from the millions of Jewish dead one could finance UNRRA and every other relief agency in the world. If only a small part of what was taken from us were now returned, all the Jewish D. P.'s could live in luxurious palaces instead of being forced to sleep on hard cots in unsanitary and overcrowded barracks and to eat from tin plates the meager soup given to them as an act of charity."

Now that they have been liberated, the Jewish D. P.'s want to be treated like allies and not like parasites or prisoners. The riots and other disturbances of which one hears these days should be blamed less on them than on the M. G. officials' callous indifference and complete lack of understanding of D. P. psychology. In May, 1945, the G-5 section of the Third Army, then under Patton, began to move the D. P.'s like cattle from one camp to another. Husbands and wives, fathers and sons, who after years of enforced separation had at last found each other were separated again and sent in different directions. On June 11, 1945, I submitted to the headquarters of the Psychological Warfare Division a detailed account of seventeen D. P. centers with an aggregate of 14,000 Jewish inmates. At Turkheim, I reported, they lived in a barbed-wire inclosure still equipped with the deadly electrical apparatus that was designed to keep the ambitious from escaping to life outside. In none of the camps did I find soap, toothbrushes, or laundry facilities. At Freimann, near Munich, I lived for two days with D. P.'s who had arrived at the camp after a march of 200 kilometers. They found the former S. S. barracks in which they were installed infested with vermin, and filthy beyond description. Weak as they were from their years in concentration camps, they managed to clean the place up in a few days and to make it a model camp. But they could not get the tools they needed to build bathrooms, a camp kitchen, and a laundry.

In spite of the official extra ration, the food in the camps is not sufficient for people who have been undernourished for years and are suffering from various diseases. Moreover, since the camps have no proper kitchen facilities, food has to be prepared in makeshift fireplaces in the doorways and rooms of the buildings. The D. P.'s who rioted at Mittenwald claimed that they had more and better food under Nazi rule.

Until recently G-5 refused to regard the Jews as Jews and classified them as Poles, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, and so on. When the national committees of these groups recalled their D. P.'s, G-5 thought that the Polish, Lithuanian, and Yugoslav Jews would naturally return with the non-Jews to their countries of origin. The refusal of the Jews to return to Eastern Europe made American officials less sympathetic to their cause than ever. When I told a high officer in the Third Army's G-5 section of the fist fights between Polish Jews and non-Jews in the camps, and that the Jews were afraid to return to Poland, his answer was, "I'll put them on trucks together and I'll teach them how to behave." He imagined that he could magically eradicate the age-old anti-Semitic tradition of Eastern Europe—by giving an order.

A number of American officers have German mistresses, mostly Nazi women conditioned by the Nazi regime to sexual libertinage. These Nazi women have a pernicious influence on our occupation policy, for they not only protect their Nazi kin whenever possible but foster in the men who should carry out the denazification order a resentment against people who, not having a guilty conscience, refuse to behave as subserviently as the Nazis do—German anti-Nazis and Jewish D. P.'s. Because the Jewish D. P.'s hate the Nazis fiercely and have different *mores* from the indigenous German population, the average American officer regards them as troublemakers. "Why don't these Jews go back to Poland if they don't like it here?" is a remark often heard in army circles and even among UNRRA workers.

Actually the Jewish D. P.'s do not want to stay in Germany. In answer to a questionnaire circulated in D. P. camps 95 per cent of the Jewish inmates said Palestine was the country in which they would like to live permanently. Europe, for them, is the continent of crematoriums and gas chambers where the lives of their loved ones were snuffed out mercilessly. Germany is only a waiting-room where they stand in line before a ticket office which they hope will open one day and issue passes to Palestine.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Saving and Spending

THERE has been a great deal of argumentative theorizing about the economic consequences of the huge total of liquid assets that individuals accumulated during the war. Some public officials have repeatedly called attention to its inflationary potential; other have hailed these savings as a sheet-anchor in some future deflationary storm. It is conceivable that both opinions are right or both wrong. In any case it was impossible to make a judgment as long as discussion was based on the simple fact that individual holdings of currency, bank deposits, and government securities had risen from $40,000,000,000 at the end of 1939 to $130,000,000,000 at the end of 1945.

Thanks to a survey made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the results of which are summarized in the June Federal Reserve Bulletin, it is now possible to discuss the problem of savings more realistically. By means of interviews the survey obtained information on the income, savings, and liquid-assets holdings of a representative sample of "spending units"—defined as "all persons living in the same dwelling and belonging to the same family who *pool their incomes* to meet their major expenses."

One major fact emerging from this investigation was that the war has done little to lessen the heavy concentration of incomes and wealth in the hands of a minority of the population. The top 10 per cent of "spending units," it appears, received 29 per cent of the money income in 1945, accounted for 53 per cent of gross savings, and held 60 per cent of total liquid assets, excluding currency. The bottom 50 per cent, by contrast, received 22 per cent of the income, made 3 per cent of the savings, and held 3 per cent of the liquid assets.

These figures should dispel a lot of ideas based on hunches rather than exact information. It is clear that the supposed leveling-up effect of the war economy is a myth and that the much-touted "swollen" earnings left a very minute margin for savings so far as the bulk of wage-earners are concerned. Thus the survey shows that while the average holding of liquid assets amounted to $1,750, the average amount per spending unit in each percentage class was as follows:

Top 10 per cent	$10,500
Next 20 per cent	2,350
Next 30 per cent	700
Bottom 40 per cent	40

On the basis of these results we must conclude that at least half the population, which means a much larger proportion of wage-earners, have no nest eggs of significant size. So far as they are concerned, we do not have to worry about the dissipation of their savings in an ill-considered rush to buy cars and refrigerators, for they have practically no savings to dissipate.

The question of how potent an inflationary effect the present record total of liquid assets may exercise turns therefore very largely on the spending intentions of the top 30 per cent who own 87 per cent of the whole. Information provided by the survey indicates that there is no general disposition among these top-bracket savers to go on a buying spree: 3,800,000, or 11 per cent of all spending units, are definitely intending to buy new cars in 1946 or will probably do so; 12,600,000, or 28 per cent, plan to purchase other consumers' durable goods; 3,100,000, or 7 per cent, hope to buy houses. If all plans, both definite and probable, for spending on these objectives are actually carried through, it will mean an outlay of some twenty to twenty-five billion dollars on the basis of planned average expenditure on each category. But by no means all this sum will come from savings. In the case of cars, for instance, the survey suggests that about two-fifths of the cost will be met from current income, one-quarter by drawing on liquid assets, and the rest borrowed. Actually, of course, many intended purchases are likely to be postponed owing to lack of production. Allowing for this factor, adding in estimated drafts on liquid assets for other purposes, and deducting current savings, the Federal Reserve Bulletin article suggests that the net reduction in liquid assets as a result of consumption expenditure might amount to from five to seven billion dollars in 1946.

It would appear that plans for spending accumulated savings are more modest than has been generally supposed. During the war people in the higher income brackets tended to put aside a larger proportion than usual of their current incomes but not with the idea of providing the wherewithal for a post-war splurge. Some saving, of course, is always inspired by the desire to obtain a specific object, but more often its aim is the achievement of a permanent fund which will be drawn upon with reluctance except in cases of emergency. With most people there is a strong psychological resistance to the use of savings for purposes of current consumption, which means that the so-called liquid assets of individuals are under normal circumstances distinguished by a considerable degree of illiquidity.

Can we assume, then, that the present record volume of savings has no serious inflationary potential? That does not follow. It all depends on the response of holders of liquid assets to a further rise in prices. If that occurs, and particularly if the rise is sudden and dramatic, it might well arouse the fear that money, and assets with a fixed money value, such as government bonds, were becoming increasingly unsafe as a store of purchasing power. There could be a panic rush to turn money into goods, which, in the absence of controls, might send prices into the stratosphere. In view of the fact, however, that a large proportion of all savings are held by the well-to-do, part of this inflationary pressure would spill over into the stock and real-estate markets as people sought to conserve their assets by investing them in equities. In either case the price of government bonds would tend to fall, unless supported by massive purchases by the Federal Reserve banks, which would mean an increase in the money supply and new fuel for the inflationary fires. Our conclusion must be, then, that the mass of liquid assets wil remain comparatively inert as long as prices are kept under control, but should prices be allowed to break loose, a chain reaction might be started which would convert this mass into an economic high explosive.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

To Juan at the Winter Solstice

There is one story and one story only
That will prove worth your telling,
Whether as learned bard or gifted child;
To it all lines or lesser gauds belong
That startle with their shining
Such common stories as they stray into.

Is it of trees you tell, their mouths and virtues,
Of strange beasts that beset you,
Of birds that croak at you the Triple will?
Or of the Zodiac and how slow it turns
Below the Boreal Crown,
Prison of all true kings that ever reigned?

Water to water, ark again to ark,
From woman back to woman:
So each new victim treads unfalteringly
The never altered circuit of his fate,
Bringing twelve peers as witness
Both to his starry rise and starry fall.

Or *is* it of the Virgin's silver beauty,
All fish below the thighs?
She in her left hand bears a leafy quince;
When with her right she crooks a finger, smiling,
How may the King hold back?
Royally then he barters life for love.

Or of the undying snake from chaos hatched,
Whose coils contain the ocean,
Into whose chops with naked sword he springs,
Then in black water, tangled by the reeds,
Battles three days and nights,
To be spewed up beside her scalloped shore?

Much snow is falling, winds roar hollowly,
The owl hoots from the elder,
Fear in your heart cries to the loving-cup:
Sorrow to sorrow as the sparks fly upward.
The log groans and confesses
There is one story and one story only.

Dwell on her graciousness, dwell on her smiling,
Do not forget what flowers
The great boar trampled down in ivy time.
Her brow was creamy as the long ninth wave,
Her sea-blue eyes were wild
But nothing promised that is not performed.

ROBERT GRAVES

Murder, Inc.

BLOOD IN THE STREETS: THE LIFE AND RULE OF TRUJILLO. By Albert C. Hicks. Creative Age Press. $2.75.

TRUTH, indeed, has a hard time of it. Never has this statement had more force or meaning than in the effort of writers to tell the world the truth of what goes on inside the Dominican Republic. Now the story is told. In this excellently documented account of the life and rule of Raphael Trujillo, the dictatorial ruler of that once respected Latin American country, Albert C. Hicks has done a job for which, I dare say, hundreds of thousands of terrorized Dominicans at home and in exile will be everlastingly grateful.

This is no ordinary biography. This is not simply a collection of stories about the wild and reckless life of an irresponsible criminal, suddenly risen to power in some distant land which we neither care about nor can be affected by. This is a stirring account, authenticated by names, dates, and places, of the rise of a man who in early life was a cattle thief and gangster—a man who rose through successive stages of criminal conspiracy in both civilian and army life, wholesale murder of friend and foe alike, until in 1930 he became President of the Republic of San Domingo. From this high office he has controlled commercialized prostitution and gambling, from which his take is estimated to be one million dollars a year; the sale of vital food stuffs, such as milk, salt, rice, and meat, from which four articles alone it is reported that he receives more than five and a half million dollars a year in graft; a 10 per cent levy on all government employees, most of which goes to his personal treasury; all imports and shipping facilities. From all these sources of graft it is estimated that he nets *fifty thousand dollars a day*, most of which he deposits in the National City Bank in New York. (It is reported that his account is the second largest of the foreign clients of that great banking institution.) Albert Hicks says that more than 3,000 Dominicans have been murdered by Trujillo; he says further that 15,000 Haitians were killed in one of the world's most deliberate slaughters of human beings—the so-called Haitian-Dominican border massacre. Both of these estimates, says Hicks, are very conservative. (I was in Haiti at the time. If anything I believe his estimate an understatement.) In his last chapter he names the most prominent of these victims of Trujillo. The standing of these victims in San Domingo is the most amazing thing about the list. In our own country a similar group would include the highest generals of our army, several Presidential candidates in the past two or three elections, many United States Senators and Representatives, and numerous writers, authors, students, and newspaper correspondents.

All through this book the reader is at a loss to understand why, with most of this information available and familiar to

our State Department and its representatives in the Dominican Republic, we have not at least withdrawn our ambassador, thus giving notice to the world that we refuse to recognize such a tyrant as Trujillo. This is the one thing that he fears more than anything else in the world. But with full knowledge of his crimes, of the oppression of two million of his subjects, of this constant threat to security in the American hemisphere, our State Department condones his every action, receives him and lavishly entertains him both in San Domingo and in this country. All this honor goes to a man who has openly stated that he intends to annex the Republic of Haiti and, as soon as it obtains its independence, Puerto Rico as well.

"Blood in the Streets" is an amazing document. It is more than interesting reading; it is as valuable a contribution to the cause of peace and democracy in Latin America as any of the conferences held during the last decade. In my opinion it is more valuable, because Hicks has exposed the worst dictator existing in the world today—a man who lives right here at our very doorstep, one whose criminal example and success others in the Americas may well attempt to emulate. With the exposure of this tyrant dictator widely publicized throughout the world, and particularly in Latin America, we may hope to live in a day when such names as Vargas of Brazil, Machado of Cuba, Lescot of Haiti, Perón of Argentina, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic will be but a hazy memory.

The United States can neither keep the respect of the rest of the Americas nor hope for a real and lasting peace there as long as it continues to recognize the world's most criminal dictator. No country, whatever its size, is too small to be important in tomorrow's peace.

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

A Classic of Popular Science

THE COMMON SENSE OF THE EXACT SCIENCES. By William Kingdon Clifford. Newly Edited and with an Introduction by James R. Newman. Preface by Bertrand Russell. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

PHYSICISTS have been recently giving overt expression to their sense of the moral import of scientific inquiry. But while their current activity as practical moralists is unusual because of its organized political character, such activity is no isolated event in the history of modern science. There have been few scientists of first rank who did not assume that the outcome of scientific research has far-reaching implications for the basic attitudes and beliefs of men; and few of them were not profoundly convinced that the habits of mind formed in such research have a moral significance not confined to the laboratory or to the study. Wisdom in private and public policy is possible only if competent knowledge and a reliable intellectual method are at the command of those who determine that policy. Accordingly, outstanding scientific workers in every age have sought to make accessible to lay audiences both the findings and the logic of scientific inquiry in popular form.

It is a truism that a democratic society cannot afford to let scientific knowledge and the scientific temper of mind be the exclusive possession of any special group. Current discussions

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Mr. Logan is a veteran who served in France, Luxemburg, Germany, and the Pacific, and rose to the rank of Staff Sergeant in the Army. His manuscript was selected, from hundreds submitted by members of the armed forces all over the world, as first prize winner in non-fiction of the Macmillan Centenary Award.

"I have seldom read a more concise and reasonable statement of the principles of democracy than the one set forth in this book."—Edwin A. Peeples, *Atlanta Journal.*

Spencer Logan's

A NEGRO'S FAITH IN AMERICA

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of education are in general agreement on this central point, however much they may be in conflict over the specific ways by which the common goal may be best realized. But no system of formal education can hope to keep the vast majority in a society satisfactorily informed about fundamental advances in knowledge. Most adults must obtain their ideas on such matters from the literature of popularized science. It is therefore a genuine public misfortune that in this country the need for an adequate literature of science for the layman has received but scant attention from educational theorists or from competent scientists with a gift for popular exposition.

England has been more fortunate in this respect than the United States, and Clifford's deservedly famous account of the experimental foundations of applied mathematics is a brilliant example of what eminent British scientists have so often managed to achieve in the way of communicating lucidly the theoretical basis of modern science to a wide audience. Sixty years have passed since the book was first published, but no part of its contents is out of date, in spite of the great changes that have occurred in physics. The fact that Clifford was a man with prophetic vision and that the recent revolutions in science, contrary to a widespread view, have left untouched the fundamentals of its procedure explains the continued modernity of the book only in part. Its enduring value as an introduction to the natural sciences is in large measure the outcome of the manner in which Clifford envisaged the task of popularization.

This perennial task can be conceived and executed in several ways. A writer can emphasize the immediately practical consequences of scientific discovery to the exclusion of the general ideas underlying new inventions, and so generate in his reader no more than an uninformed wonder at the ingenious gadgets of science. He can deliberately attempt to bolster hallowed moral dogmas or a speculative philosophy by citing in evidence the latest alleged findings of scientific inquiry. He can direct attention to some of the sociological determinants of scientific advance, pointing out the influence of social needs upon the direction of research but leaving his reader no wiser as to the contents of theoretical innovations. Or finally, he can undertake the central educational job of making clear the major ideas involved in research, together with the general methods in terms of which the conclusions arrived at are warranted.

Clifford's book belongs to the regrettably small number of popularizations in this latter group. It deals entirely with technical matters, but he wrote it in the firm belief that the logic—though not necessarily the techniques—developed in the natural sciences is capable of extension to everything that pertains to man's interests. With Mach and Pearson, Clifford shared the positivist faith of so many in his age that with proper instruction in responsible intellectual methods men would abandon traditional dogmas and direct their blind impulses into reasonable channels of activity. It has become fashionable to revile this positivism as the primary source of contemporary moral chaos. In fact, however, integral to this philosophy is the classic view that what is good for man can be determined and realized only through the progressive employment of the rational methods of the sciences. Clifford and his contemporaries doubtless were unduly optimistic concerning men's willingness to take a scientifically disciplined reason as their guide in the choice of values; and they certainly underestimated the power of deep-seated emotions as springs of human action. But they cannot be fairly accused of lacking moral vision or moral fervor. Indeed, it still seems to many that the alternative to Clifford's conception of the moral significance of scientific method is an irresponsible romanticism in values coupled with the use of brutal force.

However, the moral motivations of positivism appear explicitly nowhere in Clifford's book. The chief evidence in it of his general outlook is his consistent application of the principle that scientific ideas are most clearly understood in terms of the operations involved in using them. Clifford's discussions are in consequence illuminating throughout, while at the same time they demand close attention from his readers. Indeed, the reader is offered no glib survey of spectacular conclusions in the sciences, nor does he become equipped to discuss with an appearance of learning the latest turns of thought in physics. But whoever does master the lucid expositions of the nature of number, geometry, and motion will have acquired a penetrating understanding of the unitary structure of mathematics, and will also be prepared to grasp the theoretical foundations upon which more recent scientific developments are built. Such a reader will be able to evaluate for what they are worth the widely current anti-intellectual critiques of science, and to judge whether these represent, as is often claimed, the profoundest wisdom.

A warmly appreciative preface by Bertrand Russell and

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During the first 42 years of his life, says Upton Sinclair, he made many painful mistakes, but he learned much from them. Looking about him, he sees others making these same mistakes, suffering for lack of that same knowledge which he has so painfully acquired. This being the case, it seems a friendly act to offer his knowledge, minus the blunders and the pain. That explains the reason for writing the four books listed above.

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an excellent account of Clifford's general philosophy, together with some notes on the text, by James R. Newman, the editor of the present reissue, add further value to a valuable book.

ERNEST NAGEL

BRIEFER COMMENT

Alexander Hamilton

THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS FATAL DUEL with Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton wrote of "our real disease, which is democracy." If the disease was spreading—Hamilton's Federalist Party was falling to pieces, and Jefferson, that "atheist in religion, and a fanatic in politics," was in the White House—it was not because Hamilton had failed to fight it through twenty years of public life.

As Nathan Schachner's able biography "Alexander Hamilton" (D. Appleton-Century Company, $4) makes abundantly clear, the erratic Hamilton was the most brilliant apologist for reaction yet to appear in America. In the continuing struggle between the special interests of the few and the common interests of the many the democratic ideals of Jefferson have in succeeding generations found their champions in Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt; the ideas of Hamilton have found champions aplenty, but never of the same caliber.

Jefferson, with more objectivity than Hamilton could muster, epitomized the difference between them: "One feared most the ignorance of the people; the other the selfishness of rulers independent of them." But Hamilton, who wrote scornfully that "I am not much attached to the majesty of the multitude," often served them better than he knew. As an author of the *Federalist* he fought hard for a Constitution in which he had little faith. As Secretary of the Treasury he enlisted the self-interest of the wealthy in creating a strong financial structure for the young nation. Because the poison of democracy "by a subdivision will only be the more concentrated in each part, and consequently the more virulent," he supported a strong central government.

Hamilton, however, was frustrated throughout his life in his greatest ambition. Though Schachner does not emphasize the point, Hamilton was ever ready to become the man on horseback in America. As a precocious youth in a West Indies counting-house he dreamed of military glory. That dream never deserted the Federalist who told Jefferson: "The greatest man who ever lived was Julius Caesar." As a youthful aide to Washington he fretted for a more dashing assignment, which he obtained, only briefly, under Muhlenberg at Yorktown. As a member of Washington's Cabinet he insisted upon the use of force against the "Whiskey Rebellion" and placed himself at the head of the militia which marched against the despised democrats. He dreamed of leading the United States in a war against France, the fountain of Jacobin ideas, and in a war of conquest against South America.

Schachner, the biographer of Aaron Burr, has written an excellent biography of Hamilton. He has made extensive use of unpublished material, and presents his findings judiciously and with care. If there is a fault to be found with the biography, it is that it is almost too judicious; there is almost an antiseptic quality about it. It is as if Schachner, for eighteen years a practicing attorney, had said: here are the facts, the evaluation of them is for the jury.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

The World of Vincent Sheean

IT WOULD BE EASY to set down one's agreements and disagreements with the political views expressed in "This House Against This House," by Vincent Sheean (Random House, $3.50). The author will have no part of the liberal criticism of our North African policy; but like any liberal critic he is discouraged almost to the point of despair by our Italian policy. And yet to concern oneself with these things in a review as brief as this would be to slight the real and singular value of this book, which lies in what I can only describe as the easy force and relaxed seriousness of its impressions. It is earnest and vivid and at times caustic; yet there is nothing of the revolting "high-octane" school of writing and nothing of dogmatism. Nor does the book fall into the other extreme of a spurious urbanity. Systems of politics have little attraction for Mr. Sheean, but his values are deeply and naturally believed. They are not beliefs of the head but of the whole man, and the record here set down has a consequent largeness and warmth.

That, I say, is the general tenor of this good book. Sometimes the author's power to set down the essence of an experience shocks one: the impressive pages on India illustrate his merits and demerits better than any others. The prostrate humility, the incredible and intolerable sensitivity within the abjectness of the Indian man and woman have rarely been described with such a sense of painful recoil. One is compelled to contradict Mr. Sheean when he says the British have done nothing in or to India. They have, one retorts, introduced an impossibly inappropriate system of private ownership of land. And so terrible is his account of Indian poverty and dejection that one is forced to ask why in God's name Mr. Sheean thinks it odd that so many Indians should have been indifferent to what they were bound to regard as Britain's defense of its empire against Japanese and German imperialism. Yet when the most violent debate is over, it must be admitted that no political formulation could be a reliable guide if it were not accompanied by an absolute recognition of the spiritual characteristics the author describes.

RALPH BATES

The Battle of Godly Wood

NEIL SWANSON is a newspaperman who has written a number of historical novels. In his recently published "The Perilous Fight" (Farrar and Rinehart, $3.50) he has written some superb history, combining scholarly research with skill in description, characterization, and incident.

The defense of Fort McHenry has become a part of the American legend because it was the inspiration for our national anthem. Mr. Swanson tells the story of an equally important but forgotten battle. But for the American victory at Godly Wood, won by the same militia who had been

routed at Bladensburg but who were now commanded by General Sam Smith, an old soldier who also has been forgotten, Fort McHenry and Baltimore would have fallen, the "Star Spangled Banner" might not have been written, and the Treaty of Ghent might have been far different.

Mr. Swanson has established the importance of a neglected incident in our history. He has done it in a competent, scholarly fashion. Best of all, his history is vibrantly alive.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

FICTION IN REVIEW

IT WOULD seem, from the two novels I read this week, that the vogue for extravagant family reminiscence has hit our English cousins too. There is Nancy Mitford's popular "The Pursuit of Love" (Random House, $2.50), whose main burden is romantic, but whose first half, at least, can be read as an English "Life with Father." There is also Dane Chandos's "Abbie" (Putnam, $2.75), a series of orthodox anecdotal recollections of the author's eccentric aunt.

The tyrannical patriarch of "The Pursuit of Love" is Uncle Matthew (also known as "Fa," also Lord Alconleigh), a great patriot and xenophobe—he particularly hates Germans—a believer in horses and home cooking, and a gentleman of such rages that he grinds down several pairs of dentures a year. According to Miss Mitford, the whimsical graces of English upper-class children flourish mightily in such rocky soil. Valiant little riders and hunters though they may be, the Radlett youngsters are also given to a morbid sensibility about pet mice, to cute spontaneous verse-making, to dreams of love in an attic linen closet. The only warm spot in the great country house, this closet is called the Hon Cupboard. It is the place where the children play their favorite game of parceling the world into Hons and non-Hons. Hons are the offspring of Lords; a non-Hon is anyone the children dislike. Honorary membership in the Hons is bestowed upon a favorite stable boy, and we are little surprised when, in later years, the Spanish Loyalists can also be referred to as "terrific Hons." But some time before this natural widening of the Alconleigh horizon, Miss Mitford's conscious humor has begun to thin; from childhood reminiscence her novel has progressed to the emotional history of Linda, most beautiful and delicate-minded of Uncle Matthew's daughters, who after two unsatisfactory marriages, to a banker and a Communist, finds true love with a French duke who picks her up in the Gare du Nord. Miss Mitford has quite a few good things to say for French nobility—as lovers, as keepers of women (teaching Linda how to dress properly, the Duke throws her nasty English mink into the wastepaper basket), as doers of their Free French duty. Such fun as you will find in the so-to-speak adult sections of "The Pursuit of Love" is largely unintentional.

Attention should be called to one episode in Miss Mitford's novel which is so genuinely witty that one would expect a great deal more from its author—the meeting between Uncle Matthew and his new brother-in-law, a mild-spoken, rather wan literary man, as learned as he is hypochondriacal. The family is rather afraid to introduce this new relation, convinced that Uncle Matthew will despise him with all the vigor of his own non-intellectuality. Quite the contrary, however, Uncle Matthew conceives a deep respect and affection for the newcomer, based on the latter's refusal to discover the least value in any of the Alconleigh household treasures. A much-cherished bronze is pronounced Japanese and not Chinese, and therefore worthless; a collection of minerals, legendarily "good enough for a museum," is diagnosed as diseased and not worth keeping. "I never saw such a fella," says Uncle Matthew in delight before a scholarship of such destructive proportions.

Like Miss Mitford's Uncle Matthew, Mr. Chandos's Aunt Abbie also loves England, especially her flowers and animals, and hates foreigners, particularly Boches; similarly, she is a person of titanic passions, energies, and egocentricity—it seems to be a national-class characteristic. One of the wealthiest women in England, Aunt Abbie is shamelessly penurious; a born aristocrat, she is also without the sentiment of fear of her fellow-man—which may be perfectly all right so long as she confines her activities to making an ex-king pay her bridge losses or taking Bill Tilden on at tennis, but rings a different note when it moves her to cheat porters and taxi-drivers of their tips and to bully waiters and gardeners. Mr. Chandos's "Abbie" is described as "the wickedly witty portrait of an appalling and delightful female." Myself I found it more grisly than amusing, and not (I hope) as authentic a recollection as it purports to be.

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Films

JAMES AGEE

LILLIAN HELLMAN'S "The Searching Wind" is a study of the characteristic inability of Americans of good family and responsible position to admit what stares them in the face or, admitting it, to try to do anything about it. The personal and political aspects of the drama get in each other's way and, perhaps inevitably, lose in drive and shape by being staged to cover practically every major political crisis between the March on Rome and the immediate past. But the people themselves and the way they talk and think reveal many painful variations of our particular national brands of well-bred cowardice—political, emotional, and moral; and those who are more conscious and brave are given the limitedness, self-righteousness, and monotony which, unfortunately, are so often typical of them. People as highly civilized as these are seldom seen in the movies, and are still more seldom played with understanding. They are very firmly played here—though with touches perhaps of highly civilized ham—by Dudley Digges, Robert Young, Sylvia Sidney, Ann Richards, and Albert Bassermann. Their actions are very sumptuously and very well set, lighted, and dressed. And they are directed with his usual controlled intensity by William Dieterle. I can't feel that the picture will do any good, at this late hour, any more than it might have at an earlier one; nor, I fear, would any kind of dramatized self-criticism, no matter how deeply searching. But it is a careful, angry, honest film, and nothing it says is less apposite now than it would have been ten years ago, or twenty.

I did not read "Anna and the King of Siam"; after seeing the movie I am, to my pleased surprise, tempted to. I am not among those who take to Irene Dunne—as a rule she makes my skin crawl; nor do I wholly enjoy Rex Harrison's highly skilled, generally restrained horsing as the naively intelligent monarch whose good intentions enthrone him in a prattfall between his ancient and our modern world. There is indeed a good deal of high-polished and expensive cuteness about the whole production which stands, I suppose, as an apology for venturing to film a story that fits none of the formulas. But in spite of and through all this, the relationship between the rattled, irascible king and the English widow is often real, clear, and delightful, and occasionally very touching.

I cannot recommend "To Each His Own" highly enough to those who can still bear to be interested in what goes on in the cerebral powder-rooms of middle-class American women; or who still care to measure the depths to which some professionals will dive, self-deluded or otherwise, in the effort to profit by the pathological appetites of such women. In these terms it is an extraordinarily illuminating and skilful movie. It is skilful, in fact, however you look at it. But if you lack my all but necrophilic kind of interest in such stuff, you have fair warning. As for skill, any scientist can tell you what that is good for, irresponsibly employed.

Of course it is still possible to put it to work honorably; the results of that are so admirable in Laurence Olivier's production of "Henry V" that I must postpone any attempt to do the film honor until I have more space.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON Victor's July list is a recording of Randall Thompson's "Testament of Freedom" made by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony and the Harvard Glee Club (Set 1054; $3.85). The work, composed in 1943 to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth, is a setting of four passages from his writings. Perhaps music could be written that would have an expressive relation to statements like "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy but cannot disjoin them," or "We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery," or "Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great." But Thompson has not written it. Instead the words are fitted to a piece of patriotic musical oratory that involves them in moods, structural devices, and climaxes with which which they have no real relation; and the incongruous musical contexts rob the words of their own impressiveness and even make them ridiculous. The recorded sound of the performance is good.

It has been amazing to hear what popular pieces like the Overture to "Zampa" and Sousa's marches have sounded like when Toscanini has played them in recent years; and I once pointed out that a musically unsophisticated person listening to these performances of works that he knew well might be struck by the things that were different about them this time, and in this way might get an idea of the differences possible in performances, and of the particular qualities of Toscanini's performances, which previously he may have been inclined to think people only pretended to hear in order to show their superior understanding. Victor, which issued the performance of Waldteufel's "Skaters" Waltz last winter, now gives us a single record (11-9188; $1) with Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever" and Strauss's "Tritsch-Tratsch" Polka, recorded by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. The first performance of the march three years ago that was put on an army V-disc was better (it had, for example, a delicious lightness and lilt in the contrasting soft part of the opening passage, a breadth in the concluding passage, that the present performance does not have), but the present one is exciting enough; and the verve, sharpness, and buoyancy of the polka make it a breath-taking delight. The recorded sound of the march hasn't all the brightness of that of the polka.

The result justifies Toscanini's playing of a popular waltz or march; but there is no such result to justify Eleanor Steber's application of her cultivated style to Hoagy Carmichael's "Star Dust" or even to "Summertime" from "Porgy and Bess" (11-9186; $1). The voice sounds lovely; and Robert Merrill's baritone is richly sonorous in "Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes," which would seem to me to call for something else than the chiffon and rhinestone strings and harps and what not that swirl around the singing on a record (10-1218; $.75) that offers "In the Gloaming" on the reverse side. Stokowski's transcriptions of Tchaikovsky's "Solitude" and "Humoresque," which he has recorded with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra (11-9187; $1), are something to skip. And the remaining items of this kind on Victor's July list can go without comment.

After my last article had gone to press I received from another reader—a Viennese now in this country—the letter he writes me when I express a low opinion of some highly regarded work or composer. Each time he rebukes and corrects me by quoting at me the all too familiar phrases of the official opinion that I have rejected; and his perplexity

and indignation when I continue to reach my own conclusions are evident in his latest letter. "I really don't know what to think of you, reading your lines about the Brahms First: 'the worst of this dreadful work' (*The Nation* of June 8). Are you serious about it? Because that work always was (and is) considered to continue where Beethoven's Ninth left off. And the "Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians," edited by O. Thompson, says on page 225: 'The four symphonies [of Brahms] have taken their places among the masterpieces of their class and the world accords Brahms the symphonist a rank second only to Beethoven. The First Symphony is distinguished especially by its Olympian grandeur.' Is this not enough for you? I should be surprised at you..." And not—I foresee—for the last time.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Report from Austria

Dear Sirs: One of our representatives in Vienna recently wrote us that G. I.'s are stealing food from American canteens to feed Austrians. "The bread ration is 350 grams *a week*," he wrote. "There are no potatoes, no cereals. Meats and fats have been non-existent for the past year. The official ration is 900 calories a day, but for many it is actually only 700. The Belsen ration was 800. And in Wiener Neustadt the ration is about one-third of what it is in the capital. For the first time in my life I have seen people die of hunger. In the streets of Vienna it is a common spectacle to see someone collapse from general weakness. Yet in Vienna, as well as in the United States Zone of Austria, there is hope, an item completely lacking in Germany. Please rush delivery of fats, egg powder, powdered milk, cereals, canned meat and fish. . . ." We all applauded the heroism with which the Viennese defended the Workers' Homes built under the Socialist administration. Now we have our first opportunity actually to help the survivors of that struggle maintain a stronghold of democracy in Europe. All aid should be sent them through the International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, Chairman

New York, June 13

A Debt Is Due

Dear Sirs: We wish to bring to the attention of *Nation* readers the serious problem facing more than 10,000 non-citizen members of the American merchant marine. These alien seamen—of all nationalities—served heroically during the war. They were torpedoed and wounded. They helped deliver the goods to our armies and to our allies all over the world. *Today, they face dismissal from their jobs and deportation.* Despite their heroic service, they have no status in this country. With the resumption of peace-time restrictions, crews on merchant ships will be limited to American citizens.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is campaigning for legislation to grant citizenship to alien seamen with three years' war-time service in the American merchant marine (as provided by S. 659 introduced by Senator George Radcliffe and H. R. 4956 introduced by Representative Hugh De Lacy) and to grant legal entry to alien seamen with one year's war-time service (as provided by S. 1040 introduced by Senator Claude Pepper).

We ask readers of *The Nation* to write their Congressmen in support of the bills mentioned above. Further information on the campaign can be obtained by writing to us at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street.

ABNER GREEN, Executive Secretary, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

New York, May 22

Suggestion for the South

Dear Sirs: I have recently read of two important social and economic problems facing the marginal Southern share-croppers and the entire needlework industry: First, the colored share-croppers are being gradually displaced by mechanical cotton-pickers; second, the needlework trades need new workers to replace the older group of immigrants who were the principal source of the industry's labor pool.

It is my impression that the needlework trades could logically absorb the marginal share-cropper, giving him a much better standard of living and possibly giving the South a new industry.

If this proposal has any merit, an industry leader like Sidney Hillman and a committee of colored vocational leaders could plan a program including both immediate and long-range training for the industry. Such training could include employer-union sponsored apprentice courses in cities and vocational school training in the Southern states; thus a graduate could, immediately upon graduation, step into a job.

This proposal does not involve displacing any present workers, does not require too long training periods, and is suitable to both men and women of all working age groups.

WILLIAM KASSIN

Maywood, Ill., May 13

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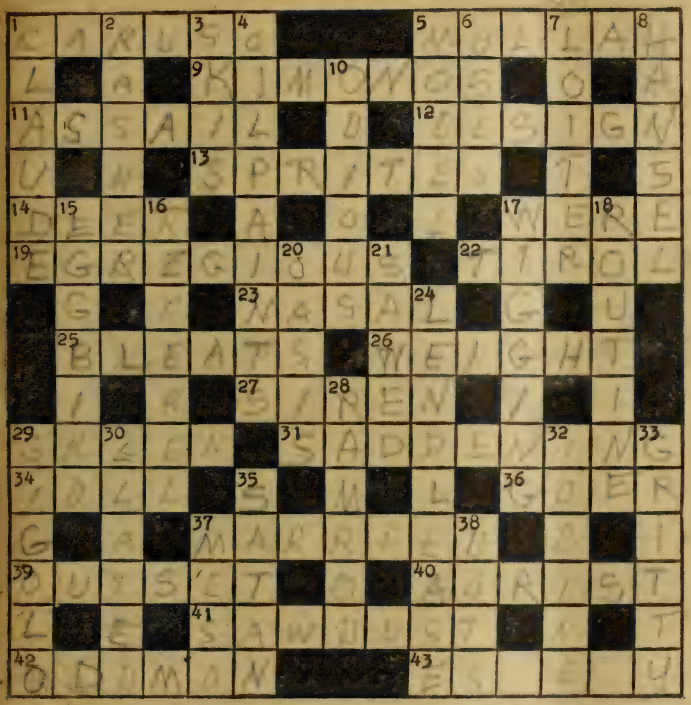
By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Famous tenor whose voice could shatter a wine glass (?)
5 One who stirs up rebellion in the East
9 Men, too, wear them in Japan
11 Attack at the end of a Wassail
12 An idea that has taken shape
13 Fairy-like creatures
14 It sounds a costly animal
17 We are contracted
19 What an ass!
22 Alpine crownland in West Austria
23 This organ makes a trumpeting sound when blown
25 Baas
26 A matter of concern to women and boxers
27 Fair charmer with a strident voice
29 A classic race
31 Depressing
34 Not in employment
36 The departing one
37 Wedded and bedded
39 Beginning
40 "Rats? OIL" (anag.)
41 Doll has it in her
42 Third person singular? (3 and 3)
43 The eldest's right to first choice

DOWN

1 French landscape painter
2 Slice so called because it's quickly fried
3 Winter footwear
4 Artistic canvas cover (3 and 6)
5 The inventor hopes it is a working one
6 Practices
7 Hang about
8 One of the babes in the wood in the Humperdinck opera
10 Hateful
15 A sooty tern resolves the age-old problem of which came first
16 He sees that both sides get fair play
17 A good talking-to should effect a transformation
18 The daily round, the common task
20 It makes the desert habitable
21 Cut with a toothed tool
24 An improvement on hire purchase (4 and 5)
28 Became obsolete when breech-loading firearms were introduced
29 An un-American dancing partner
30 Puffed up
32 An application for cuts
33 Full of sand perhaps
35 A fallen angel
37 Plateau
38 Specks

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 167

ACROSS:—1 CYMBALS; 5 THURBER; 9 ARRANGE; 10 ASCETIC; 11 GRILL; 12 BED; 13 TULLE; 14 RESPECT; 16 EXCUSES; 18 DRESDEN; 21 OTTOMAN; 24 GIVES; 26 NYE; 27 BODES; 28 IDOLIZE; 29 BURGLAR; 30 HASBEEN; 31 DECORUM.

DOWN:—1 CHARGER; 2 MERCIES; 3 ANNUL; 4 SHERBET; 5 TWADDLE; 6 UNCUT; 7 BOTTLES; 8 RICKETS; 15 END; 17 CAT; 18 DOGFISH; 19 ENVIOUS; 20 NANKEEN; 21 OVERBID; 22 MEDDLER; 23 NOSTRUM; 25 SEINE; 27 BORIC.

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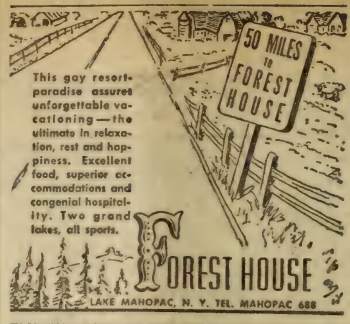
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The Shape of Things

ONCE AGAIN COMMUNIQUES FROM THE PARIS Council of Foreign Ministers can best be summed up by the GI expression "snafu." At the end of the July 4 session all seemed plain sailing; outstanding differences on the Italian treaty had been composed and it had been agreed to summon the 21-nation peace conference for July 29. But next day new controversies broke out. Molotov insisted that the Big Four must agree on procedures to be followed by the conference before sending out invitations and that China be excluded as a sponsor. Byrnes and Bevin took issue with both contentions. Exclusion of China, they said, was an insult to that nation; the conference must be allowed to draw up its own rules as all such conferences had in the past. The Byrnes-Bevins arguments indicate a respect for smaller nations and make a bow to majority rule. But it is not unfair to suggest that righteousness in this instance is buttressed by the knowledge that America and Britain will be able to count on the support of the majority of the 21 nations. Russia's recalcitrance reflects its minority position. Knowing that the odds are against them on any straight vote the Soviet representatives must exploit their veto power when and where they can and always play for time. Byrne's impatience to get on with the job of peacemaking has already earned dividends for Russia's delaying tactics. Small wonder then that Molotov should seek by a new stall to tie up conference procedures in a way that will enable the Soviet delegation to checkmate any attempt to introduce such questions as freedom of Danubian navigation into draft Balkan treaties. This, however, is a matter on which Byrnes and Bevin can hardly compromise unless they are prepared to recognize the Danubian lands as an unmitigated sphere of Russian interest.

*

NEARER HOME MOLOTOV TACTICS ARE BEING employed by the Republican minority in the Senate, bent on blocking or emasculating an effective OPA extension bill. Senator Taft and his lieutenants know that the longer they can hold up action, the harder it will be for the Administration to regain control of the situation. In particular, every day's delay makes the problem of rolling back commodity prices to the June 30 level increasingly complicated. Senator Wherry, with Taft's backing, proposes to solve this one by exempting meat, poultry, and dairy products from the reimposition of ceilings while other senators want to exempt petroleum, tobacco, and pulpwood. In support of these proposals it is being argued that last week's experience of free markets shows that the danger of a violent rise in prices has been exaggerated. But it is to be noted that only meat prices have shown any considerable recession from the sharply higher levels established July 1, and this is probably due to the emergence of supplies that had been held back awaiting the June 30 deadline. With major foods and other important cost-of-living items decontrolled, the pressure for increased prices for manufactured goods and for higher wages would be multiplied. We hope, therefore, that consumers, who gave evidence of strong support for the President's veto, will let their Congressmen know that they are not being fooled by Taft's maneuvers. Log-rolling combinations are still busy on Capitol Hill and the bill Senator Barkley is trying to push through is in for a rough passage even though it makes many concessions to the anti-OPA crowd. Unless citizens are persistent in making their views known, the President may be confronted with another measure little, if any, better than the one he rejected.

*

OPERATION CROSSROADS IS LARGELY THE Navy's show, and by the sheerest coincidence only the Navy appears to be happy over the results so far. Some foreign governments, particularly the hyper-sensitive Soviets, look upon the Bikini project as an offensive display of power. Promoters of world unity, counting rightly on the terror value of the atomic bomb, are nonplussed by the results of the first test, which were not as sensationally devastating as people had been led to expect by the scientists of the Sunday supplement. And the sober scientists who did all the work of developing the bomb, but were not invited to take part in the Bikini experiments, are inclined to look upon the whole affair as a circus. But the naval men are highly pleased with themselves and their results. "There will still be navies in the future," was the good word flashed from the South Pacific by Navy Secretary Forrestal. Vice Admiral Blandy, in command of the operation, has already concluded that "We had carriers and destroyers sunk in the war

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with Japan but we didn't stop building them. . . . That's what we will do in the future." And Sir John Cunningham, Britain's First Sea Lord, goes so far as to suggest that "it may be—I do not say it will be—that the safest place in the next war will be on board a ship." When the shock of disappointment wears off for those who looked forward to a crack in the ocean-bed and tidal waves that would wash away the state of California, they may find terror enough in the latest tally. A single bomb, of no higher potency than the one used a year ago on Nagasaki—and dropped with considerable inaccuracy—sank five ships, including a cruiser and two destroyers, heavily damaged two battleships and seven other vessels, and did lesser damage to at least 45 other craft. The thought of what a cluster of these projectiles might do, not merely to ships but to people, should serve to re-establish the atomic bomb in the awesome perspective appropriate to it.

✶

THE HOUSE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE seems bent on wrecking all the good work in atomic control done by the MacMahon committee, the atomic scientists, and the American people as a whole. Throughout the long debate the crucial issue has been civilian versus military control. Now, the House committee has reintroduced military representation into the proposed atomic commission, specified that the director of the division of military application of atomic energy shall be a military officer, and handed over to the army and navy unrestricted control over atomic bomb manufacture. We are back to the days when, with the help of panic and General Groves, Congress was all set to jam through the May-Johnson bill. The American people have come a long way in their thinking since then. They have been educated by the constructive and courageous thought that has gone into the MacMahon bill, the Lilienthal report, and the Baruch plan now before the United Nations Atomic Commission. The two groups that appear to have remained static, biding their time, are the brass hats and the House Committee on Military Affairs. Undoubtedly the state of tension in the post-war world, the suspicion between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, has strengthened their hand. But the road to greater security can never be blazed by the diehards of this or any other country. In the immediate issue of atomic control American democratic leadership must once more assert itself.

✶

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE NEXT ATOMIC war is suggested by the recently released report of the Strategic Bombing Survey which, having surveyed the wreckage of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, draws some pertinent conclusions for the edification of dwellers on this continent. Apparently most buildings over here are as vulnerable to bomb attack as those in Japan. "The overwhelming bulk of the buildings in American cities

could not stand up against an atomic bomb bursting a mile or a mile and a half from them." Since our urban population is more concentrated than in Japan—46,000 per square mile in the center of Hiroshima as against 145,000, by day, in Manhattan—casualties are bound to be higher here. (One bomb in Hiroshima killed 80,000, injured 80,000.) The report concedes that "reshaping and partial dispersal of national centers of activity are drastic and difficult measures," but it suggests, nevertheless, that "they represent a social and military ideal toward which very practical steps can be taken once the policy is laid down." It goes on to recommend the accumulation of reserves of critical materials and medical supplies, the organization of civilian defense on a national scale, and the "dispersal, concealment, protection and constant readiness" of our military installations for retaliatory bombing. As a prayerful afterthought the report concludes: "One final measure of safety must accompany the others. To avoid destruction the surest way is to avoid war." Perhaps the surest way to avoid putting these counter-atomic defense measures to a test is to back up the work of the UN atomic control commission by placing atomic development in this country in charge of civilians pledged to eliminate its use in war by eliminating war itself.

*

SOUTHERN WHITE WOMANHOOD HAS BEEN saved again. The cause is worthy but the price is high: six more years of Bilbo and two of Rankin. We have no patience with Northern fuddy-duddies who insist that Bilbo was elected because we Yankees were not polite enough to mind our business. Far from having been elected by a commonwealth outraged at "outside interference," Bilbo was not elected by Mississippi at all. He can be regarded as the choice of his state only in the sense that Hamilton Fish might be regarded as the choice of New York in a balloting confined to the Union League Club. Mississippi has roughly 1,250,000 potential voters, but fewer than 200,000—16 to 17 per cent—showed up at the polls. (New York usually reports something like 77 per cent in a Senatorial campaign.) Of more than a half-million potential Negro voters, not more than two thousand thought it wise to put in an appearance at the election booths. Their reluctance was due in part to the poll tax. In larger part it was due to Senator Bilbo's loud and insistent advice to Mississippi whites to keep their black fellow-citizens from voting by types of persuasion that go with night-riding and misused sheets. Bilbo's ugly threats were a probable violation of law and entitle him to immediate attention from the Department of Justice. Even pending such action, there is no need for the Senate to disgrace itself by his presence. The Constitution provides that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members." It should have no trouble proving Theodore G. Bilbo unfit for membership on all three counts

Italy Pays the Price

CHIEFLY because the results of a complete deadlock would have been so serious, we can view the Big Four's composition of their differences regarding the Italian peace treaty with a certain amount of satisfaction. That does not prevent us from regretting that so many of the compromises by which agreement was achieved were at the expense of Italy. That unfortunate country, already beset with the gravest political and economic difficulties is paying a heavy price for succumbing to fascism. It is to lose territory to the French and the Yugoslavs; it must sign away all its colonies which represent a vast investment in money and emotion; it is to hand over almost all the navy it saved from the Germans; it is to be saddled with a bill for reparations despite the fact that it faces an almost insoluble problem of finding ways to finance imports of food and raw materials necessary to its existence. No wonder the Italians feel bitterly that they are without a friend in the world. Ironically the one point decided in their favor at Paris was that the South Tyrol should remain Italian. As they well know their claims to this overwhelmingly Austrian territory were weak and they might have been wise to waive them with the idea of fortifying the ethnic principles on which the case for Italy's retention of Trieste rested.

Of all the compromises reached at Paris that which settled the destiny of Trieste and Venezia Giulia is likely to create the greatest uproar. It leaves both Italians and Yugoslavs thoroughly dissatisfied. Marshal Tito has gone very far out on a limb in promising his people Trieste and a large part of the province to the west of it and all Russia's influence will be required to persuade his government to accept the award negotiated in Paris. Yet Yugoslavia is not to retire empty-handed. Its future boundary with Italy is to be the one proposed by the French which is considerably more favorable than those suggested by the Americans and the British. It probably provides for the fairest possible division along ethnic lines of the very mixed-up population of the area and it gives Yugoslavia practically the whole of the Istrian Peninsula, including valuable coal, bauxite, and mercury mines, and the important naval base of Pola.

The Italians, on the other hand, see themselves stripped of this district, all the more important to them because of their poverty in minerals, and compelled to acquiesce in the internationalization of Trieste, a city which is two-thirds Italian. Economically, it is true, Trieste is less important to Italy than has been claimed. As a port it is poorly located in relation to centers of population and its chief value to Italy was derived from its shipbuilding and allied industries. However, cold calculation has little to do with the matter; the real point about Trieste is its appeal to nationalist sentiment as the last *irredenta* to be recovered from the hated Austrian Empire.

Sentiment aside, there is a good deal to be said for the Paris compromise. However much the Triestini may have come to dislike alien rule, the fact is that their city was built on the commerce provided by its Austrian connection. Before 1914 it was the international gateway for a considerable part of central Europe and the trade that flowed through its port provided prosperity for shipping and insurance. When it was restored to Italy after the first World War, new frontiers cut off its old customers and much of its trade was lost to Baltic and North Sea ports. But, if economic geography can be freed from the tyranny of political geography, the city can again perform its former function. Writing in *The World Today* of October, 1945, a British observer on the spot says of the Triestini: "They would rather be Italian than Yugoslav but best of all they would like to be a really free port at the service of Central Europe, with their freedom guaranteed by an international administration and international force." If this is really an accurate report of sentiment in Trieste, the inhabitants, at least, should be pleased with the Paris decision to make the city and its environs a "free territory" under the protection of the United Nations. It is only to be hoped that the tension of the last fourteen months, culminating in the recent riots has not so embittered relations between the various sections of the population as to make peaceful acceptance of their new status impossible.

Terror in Palestine

PRIME Minister Attlee has promised the House of Commons to produce "as soon as possible" evidence of a triple link connecting the respected Jewish Agency for Palestine; Hagana, which is the moderate and highly popular Jewish Resistance Movement; and Irgun Zvai Leumi, an extreme Zionist organization admittedly based on terror. Mr. Attlee's evidence will have to be extremely convincing to justify the high-handed raids of his army in Palestine, the internment of distinguished Zionist leaders, and the imposition of what several of his own followers in Parliament describe as a "police state."

The irony of the Prime Minister's position is that even if he succeeds in producing such evidence, he will in that very act reveal the failure of his government to handle the Palestine question with courage and intelligence. Hagana, born forty years ago as a kind of home guard for Jewish settlers, has been largely trained by the British, has always been defensive in character, has until now enjoyed an unchallenged record of opposition to terrorism, and is an integral part of Jewish life in Palestine. If even this organization has, in fact, been won over to violent methods, Mr. Attlee need not look far for an explanation. He can find it in his own initial reaction to the report of the Anglo- American Committee on Palestine and even more pointedly in the speech delivered by his Foreign Minister at Bournemouth last month.

Without a word on the merits of the Anglo-American Committee's recommendation to admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine at once, Mr. Bevin in that address said flatly that such a move at this time would require another British division and that he was not prepared to put a division to that purpose. The inescapable meaning of his words was that however much the British government might pretend to go on studying the Committee's report, it had already decided against its principal proposal plainly and simply because the Arabs had threatened to meet such action with violence. What could be more natural in the circumstances than for many Jewish moderates to conclude that they had been mistaken, that the British could be moved not by reason or justice, but only by blackmail and a show of force?

Our sympathies have never been extended to terrorist groups, in Palestine or elsewhere, but for all our willingness to give a Labor Party government the benefit of every doubt, we cannot avoid the belief that Messrs. Attlee and Bevin bear a heavy responsibility for the present tragic impasse in Palestine. Bevin in particular has resented what he apparently regards as the undue impatience of Jews to leave those parts of Europe that must forever remain stamped in their minds as scenes of death and horror.

Aside from the futility, not to mention the amorality, of the Labor Government's approach to Palestine, there is good reason to question it even on the "realistic" ground Mr. Bevin has taken. As Freda Kirchwey points out elsewherre in this issue, Arab League politicians may publicly rant of the Holy War to come, but the direst threat that emerged from that extraordinary session in June was to set up a new coordinating committee to stop land sales to Jews and boycott Jewish products. Disorders and a period of unrest would undoubtedly follow the forced immigration of another 100,000 Jews, but such is the relation of forces in the Moslem world that a raging *jehad* appears to be the strictly private nightmare of Mr. Bevin.

The British may well—and many of them do—point with scorn to the role of the United States in the Palestine muddle, particularly to our well-known tendency to seek influence without responsibility. And the plain truth is that we do not come off at all well, adopting as we do a lofty moral tone without offering either to accept an appreciable number of Europe's desperate Jews or to back Britain with troops in the highly improbable event that a show of force is necessary to execute a plan agreed upon. But Palestine, it should be remembered, is a British mandate. If the London government is unable to carry out its trust, there is nothing to prevent it—granting its purity of intention—from depositing its charge on the doorstep of the United Nations.

Patriotism and Profits

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, July 9

THE opening scenes of the Mead Committee hearings on war profiteering resembled a movie you had seen before. Toward the end of the first day somebody at the press table shook his fist in mock solemnity and intoned: "We won't let this kind of thing happen in the next war."

It took Gerald Nye nearly two decades to expose some of the less altruistic phases of World War I; Jim Mead, his eye on the executive mansion in Albany, was in no mood to wait. But the accused profiteers were comparatively little fellows in the big business of war production. Their corporate intrigues did not seem too original and their "take," however substantial, scarcely approached the highly respectable balances of those revered institutions which pledged in government-subsidized ads to "keep things the same" for our valiant boys abroad.

The slow start, however, was deceptive. As the week ended the Mead hearing was the best air-conditioned show in town. What began as the tale of an Illinois munitions ring had become the case of Andrew Jackson May, venerable chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

May is a member of the obstructionist fraternity. His most recent efforts have been dedicated to resisting civilian rule of the atomic energy program. The clue to his role in this new local drama was furnished early when the committee presented a chart showing the interlocking directorates which controlled sixteen arms plants, fifteen of which were located in Illinois. The sixteenth was called the Cumberland Lumber Company, identified simply as a Delaware corporation which received $48,000 from the Erie Basin-Batavia combine for lumber that was never delivered. This was cryptically introduced into the record on opening day and ignored until Saturday.

Meanwhile a parade of past and present procurement officials took the stand to describe their dealings with the Illinois group. The candor of their testimony varied with their army status: those already discharged talked freely, while those still in uniform—with a couple of exceptions—acted as if loss of memory were an occupational disease. Some able generalship by the committee attorneys—George Meader and Francis Flannigan—minimized these difficulties. The story was skillfully pieced together. An ambitious promoter named Henry Garsson, who was ousted from the Internal Revenue service some years ago after being tried and acquitted for extortion, got a $3,000,000 contract from the chemical warfare procurement service with the adept use of a borrowed letterhead. He and his brother Murray, immortalized in an FBI report as an ex-associate of Dutch Schultz, established contact with some Illinois manufacturers who were producing cigarette cases and other basic necessities. They created a couple of "phantom" corporations—Erie Basin and Batavia—for tax saving, multiple-salary payments, and other purposes. Then they pitched in for Uncle Sam. They got $78,000,000 worth of war business and paid over $2,000,000 in salaries to a handful of executives.

War contractors needed friends in Washington. There were intermittent troubles: manpower ceilings, production cutbacks, lost business. "Andy" May became the other man in a beautiful friendship. We are indebted to the recording devices widely used in the War Department (and erroneously denounced in some dispatches as wire-tapping) for the record of his services. Seldom, if ever, has any Kentucky Congressman labored so long and so earnestly for an Illinois enterprise sponsored by a couple of New Yorkers, the Garssons. Busy as he was with his manifold duties on the House Military Affairs Committee, he never forgot the Erie Basin boys. He protested to the chief of ordnance when their contracts were reduced; he protested to then Under-Secretary of War Patterson when the War Manpower Commission cut their labor force; he raised hell in general to secure an E-award for them over the objections of Chicago ordnance officials. He didn't wire. He telephoned. It gradually became apparent to even the dullest brass that Representative May was "interested" in the affairs of the combine. It got the jobs, despite some occasionally heroic resistance in lower echelons.

The blow-up came on Saturday. On that day the committee suddenly reverted to the subject of the Cumberland Lumber Company. A government auditor, testifying in a low, phlegmatic voice, reported he could find no books for the company. All he could find was evidence of "advance payments" from Erie Basin and Batavia for the undelivered lumber. Six of those checks, he added expressionlessly, were indorsed "A. J. May." One of the indorsements read: "A. J. May, President." They totalled more than $18,000. The company had also listed May as its official agent in a certificate filed with Kentucky authorities.

May, who had earlier called the hearings "hooey" now issued two statements in one Saturday afternoon.

At this moment he is vigorously maintaining that his

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interest in the affair was a blend of patriotism and sentiment. Most of the "advance payment" has been returned (after the Mead inquiry began, the committee contends). May vaguely recalls some telephone conversations but insists that his relationship with the Garssons grew out of their mutual interest in war production. The Cumberland venture, he asserts, was designed to "aid a constituent" with some of the loose Garsson change. The Congressman declares he never pocketed any personal profit; he was just doing company business.

The story isn't over. May, who testified last month in a secret committee session, has coyly avoided the public hearings. But it is doubtful that he can wage this battle with a mimeograph machine alone. The case against him is overwhelming even if he demonstrates that his bank balance did not ultimately benefit from the transactions. As one correspondent put it, "He was certainly robbed if he didn't get anything for all that work." His abuse of his role as House Military Affairs chairman has been spelled out in such gory detail that his views on the atom-bomb may no longer warrant page-one headlines.

Before the latest revelations May protested bitterly that all he had done was "just what every Congressman has done." This lament offers a fairly vast field to the Mead Committee. Every correspondent knows some of the dimensions of war profiteering, advertised at Washington cocktail parties throughout the war. How much money was passed under tables remains to be shown. The current probe has indicated there were many responsive fellows in the War Department; two chemical procurement officers, for example, graduated from the army to Erie Basin's payroll after approving one of its lush contracts.

"Price was no factor in contracts" one honest ex-officer testified. "We had to get the materials."

I am not concerned about profit control in the next war but the Mead Committee can augment our national wisdom by looking into the wartime operations of bigger and more self-righteous outfits than Erie Basin. After all, we spent a good deal of wartime energy denouncing coal miners who wanted two dollars more a day—wages, not expense account.

It's Growing Time in Georgia

BY LILLIAN SMITH

Clayton, Georgia

WE ARE busy in our county today, plowing. For rain has slowed down the planting. Though good for trees and laurel and ferns, it's been bad for the gardens. Some fields even yet are not turned. But today folks are busy. Across the valley you can hear them. The air is full of fine promise.

Sitting here on the mountain, high up in Rabun, I have been turning old memories. I am remembering the county where I was born—where big oak trees hang heavy with moss, and sand is gray and hot to bare feet, and always that old enemy of childhood, the sandspur, is nestling in paths to slow down your running. I was born where green scum creeps over ponds in springtime, and mocking birds sing themselves crazy on warm nights, and alligators crunch their way through swamp water, shaking waterlilies out of their slow careless paths. I was born where the earth is flat and stretches endlessly... until the eyes of a child grow glazed as he looks, unable to bend his mind around the horizon.

Today I am remembering—as you must sometimes stop and remember—the old days: swimming in cold springs in the summer, and fried channel cat...hunting with big brothers on cold winter days...hog-killing and the old smoke house...my mother, with white and colored folks helping her, stuffing sausage casing while slow hickory fires smoked the hams.

I am remembering—Georgia. Hopping-John, and backbone and rice, and roast oysters, and scuppernongs, and figs, and boiled pinders...and corn pones and cracklin' bread, and going barefooted. Who can forget? Who can forget the wide, curving, sweeping fields of middle Georgia? Who can ever forget a thousand peach trees in bloom or the sweet tang of a sugar-cane grinding, or the pressing of apple cider on warm autumn days? Who can forget the sharp bay of hounds across hills when nights are good for fox hunting, or the tracks of rabbit in a deep mountain snow? Who can forget the ten thousand things that make Georgians love Georgia? The things that make a lump come in the throat when you've been away too long—that make you always want to come back, no matter how far you travel.

Yet today folks are forgetting. There are people in Georgia who are willing to trample and spit on all the good memories that Georgia folks have, leaving us with only the bad things. There is plenty that is bad about Georgia. All of us know that. We know, even as we love it and defend it, that there is plenty about Georgia that does not make for good memories. There are too many Georgians who are poor, too many who are ignorant, too

LILLIAN SMITH, author of "Strange Fruit," is now in India as a member of the American Famine Mission. PAULA SNELLING and Miss Smith are co-editors of South Today.

many who are sick. There are too many homes without sweetness and love and laughter in them, too many children who do not know how to play. Too many grown folks not busy enough with work that they like, who turn for excitement to things like tying a can to a dog's tail or building fires on Stone Mountain, pulling pillow-cases over faces, as if with pillow-cases they can cover their consciences! Doing things worse than pulling pillow-cases over heads. And we know that also.

Folks are forgetting. For this is election year. A governor must be elected. To get elected, some folks will do anything. Some folks are willing to turn loose upon our land microbes of hate and fear that will spread and multiply and sweep our state from Rabun to Glynn with a disease that struck Germany once—and ruined it.

All that a man like Gene Talmadge wants is to get elected. Like irresponsible sick men before him, he is willing to use hate and fear as his henchmen. He is willing to fan the little flame that flickers no larger now than a candle and blow on it and spread it to the size of a forest fire. He is willing to destroy the sweet things, the nobility and good-will that are here, destroy the sane and Christian efforts that have been made by the people of Georgia to treat each other like human beings, to give every Georgian a chance to be a good citizen, to give every Georgia child a chance to grow.

No one asks for more than that in Georgia today. No one wants more. This is growing time in Georgia, and we want our crops and our children to grow. That is all.

But Gene Talmadge, to get elected, would trample children in Georgia. He will deny it, but he is doing just that when he spreads hate and fear, when he declares that some children are not human, when he tries to turn man against man, when he states that the Constitution of our United States is wrong and it is not good to believe that all men are citizens, that all children have the same right to grow.

Perhaps he does not know what he is saying. Sometimes I have thought that he does not understand the terrible words he uses.

It's Election Time in Georgia

It's election time in Georgia and the air is heavy with hate. One small sick man, blowing upon those embers of insecurity and fear which never die out in a culture so impoverished and ill as ours, has spread a conflagration that is licking now into every life.

No one knows which way the election will go. Those who will cast their first ballot on July 17—World War II veterans, eighteen-year-olds, whites formerly disfranchised by the poll tax, and Negroes hold the balance of power. They may divide along the old lines, making the outcome a gamble, or they may line up solidly against Talmadge's anachronistic rantings. Certain it is that thousands upon thousands of Georgians are working hard and long to save the superstructure of respectability and decency which Arnall has built and which Carmichael may reasonably be counted on to retain. One hopes and believes that their efforts will swing the election away from Talmadge.

One recognizes, however with a kind of chronic heart sickness, that much of the opposition to Talmadge is basically opposition to his manners and techniques, not opposition to what he stands for. Too many Georgians today (too many Americans today) still want what Talmadge wants, but, God helping us, are not as willing as he to pay the price of physical and spiritual bankruptcy to get it. But the thing that chills the marrow is the realization that many other Georgians, who know and are glad that there is no place in today's world for "master race" theories, still feel that it is more important to defeat a candidate than to defeat his principles, and that in our state both cannot be defeated simultaneously. Some of us believe their judgment is wrong, but we cannot doubt their sincerity.

As a graphic illustration of this dilemma and the way certain Georgians are meeting it, I offer you the above article which was written by Lillian Smith as a part of her effort to rid the air of some of the poison Talmadge is spreading. This piece was submitted to two influential dailies in the state which are battling Talmadge. One editor expressed polite appreciation for Miss Smith's desire to help defeat Talmadge, but, after "considering from every angle the wisdom and effectiveness of publishing it," he decided against using it. The editors of the other paper, men of proven courage and integrity and vision, wrote letters of heartbreaking apology for their difficult decision. One of them said: "By all rules of duty and conscience it should have the widest possible circulation. . . . It's Growing Time is one of the most beautiful things Miss Smith has ever written. It must not be lost. One of these days we shall come into our own and truth will not fear to stand in the full light of the sun." Rightly or wrongly, this man is convinced that "conditions being as they are in this vicious campaign being carried on by Talmadge, the article would help the master demagogue rather than aid the cause of decency and democracy in Georgia"—the inference being that this was true whether or not Lillian Smith's by-line was used.

But somehow, though I too am a Georgian, I do not believe that even Gene could find anything inflammable in It's Growing Time. To make sure of my criteria, I re-read the Sermon on the Mount. And I stand by the conviction that there's enough in each of these bits of writing to quiet the flames sweeping Georgia—and the world—today.

PAULA SNELLING

The world is fast changing. As the earth shrinks, man's heart and imagination must expand to a size to meet the world's needs. But Gene's heart cannot expand; he has no world-size imagination; his mind long ago stopped growing.

Gene Talmadge is obsolete in modern Georgia and modern Georgians know it.

In the heat of summer, we shall have an election. A man will be chosen governor. Whether a good man or bad man wins, we will still live here. Even if that man is Talmadge we can protect ourselves with our Constitution, for we are not only Georgians—we are Americans also. But there is no way that a Constitution can protect our children now from the microbes of hate and fear that he has spread on them during this campaign. There is no way a Constitution can protect these children from reaping crop after crop of pain and bitterness and violence which his hate words are sowing in their minds. Unless you and I get busy.

We who love this state, who cherish its children, have work to do now.

This is growing time in Georgia for children. Everywhere you can see them growing sanely and sturdily toward a maturity that Georgia needs, that all the world needs. And now, like hailstones beating on tender plants, come Talmadge's words, beating on the minds of children, tearing their pride and hope and decency from them, making some of them arrogant and bullying little Nazis, leaving others bewildered and shamed. We must give back to Georgia's children the pride and self-esteem and hope and good-will that Talmadge is stripping away. We must reach down and lift up and make straight again the minds and spirits he is crippling with his words.

There are ways to do it. Each of us must find our own way. But no way is better than by enunciating quietly and clearly the teachings of Jesus, who said again and again, with beauty and simplicity and tenderness, that "even the least of these" is His.

Will the Arabs Revolt?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article,* although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Incnass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the

* *"Palestine and Bevin," June 22, 1946*

FREDA KIRCHWEY has just returned from a two-months trip to Europe and the Middle East. Her analysis of Arab strength, organization and intentions is particularly timely in view of current developments in Palestine and throughout the Moslem world.

Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Feisal and participated in various subsequent negotiations with the British. He knows the documents by heart and lays the pertinent passages before you. The mandate Auni Bey does not recognize; it was illegal, since the Arabs were promised independence. But even granting the validity of the mandate, its execution by the British has been in violation of the League Covenant. Whereas Iraq and later Transjordan had their own governments under Britain, and Syria and Lebanon theirs under France, Palestine has been ruled directly by the British like a crown colony. "This, of course, is because the Jews were colonized in our country for Britain's imperialist purposes and they had to be protected by British arms."

But Britain is the old adversary, accepted and almost tolerated—like Satan in the Christian theology. The whole explosive fury of Auni Bey's invective was aimed at the United States. He shook his finger under my nose and asked what business the United States had coming into Palestine and running its affairs, installing a plan that would "kill the Arabs?" "Kill?" I asked. "Will 100,000 additional Jews kill the Arabs?" He did not stop to explain but from the general direction of his talk I gathered that more Jewish immigration would, in his opinion, squeeze the Arabs off their land, create a non-Arab life in Palestine, and end age-long established customs and relationships. "You can do this," he said. "With money, with the atom bomb, America can kill every Arab who protests because the promises have all been broken and the foreigners have been forced into this country. Is that what you wish?" I could not have offered a defense of the Committee's report or of America's role if I had tried, for Auni Bey's questions were strictly rhetorical. I only asked, because this was what I had hoped to hear from him, whether he and the other Arab leaders had agreed on a specific plan of action in case the Committee's report was accepted in London. I got no real reply but only deflected a little the direction of the flow. "What can we do? You can kill us. We can die. What else? We are not prepared to wage war against Britain and the United States and the Jews. But in time, we will be vindicated. If it takes a thousand years, justice will finally be done." And then, a little abruptly he mentioned Russia. "We don't wish to call upon Stalin for help. But if necessary we can do so." "What about the United Nations?" I asked. "Will the Arab League lay the Palestine issue before the Council or the Assembly?" To this question Auni Bey gave no answer. What was evident from his conversation was the uncertainty that lay behind his genuine indignation.

From one of the other leaders, a very different man, I got the same impression. Dr. Hussein Khalidi, formerly Mayor of Jerusalem, is a successful lawyer and a member of the Arab Higher Executive. He is as quiet and smooth as Auni Bey is violent. He talks with you, meets objections, appears to weigh arguments. He, too, leans heavily on documents, and uses them well. He showed me the verbatim testimony, never published, taken at the London Conference in 1939 which resulted in the White Paper. He was there as one of the Palestine Arab delegates. At this meeting Malcolm MacDonald promised, without the slightest equivocation, in answer to detailed questions by himself and another delegate, that the Arabs would have permanent and final control over Jewish immigration after five years; during that period 75,000 Jews would be admitted under the British plan. If the quota were not filled during the alloted time, the remainder would not be admitted after the period ended. It was there, black on white, question and promise. On the record the Arabs have an unanswerable case. (And so, of course, have the Jews; and the issue therefore cannot be decided on the record at all, but must be dealt with, as the Joint Committee honestly attempted to do, on its political and human merits.)

Khalidi, like Auni Bey, having proved his point and expressed his profound distaste for American interference, became vague as to Arab policy. He predicted trouble—but how much and what sort, he didn't say. Would the other Arab states help the Palestinian Arabs?, I asked. He wouldn't commit himself on that either. Both leaders were restrained by their knowledge that the meeting at Inchass of the Arab kings and chiefs of state, then in progress, was debating this very problem, and by the more intimate fact that the Palestinian Arab parties had just split into two "higher" committees over the question of appealing to the United Nations.

The decisions reached at Inchass were never fully disclosed, but when the Arab League met in extraordinary session at Bludan on June 8 to consider the Palestine issue, the press announced that it was acting, not as an independent policy-making body, but under directives from the Arab rulers. In fact, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Abdul Rahman Azzam, himself declared that the League had become the "executive agent" of the Arab chiefs of state. After a series of defiant and deafening speeches, the League went into closed session and at last emerged with a program which must have disappointed the pan-Arab fire-eaters. Talk of a Holy War had disappeared altogether; so had the expected demand for Palestine independence. No mention was made of an appeal to the United Nations for action against the Committee's report. The resolutions adopted merely called for the creation of a committee representing all the Arab states to "supervise all questions concerning Palestine"; the setting up in Palestine of a new Arab Higher Executive to supercede or unite the two competing "higher" committees; the demobilization and disarming of all Jewish troops (no mention of Arab military organizations); and various proposals to end land sales to Jews and strengthen the boycott of Jewish goods.

Arab nationalism is a real force. No one who has been in Egypt and the Levant can deny it. It does not go as deep as its leaders want you to think but it has enough popular backing so that foreigners, and non-Moslems, foreign or native, face growing hostility in Moslem countries. The poor masses in the villages are probably almost unaware of the issue; in the cities there is plenty of explosive material for the politicians to use. Nationalist feeling backed up and inflamed by religious fanaticism is unquestionably growing.

Will it explode in Palestine? This is the question raised in acute form by British action there. To me the answer seems so obvious that I find it hard to take seriously the feverish warnings of British officials and Arab propagandists. The caution displayed by the Arab leaders when they sit down to consider policy is far more convincing. Unless all political signs fail, no general rising of Arabs would result from the application of the Committee's proposals. Doubtless there would be sporadic attacks and local disorders, though even these would, I am convinced, be reduced by the general respect in which the Jewish defense organization is held. But no Holy War, no invasion from neighboring countries, not even civil war in Palestine.

Britain may be executing a slow retreat in the Middle East: its economic hold may be threatened by American competition, its ultimate political control by Russian penetration. But the Empire has enormous staying power and up to the present time it has been able to manipulate the ambitions of Arab leaders, and especially the divisions among them, to buttress its strategic positions.

No Arab state or combination of states can start a war in Palestine without British connivance. The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt. Farouk is playing a cagey game and doing everything politically possible to minimize—while using—the growing Xenophobia of oppostion parties and fanatic organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood. No Holy War will start in Egypt in the early future.

Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult. In Iraq, British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlords. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Apart from direct British influence, however, there are all sorts of minor pressures at work to prevent united Arab action in Palestine. The Arab states may adopt a common attitude on Jewish immigration, but they can never stage a general revolt as long as they continue to be split by cross-currents of interest and feeling. King Farouk's ambition to dominate an inclusive Arab union —even to revive the Caliphate—is in direct conflict with King Abdullah's ambition to rule over a Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, a plan supposedly encouraged by the British. Both projects are opposed by Ibn Saud, absolute monarch of Arabia, who looks upon himself as the legitimate leader of the Moslem world and nourishes an ancient feud with the Hashimite family, to which Abdullah belongs. Even within the Greater Syria orbit, the interests of Abdullah clash with those of many Syrian politicians who benefit from their country's role as an "independent" republic with a seat in the United Nations.

If an Arab revolt on a big scale is out of the question, as I believe these facts indicate, how can one explain the fears of British officials in Palestine and the ugly events of the past week? The answer is to be found in the history of Arab blackmail and British appeasement. During the years before the outbreak of war, Nazi agents in every Arab country spread the charge that the British intended to subject the Moslems to Jewish domination. Arab attacks on Jewish settlements in the late '30's were largely the product of this untiring propaganda, and by the end of 1938 the Colonial Office had pretty well convinced the government that the loyalty of Jewish Palestine would be more than offset, in case of war, by the hostility of the Arab chieftains. Quite abruptly, and without regard

for past commitments, the British instituted a sweeping program of appeasement. For the first time Arab notables were invited to join in discussions of the Palestine problem. Then the whole policy based on the Balfour declaration and embodied in the Mandate was reversed by the provisions of the White Paper. Through these moves the British hoped to counter Axis propaganda and insure the loyalty of the Arabs.

The results of this maneuver are well remembered. With very few exceptions Arab leaders in Palestine and outside were either openly pro-Axis or unreliable and shifting in their allegiance. The behavior of the Mufti—today again at large and ready to resume his dominant role in the Middle East—was only a dramatic expression of the general Arab attitude.

But the failure of appeasement during the war did not discourage the engineers of Britain's colonial policy. Victory wiped out the power of the Axis; it did not guarantee the security of the Empire. In the offing they see the looming threat of Soviet power pressing toward the warm-water ports and oil resources of the Middle East. A bloc of Arab states linked to Britain by concessions, favors, and a well-grounded fear of communism still seems to the conventional colonial mind the best available bulwark against Russia's penetration.

Such hopes would be frustrated by the growth of Jewish strength in Palestine. For the energy and progressive social program of the Jews menace, far more imminently than does Russia, the hierarchic feudalism of the Moslem world from which the Arab ruling class derives its wealth and power. To encourage the Jews would be to plant dynamite under that decadent system. It would make further appeasement impossible. If the Arab leaders cannot stage a revolt, they can make plenty of trouble of other sorts. They might even, as a maneuver in power politics, carry out their threat and call upon Russia for help. The frightened colonial official sees these possibilities crowding in on him, and his single impulse is to step on the Jews. Heaven knows he does not want social change any more than the Arabs; he wants the old system and men on top with whom he can make satisfactory deals. If military force can do it, and if Mr. Bevin continues to back him up, he will wipe out the Jewish defense forces while there is still time and stop the smuggling of D. P.'s from Europe. And with his last breath he will oppose the recommendations of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

[*Miss Kirchwey's next article on the Middle East will analyze the Jewish position in the struggle over Palestine.*]

Science and Man's Fate

BY DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

THE dominant fact of our time is the towering place of the machine, of applied science, in the lives of mankind. And the great issue of our time, with which the peoples of the whole world will be at grips day in and day out for the rest of our lives, is simply this: Are machines and science to be used to degrade man and destroy him, or to augment the dignity and nobility of humankind? How can men use and direct science and the machine so as to further the well-being of all men?

From this issue no one who lives today can escape. It reaches into the lives of every one of us, old and young, rich and poor; it must be faced by the clergyman, the professor and the physician no less than by the businessman and public official. Standing always at the elbow of each delegate at Security Council meetings, always present and voting at the conference tables of this troubled world is this same issue: for whose benefit the machine? Cross the seas and the shadow of the question has preceded you—to the valley of China's Yangtze River, to the oil fields of Iran, the tractor-powered wheat farms of the Ukraine. Geography and language differ, but the question is everywhere in essence the same.

Is science good, is the machine good—or is it evil? To some people modern technology is plainly evil. To them the more gadgets, the more unpalatable is life. The more things we produce, the faster we can travel, the more complex machines we invent, the nearer—they assert—we move to the edge of a bottomless pit. They are homesick for the simpler life of the days before man produced so much and knew so much. They cry out against science and the machine and call them evil; but their voices are those of despair and defeat.

There are others of our contemporaries who have an

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almost opposite view of the machine. Exuberant and uncritical, they worship the machine. Efficiency is their god and the managerial elite are their high priests. They broadcast radio programs full of the romance of gadgets and fill the slick-paper magazines with odes to a chromium bathtub. Technology, they seem to say, is above good and evil. If the spirit of man balks, if being human increases the cost of production—well, then man must be redesigned to fit the assembly line, not the assembly line revised for man. The super-technologists of the world are quite prepared to recreate man in the image of the machine.

I venture to say that neither of these views—of the defeatist nor the technolater—will appeal to most of us. The machine is neither good nor evil in itself. It is good only when man uses it for good. It is evil only if he puts it to evil uses.

The machine can, of course, be so used as to degrade and enslave man. It can be used to exhaust the land and the dignity of those who live on the land. It can poison the air, foul the streams, devastate the forests, and thereby doom men and women and children to the degradation of great poverty. On the other hand, it can nourish the spirit of men, eliminate filth and congestion and disease, strengthen the soil and conserve the forests, humanize man's environment. The machine can be so used as to make men free as they have never been free before.

We have a choice—that is the shining fact of our time. If we are but wise enough and determined, if we have the knowledge and the facts on which to base our choices, we can control the machine and make it serve for good. We need not be carried irresistibly into the abyss by forces beyond our control.

That modern man can completely change and improve his environment is a matter of common observation. Perhaps as well known an illustration as any is the Tennessee Valley since Congress set up TVA as a public development corporation. In a single decade a region larger than England has been substantially altered. The great Tennessee River now is changed: twenty-six huge dams make it do what it's told to do. The land is changed. There are factories, barges on the new river channel, and yards building seagoing ships. Slopes once dead and hideous with gullies are now fruitful and green to the sun. And new life is stirring in the roots of local community institutions, a new initiative to promote the people's common interest. Locally financed rural libraries are springing up, public health services, town planning boards, county fire protection units, state conservation boards concerned with stream pollution and public parks, and so on. All of this is just an example of what can be done.

We have a choice—whether the machine or man comes first. But that choice will not be exercised on a single occasion, surrounded by spectacle and drama. We must move from decision to decision, from issue to issue, and we will be in the midst of the struggle for the rest of our days.

In such a setting there is one generalization that I believe is basic. It is this: we cannot master the machine in the interest of the human spirit *unless we have a faith in people.* The rock upon which all these efforts rest must be a deep and abiding faith in human beings, a faith in the supreme worth of life. Technology must have a moral, an ethical purpose; that purpose and the methods pursued in carrying it out determine whether technology furthers human well-being or threatens it.

Great schemes of development are now being unfolded for China and India and Siberia and Latin America and the Near East—regions technology and science have hardly touched. And we are asked: But does it really matter what *means* are adopted to bring science to the countless millions in these undeveloped lands? Does it really matter that the purpose of such development may not be human welfare? Does it matter really whether the people concerned have information with which to make their own choices, whether they have a genuine voice in this new destiny that science and the machine can bring? In brief, does it matter whether the *purpose* and the *means* are moral and ethical? Matter? Indeed it matters! Nothing matters more profoundly.

The very act of faith in the essential goodness of men furthers that goodness, just as disbelief in men will of itself make men less worthy of faith. This is not mere rhetoric; these are the ultimate realities. It is by putting to practical use these realities that science and technology, by our deliberate choice, can bring a new era of fraternity among the peoples of the earth.

All of the foregoing has its immediate and critical application in the field of atomic energy. Our task, in practical terms, is to turn the awful strength of atomic power away from destruction and toward a new era of peace and well-being.

On March 28 the State Department made public a report on the international control of atomic energy, written by a five-man Board of Consultants on which I had the privilege of serving as chairman. The proposals that report advanced for a world Atomic Development Authority were approved by the President of the United States and the Secretary of State. On June 14 they were presented to the world as the basis of American policy by Bernard Baruch, American delegate to the United Nations Commission on Atomic Energy.

The task of seeking agreement that faces Mr. Baruch and the other members of the International Commission is a supremely difficult one. They can succeed only if there is an understanding of the essentials of the problem by the peoples of the world, reached through the widest public discussion of the alternatives with which

they are wrestling. This is an issue that directly affects every man, woman, and child in the world. We all share in the responsibility for a wise, a humane, and a morally sound conclusion.

The American proposals, if put into effect through the United Nations, could provide security against the evil uses of atomic energy. At the same time, our proposals also point a way to the almost limitless beneficial applications of atomic energy in the alleviation of human suffering, the uncovering of new knowledge about this beautiful and complex world, the harnessing of new sources of energy for the relief of drudgery and poverty. The plan seeks to eliminate the surprise use of atomic weapons; it seeks to create deterrents to aggression, and to develop patterns of cooperation between men in which lie the only lasting hope for the elimination of war itself. It has been widely recognized that our proposal seeks to reach these ends not merely through suppression or punishment by an international armed force, but by calling forth and utilizing the constructive impulses of men.

There is nothing more dewy-eyed, naive and ignorant of the realities of human nature than to urge (seriously and sincerely) that the world rest its hopes for eliminating the atomic bomb entirely upon making possession and use of the bomb illegal—"outlawing" it is the common phrase—and providing machinery for drastic punishment of violations.

This comment is general; it is not directed specifically to the initial proposals of the Russians put forward by Mr. Gromyko. It refers to the principle, wherever it may appear and by whomsoever urged.

That this preoccupation and reliance upon the negative aspects of war is naive and unworkable is illustrated, to my mind, by a wireless press account which appeared in the New York *Times*. A distinguished British lawyer was quoted as saying that under international law, war has *already* been "outlawed"—ever since the Kellogg Pact of 1928. The League of Nations, he went on to say, was "an admirable mechanism," and war came again "not because of any deficiency in the law. The war took place because of the inactivity of international police." But *why* were international police inactive just when they were needed and the peace of the world was being threatened? Is not that the real question? Could it be because when the crisis comes we discover that suppressive and police-like activities, taken alone and relied upon exclusively, are no foundation for peace—that something more affirmative is required? It seems clear to me that we must, if we would survive, seize upon, emphasize, and make use of the creative opportunities. It seems clear that it is these very constructive possibilities in respect to atomic energy that make this such a great and unique opportunity for the building and maintenance of peace.

My associates and I were explicit about this in our report. We do not share the feeling that to build the edifice of peace upon such a foundation is unrealistic. In describing the criteria we laid down to guide us in devising a plan for international control of atomic energy we said: "To be genuinely effective for security, the plan must be one that is not wholly negative, suppressive, and police-like. We are not dealing simply with a military or scientific problem but with a problem in statecraft and the ways of the human spirit. Therefore the plan must be one that will tend to develop the beneficial possibilities of atomic energy and encourage the growth of fundamental knowledge, stirring the constructive and imaginative impulses of men rather than merely concentrating on the defensive and negative. It should, in short, be a plan that looks to the premise of man's future well-being as well as to his security."

We cannot think of atomic power as apart from those who direct its course and use, and define the purposes for which it is put. That is a towering responsibility which may safely be entrusted only to those who have a deep faith in the human spirit, to whom the interests of human beings come first. That responsibility is *not* safe with men, in public life or private undertakings, to whom people are only a market—a market for new gadgets, a labor market with which to make the gadgets, a political market to be cajoled and organized and voted. To them the people of a democracy have little capacity to choose wisely; the people are to be circumvented, not consulted; tolerated, not trusted.

We do have a choice. On the one hand it is clear that science in evil hands can make us slaves—well-fed perhaps, but more pathetic for that fact. On the other hand it is plain that men can use science to further human freedom and the devolpment of human personality. But *how* it shall be used will be determined by choices made by the people, choices that are genuine only when based on a knowledge of alternatives. And the means whereby the people exercise a real choice depends upon a sacred and inviolable process, the dissemination of knowledge.

For faith in people must have as its corollaries faith in facts, faith in knowledge, faith in the free flow of ideas—in short, faith in education and the processes of education.

The people must know what they can make science do for them. They must have access to more than the slick literature of synthetic "build-ups." The cynics, the book-burners, the disbelievers in the divine and spiritual nature of men, the wise guys and smart hombres, the advocates at home and abroad of compulsion and force—they will never willingly permit the people to know what science can do for them.

Those who have a faith in people must take upon themselves this responsibility to keep the well-springs of knowledge clear, to keep them open to all who come with a thirst to know.

The End of a Mission

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, July 3

THE British Cabinet Mission has returned to London after three months of negotiations with Indian leaders expressing satisfaction that at least partial success has been achieved. The mission had a two-fold purpose in coming out to India: first, to evolve a long-term plan for framing India's permanent constitution acceptable to both major parties in the country, namely, the Congress and the Moslem League; second, to establish, for the interim period while the Constituent Assembly is busy shaping the final structure, a provisional government under the British Viceroy.

About the middle of May the Cabinet Mission published its long-term proposals which in fact were an award, the acceptance of which was obligatory in view of the fact that leaders of the Congress and the Moslem League had been unable to reach a compromise by themselves. The former were passionately opposed to the complete division of India, the latter equally determined to achieve Pakistan. Ruling out the fission of India as dangerous from the standpoint of defense, as well as otherwise impracticable, the Labor ministers proposed a single central authority charged with three subjects—defense, external affairs, and communications—and autonomy for the provinces, grouped together into three sections each free to devise a common administration of such matters as the provinces might surrender.

Congress leaders were the first to formulate a tentative opinion. They welcomed the British rejection of Jinnah's fantastic scheme for splitting India into two sovereign states but criticized the compulsory grouping of the provinces into three sections. They wanted assurance that the Constituent Assembly would have sovereign status and described their objectives thus: "Independence for India with a strong, though limited, central authority; full autonomy for the provinces; establishment of a democratic structure in the center and units to guarantee the fundamental rights of each individual."

Congress leaders saw many omissions and defects in the British plan but decided to keep an open mind and wait to see the entire picture before reaching final conclusions. Of particular importance for such a judgment was the establishment of a provisional national government (which had not been disclosed at that stage). Would it, they asked, function in practice as a Cabinet responsible to the legislature with the British Viceroy deprived of his veto power and reduced to the same constitutional position as the Governor-General of Canada or Australia? Would the status, powers, and composition of the provisional government be such as to lead to "a free, great, independent India?"

A fortnight later came the decision of the Moslem League. Most surprisingly Jinnah recommended acceptance of the British long-term plans despite the strong condemnation therein of his scheme for Pakistan. Only a handful of the nearly 300,000 Moslem Leaguers voted against the recommendation.

On June 16, the British ministers and the Viceroy, after prolonged negotiations with the leaders of both parties, produced their proposals for an interim government. Congress leaders were extremely dissatisfied with them but seemed prepared to compromise when Jinnah published an unauthorized summary of his correspondence with the Viceroy demanding certain assurances which would have rendered democratic administration almost impossible. Congress, during its sixty years of existence, has always prided itself on its national character, membership being open to all Indians who support independence. Among its presidents there have been Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, even Englishmen. Throughout the six years of the war its president was a distinguished Moslem scholar, Abulkalam Azad. With such a record and outlook Congress leaders could not possibly accept the condition that members of the provisional government selected in behalf of the Congress party could not be Moslems. The Viceroy had not only appointed all five Moslems from Jinnah's party but virtually pledged himself to recognize only the Moslem League as competent to represent the Moslems. Further, he had conceded Jinnah's preposterous demand that on major communal issues even three Moslems out of those five could veto decisions of the Executive Council consisting of fourteen.

The final picture (meaning both the long-term and interim government proposals) Congress leaders regarded as disappointing. They expected a plan which would hold out the promise of "immediate independence and the opening out of avenues leading to a rapid advance of the masses economically and socially so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine, and the lack of necessities of life may be ended and all people in the country may have the freedom and opportunity to grow according to their

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genius." Such a promise Congress leaders found almost completely absent from the British proposals. Nevertheless, they agreed to join the Constituent Assembly while rejecting the scheme for the interim government as loaded with too many limitations and handicaps. They stipulated at the same time that their interpretation of certain parts of the British long-term plans must prevail against that of the Cabinet Mission and, further, that the Constituent Assembly could not function "without a satisfactory provisional government."

The election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly —nearly three hundred—takes place this month and the first session of the Constituent Assembly is due for the middle of August. Negotiations for the establishment of an interim government are not at an end, the Cabinet Mission declared before leaving India, but will be shortly resumed by the Viceroy.

There are, however, two formidable difficulties in the way. Without the knowledge of Congress leaders Lord Wavell somewhat rashly gave Jinnah certain undertakings which cannot be fulfilled. Jinnah has now revealed that the Viceroy authorized him several weeks ago to tell the Moslem League's executive that the reward for acceptance of the British long-term proposals would be the constitution of an interim government with the Moslem League and Congress accorded five places each out of the total of twelve. Jinnah's statement means that he attached far greater importance to the immediate concessions than to the acceptance of Pakistan as an ultimate objective; in other words, that the demand for Pakistan was only for bargaining purposes and was never seriously meant as anything more than a slogan to enlist the emotional support of the Moslem masses. What has alarmed Congress leaders is that the Viceroy, who had ample warnings that they would never accept equal representation with the Moslems, should have encouraged Jinnah in such a belief.

The second difficulty is more baffling. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy declared on June 16 that they would proceed with the formation of an interim government even if the Congress Party or the Moslem League, or both, declined the offer, the only condition being acceptance of the long-term proposals. The Moslem League has accepted the entire British plan while Congress leaders endorse the long-term proposals, subject to certain conditions, and reject the interim government scheme. Jinnah now demands that the British promise should be carried out regardless of the consequences. Yet the formation of an interim government with the assistance of the Moslem League, if the Congress Party was excluded, would imperil the long-term plans and invite the hostility of nine of the eleven provincial governments which are under Congress ministries. With threats of famine and large-scale labor strikes looming ahead, defiance of the authority of the central government by the great majority of the provincial governments would result in a disastrous situation. Why then did the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy make that declaration without carefully weighing the consequences?

Now that they have fallen back on the expedient of a "caretaker" government, Jinnah accuses them of a breach of their pledged word, and it is difficult, up to a point, not to agree with his analysis. But it is only fair to add that he maneuvered the Congress Party into rejecting the interim government proposals by publishing at the psychological moment a summary of his correspondence with the Viceroy, confident that the Viceroy would then invite him to form a government without Congress. He was not prepared to have his maneuver boomerang. The suspicion of British motives, formerly nourished only by the Congress Party, has now spread to the Moslem League also and further negotiations have therefore become immensely more difficult.

In the Wind

HOW FAR CAN YOU STRETCH A DOLLAR? Heading on a classified ad in the Portland *Oregon Daily Journal*, of June 21: "$6,000 Family Home! Only $8,350."

HATS OFF TO HAYWARD: A Council for Democratic Action has been formed in Hayward, California, to stimulate intercultural and interracial relations and to combat anti-democratic forces in the surrounding area. The board of directors includes persons with Mexican, Portuguese, Negro, Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Jewish, and Caucasian heritages. Community, school and civic groups are also represented in the Council. An active fall program is planned, including a town forum on the problems of democracy.

WHY NOT A TEST FOR EDITORS? Clayton T. Rand, newspaper editor from Gulfport, Miss., declared at an Independent Bankers Association meeting in St. Paul: "The trouble with this country is over-education of the unintelligent. I am convinced that nobody should be taught to read or write that can't think."

ONE BOOK, ONE WORLD: *Dart*, an advertising trade publication, tells a story about President Roosevelt and Morris Ernst discussing the popularity in Russia of the O. W. I. magazine, *America*. Ernst urged the importance of getting more books and radio broadcasts inside Russia to promote American-Soviet understanding. The President agreed, but added, "When the right time comes, there is just one book which will win over the Russian people." "What is that?" asked Ernst. "The Sears Roebuck catalogue," replied Mr. Roosevelt.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay* $1 *for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

IV. Bricks, North Carolina

"I'VE just been chasing some cows that got over the fence," said Neill McLean, dusting off his impeccable gray herringbone. He looked more like a city business man than a rural schoolteacher. "We've got some champion pole-vaulting stock here," he smiled. His wife, who had greeted us while he was chasing cows, excused herself to look after a child, and he walked along with us toward a row of gnarled crêpe myrtle trees.

"I understand you have a new kind of education here," I said. "And that you started the first rural credit union for Negroes in the state. I'd like to hear more about it."

"The credit union was started in 1936, but it was the people around here that really made it work," he said. "Anyway, it's only a small part of what we do." It was, perhaps, a small part of the Bricks Rural Life School Project, but it was the inspiration for twenty-seven other rural credit unions in the state. Twenty-five of them were started in the past four years, and some are larger now than the original.

He told me about the early days. The Negroes in the little community at Bricks and on the surrounding farms couldn't see how they could possibly save any money. They didn't have any. Every year they took their peanuts and their tobacco and cotton to the storekeeper, who gave them credit on which to buy flour and supplies. They couldn't argue about his bookkeeping, partly because they didn't understand it and partly because it wouldn't have been wise. They were always in debt.

When the credit union was organized, the storekeepers objected, and when Negroes began to come in with credit-union money and pay up, they accused McLean of taking their people away from them. When, a little later, McLean opened a cooperative store at Bricks, his enemies threatened to wreck the whole program. It was a long time before this opposition was overcome.

The credit union played no bookkeeping tricks on the farmers who built it up with nickels and dimes. They borrowed from it at 6 per cent instead of at the 30 to 50 per cent, and even higher, they had been paying. Every year some families borrowed from it to finance the purchase of land of their own. Eight families borrowed down payments last year.

McLean was right when he told me it was only a small part of his work at Bricks. For the people in the neighborhood, and especially for a selected group of families signed up for five years each on the school's 1,100-acre farm, he is providing a new and better education for rural life. The children learn about vitamins and health as they learn to read, write, and figure. Very early they learn how to have a vegetable garden; in North Carolina they can grow greens of some kind all the year round. They learn about the need for rotation and soil-building feed crops, as well as about the best methods for getting good money crops like peanuts, tobacco, and cotton.

Bricks has a much-used, battered, but spotless canning plant, and more than 17,000 quarts of fruits, vegetables, and meat went into tin cans and glass jars last year. Families come in groups and make quick work of putting up their peas, tomatoes, pork, and beef. McLean urges his people to keep cows and hogs, which furnish natural fertilizer. With this, and proper compost heaps, the need for commercial fertilizer can be sharply reduced. This is the big yearly cash purchase and the item which most often drives small farm families into debt.

A rural health program is carried on at Bricks; there is a clinic with a nurse on the job and a doctor who comes in at stated times. Emphasis is on preventive medicine—775 typhoid shots were given in 1945. Pre-natal and child care are other specialties.

Bricks is not a large project. It works only with the people within about fifteen miles of the settlement. But it is one of a rapidly growing chain of educational centers for Negroes in the South. It is a demonstration project, and people from all around come to look and learn. The families who go out from it to their own places often become demonstrators themselves. Like the centers at McIntosh, Georgia, and Athens and Marion, Alabama, it was originally sponsored and is now partly supported by the American Missionary Association.

I asked McLean about the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and other organizations which are trying to gain a better political position for his people. He said they were important and that he was for them. He had long been urging his people to vote at Bricks, and most of them did. "Such organizations are good," he said, "but I think people have to work for things themselves to get anything lasting out of them. If we can get poor people to work together, as families and as communities, I think we've accomplished something. Others then see that it *is* possible for them to get what they all want—a place of their own."

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Business on Trial

DEMISE of OPA No Great Blow to U. S. Economy," proclaimed the headline over one of those editorializing news-stories in which the arch-Republican New York *Sun* specializes. The story, a dispatch from Washington dated July 3, alleged that Administration officials were terribly embarrassed because prices had not immediately soared into the stratosphere, thus scaring Congress into reinstating stringent controls. "Forty-eight hours after the demise of price control," it asserted, "it is now clear beyond question that the emergency created by President Truman's veto of the OPA extension bill has been met with patriotic confidence and restraint."

I have no authority to speak for the Administration but, as a strong supporter of continued price control, I shall be extremely happy if the consequences of its removal prove less serious than I expect. But I would like to suggest that the *Sun's* radiant optimism is a trifle premature. The fact that wholesale commodity prices receded in some cases from the highs reached the first day after the expiration of OPA proves absolutely nothing. Speculative markets always move jerkily and a mild reaction as quick-turn operators take profits is only natural. But I note that on Wednesday, the day the *Sun's* article appeared, hog and beef prices at Omaha were again trending upwards despite a very heavy run of animals. Cotton, too, after losing part of its big Monday gains, turned strong at the close on Wednesday.

One factor tending to check exuberance in commodity markets is the tendency of the big processors to restrict their buying pending a clarification of the situation. They fear that, if a new OPA bill is passed, they will be forced back to their June 30 ceilings and not permitted to include in prices higher material costs they have incurred meanwhile. On Tuesday, according to the Journal of Commerce, wholesale business in finished cotton goods was practically at a standstill. A few scattered sales for immediate delivery were made at 15 to 20 per cent above former ceilings but, for the most part, dealers in the market were "watching all others for a possible price jump," with each firm hesitant to make the first move lest it be marked as "a gouger."

Protestations by business organizations to the effect that they will combat inflation at all costs do not offer much reassurance about the future course of prices. No doubt many of them express a sincere intention but in any case business would be very foolish to take any other line pending final Congressional decision on the fate of OPA. An immediate rush to hoist prices would invite irresistible public pressure for the renewal of price controls with additional teeth in them. The obvious strategy for the N. A. M. and other enemies of OPA is to lie low for the moment and do everything possible to allay public alarm. Then Congress, anxious to adjourn, may be induced to pass a bill similar to the vetoed one, or even to leave the situation as it now is.

Another thing that business has to take into account is the fact that Mr. Truman's dramatic action has made consumers extremely inflation-conscious. Any sudden rise in the general price-level would create a lot of sales-resistance and might lead to a buyers' strike. There are, therefore, good reasons for immediate caution but, if Congress fails to take effective action and public excitement dies down, I am prepared to bet that we shall see prices for every article in short supply quietly moving forward while business continues to distract public attention with loud anti-inflationary fanfares.

Let us not forget that the bill Congress passed and the President vetoed would have produced very similar results, for the amendment planted by Senator Taft was a delayed action inflation bomb which would have exploded ceilings in all directions. It is true that some of the striking examples of price increases mandatory under the bill, which Mr. Truman quoted in his radio speech of June 29, have been challenged. Arthur Krock, in one of his insinuating columns in the New York *Times*, suggests that had the President consulted men with technical experience of production, he might have revised his views about the Taft amedment.

On this point, therefore, it is well to note what representative organs of business opinion had to say about the effects of the bill before it was vetoed. *The Journal of Commerce* for June 27 declared:

> For a time, there will be little or no resistance to higher prices for most products. Literal application of the Taft amendment formula would permit increases in prices all along the line, for products that can be produced at reasonable profits at existing prices as well as for others that can now be manufactured only at a loss.

Business Week of June 29 was even more emphatic:

> The Taft-Wherry line on non-agricultural products is not a line, it's a staircase. And under the new law wage controls go phut. . . . With prices constantly stepping upward there will be the strongest temptation to hold back deliveries of goods at every stage in the production cycle.

Finally, describing the OPA's position under the bill, the *Wall Street Journal* of June 29 pointed out:

> With its legal authority to fix prices hedged about, and its expense and subsidy appropriations reduced, the agency's ability to enforce its orders would be worse than doubtful.

If the President had yielded to clamor and signed the Price Control Extension bill, the OPA would have become a lightning rod for public anger. It could have done little to prevent rising prices and lagging production but it would have relieved business of the blame for both. Consequently, if this bill really represents the best Congress can do, there is much to be said for letting all controls go, except for those on rents which Congress dare not leave to the laws of supply and demand. The abolition of ceilings will, at least, enable consumers to pin responsibility for inflation where it belongs and it may arouse them to exert a restraining influence on prices by boycotting merchants and manufacturers who take advantage of the situation. As the *Journal of Commerce* puts it: "The end of price control places American business on trial before public opinion."

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Life, Thought, Liberty

CONCORD AND LIBERTY. By José Ortega y Gasset. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

IF ORTEGA'S is not a first-rate mind—and I use the word in its most restrictive sense—it is at least a mind of first-rate sensitivity and of first-rate philosophic culture. It is just to observe this at the start, since whatever strictures one makes on this book should not obscure its remarkably stimulating value in laying hold of major and subtle themes. The very range of the subjects covered by these four essays is an indication of their virtues of philosophic culture and sensitivity: the title essay, "Concord and Liberty," a discussion of the political significance of the Roman Republic; "Notes on Thinking," a commentary on the historical dimension of human thought; "Prologue to a History of Philosophy," in which Ortega carries this historical point of view farther, maintaining that philosophy is inseparable from the history of philosophy; and, finally, a very useful essay on Wilhelm Dilthey, "A Chapter from the History of Ideas," which perhaps affords the best key to Ortega's thought as a whole.

In the nineteenth century, working under and yet away from the influence of Hegel, Kant, and German idealism generally, Dilthey seized upon one great Idea—and Ortega insists that this idea is worth capitals—the Idea of Life. Life, in Dilthey's sense, is not the definite concept of biological science nor the biologico-metaphysical concept of Bergson, but simply the notion of historical development applied to human reason and its achievements. Man has no nature but only a history, Dilthey said, and he set out to understand philosophy from this point of view. Yet, according to Ortega, he never managed to work out this idea satisfactorily, but remained a "halting and stammering genius," his written output disappointing—which explains why his influence has been so much less than he merits. The unfortunate thing is that Dilthey never became familiar with Marx and Kierkegaard, who were also revolted progeny of Hegel and traveling in much the same direction as he, though over different roads. In fact, taking the three together, we are able to offer one definition of Hegel's greatness: he was so great that in the nineteenth century one had to be a really creative mind simply to escape him.

Ortega also uses Dilthey to criticize Husserl in a remarkable postscript to his essay, Notes on Thinking. Husserl in his very conception of phenomenology as a completely rigorous, self-grounded, and self-justifying discipline—and the only one—would attempt to escape from the historical relativism which Dilthey asserts to be inescapable. The confrontation of Husserl with Dilthey provides the possibility of a first-rate philosophic dialogue, and I wish Ortega had exploited this possibility exhaustively instead of merely raising the issue in a footnote. Nevertheless, we are grateful for his perception of this rich theme. There is no doubt that in this rather anti-historical aspect of this thought Husserl is outside the tradition of modern thought: his aspirations really belong with the eighteenth century, or even with more classical periods. Ortega makes against Husserl the capital point that philosophy begins from a pre-theoretical stage of thought to which it must incessantly return; I do not know whether this argument would be fatal to Husserl's claims, but if Ortega is right in using Dilthey against Husserl, then certain later German attempts—Heidegger, for example—to work out the insights of Kierkegaard on a purely phenomenological basis are doomed to carry a major internal contradiction. This too is a question worth exploring further.

But the fundamentally questionable issue raised by this book is whether Ortega's insight has really attained any greater completeness than Dilthey's. Ortega still sees history basically from the point of view of the *Geisteswissenschaften*, the historical humanities: the forces that make ideas and philosophies historically relative are for him largely ideal phenomena, the cultural and intellectual environment, rather than the rough raw edge of material fact and historical contingency. Dilthey's insight can be completed only by being carried forward into the more radical points of view of Marx's historical materialism and Kierkegaard's notion of the inescapable contingency of the individual existing thinker. (For my own part, I should like to make use of both points of view, and I see no conclusive reason for not doing so.) The failure to make use of either Marx or Kierkegaard is of course less excusable in Ortega than in Dilthey, who was closer to them in time.

The reason for this failure is, I think, that Ortega remains above all a passionate and unreconstructed aristocrat. The intellectual tradition to which he remains faithful is the high Brahmanism of German academic thought, with all its great merits and its shortcomings. This becomes clearest when Ortega deals with a specific social theme, in his interpretation of "concord and liberty" within the Roman Republic. True liberty, he maintains, came to an end in Rome at the time of Cicero's death, and the latter's treatise, "The Republic," was in fact an epitaph on its subject. But this overlooks such facts as Catiline's conspiracy, with its obvious social meaning that, if Cicero's class did enjoy liberty during the late Republic, there were also oppressed classes in Rome for whom liberty meant very little and concord even less. The end of Roman liberty has to be placed at least a century earlier: the unsuccessful revolt of the Gracchi was the last effort to recapture the original meaning of the tribunate of the people; and the economic and military realities consequent upon Rome's expansion, which had severed Cicero's class from organic communion with the plebes, also buried this class eventually under the dictatorship. True, Cicero's expressed ideals are those of the old Republic, but this is a lag of superstructure behind substructure, a case of nostalgia in a far deeper sense than Ortega—who is misled here by reading history too exclusively in terms of its ideal aspects—realizes. That, in fact, is why Cicero is so attractive a figure for him: like Cicero, Ortega is nostalgic for a vanished

order that can never be restored. Shakespeare, in "Coriolanus," has a more cynical and far more truthful view of the conflicts of class within the Roman Republic.

WILLIAM BARRETT

India

INDIA TODAY. AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN POLITICS. By Raleigh Parkin. The John Day Company. $3.75.

RESTLESS INDIA. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. Henry Holt and Company. $2.

THE MAHATMA AND THE WORLD. By Krishnalal Shridharani. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.50.

OF THE three volumes on India noticed here by far the most informative is that by Mr. Parkin. It is an explicit and well-documented collection of facts and narrative of events, likely by reason of its style to be a little dull to any large number of American readers but rewarding to those who have grown weary of vague statements that India's political problem is too complex for generalizations and conclusions and who would like for once to hear about the elements that produce the complexity. This remark does not mean that Mr. Parkin has "explained" the whole Indian situation or even appears to think he has. His account of the Indian social structure occupies only some twenty pages, and that of the economic structure only twenty-seven, while the larger cultural background, with an indication of the values which India or varying Indian groups have sought in civilization, is not treated at all. What Mr. Parkin does give is a description of the present constitution and government accompanied by brief data concerning their recent evolution; the present system of administration and defense, including the cost; the political groups now active, with some remarks on their origin and development; the character of the Indian (native) states; the relations of India with other countries, especially those within the British Commonwealth of Nations; and Indian nationalism before and during the First World War, between the two wars, during the Second World War, and afterward down to the end of the summer of 1945. The discussion naturally focuses chiefly on the struggle of nationalism to achieve independence from Britain and to preserve the country as a unit, in spite of the Moslem League's program of Pakistan. The author sides with no party, writes without heat, though with occasional irritation at Gandhi—a feeling shared by a fair number of Indians—and studiously refrains from asserting opinions. The work is objective throughout, even though it seems at times that the author has not quite enough Indian background to present all the Hindu or Moslem feeling on a subject—for example, in discussing Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence (*ahinsa*) and soul-force (*satyagraha*), or, in a different field, the complications of the Hindu-Moslem situation as affected by Jinnah's former association with the Congress. Both British and Nationalist claims are viewed critically—for example, British charges that Congress is dominated by Gandhi as a dictator and Congress claims of membership. Events since Cripps went to India in 1942 to make an offer of two or more separate Indias—if anyone (say the Moslem League) could get a province to want such a division—are well treated, and the last words of the book state that the Labor Government, just come to office, is following a policy such that "a new chapter in Indian political history was about to open." This is being proved true, now that Cripps, with others, has returned to India with a new offer, reversing the former one and requiring that India remain a single nation.

Mr. Parkin's book developed from a small but also good beginning made by him and two associates in 1941, revised and enlarged in 1942, and now remade a second time. Each reincarnation has been an improvement. It is not unreasonable to expect the work to have some day a fourth existence which will treat aspects of the Indian situation not yet well covered. One of these would be that of radical labor and peasant movements and the activities of the Communist Party in India. Discussion of these seems a bit vague in the present volume—can one really call Nehru a "Marxian," and how can Gandhi be a "radical" on page 93 and a "right-wing leader" on page 96? The issues interesting such groups do not even command mention in Mr. Parkin's bibliography, which omits such a well-known work as R. Palme Dutt's "India Today." A difficult but important subject which might repay more extended treatment is the effect upon British policy toward India of internal British affairs and British policy toward other nations. Another point is the relation of Near East Moslems and Indian Moslems—the former seem definitely uninterested in, if not actually hostile to, the Pakistan idea. Some correction of detail is needed for material already included. For example, in treating caste Mr. Parkin makes no mention of the Shudra castes and implies that they belong to the Untouchables. This is an error of serious political and social proportions, especially for southern India. But these various remarks are not meant to detract from the real merits of the book as it stands.

Mr. Rosinger's little book is written in a brighter style than Mr. Parkin's and is meant to tell the busy Foreign Policy luncher what he ought to know about India. It is a fair and objective work also, but it leaves out documentation and the detail that might make it of some use three or four years from now. Originally it was a pamphlet published by the Foreign Policy Association in its Headline Series at a price of 35 cents, and sanctified by an introductory statement from the Earl of Halifax. It is now issued by Henry Holt, apparently printed from the same plates, at a price of $2, and without the sanctification. There seems to be an implication that it is worth $1.65 to a non-member of the Foreign Policy Association not to read Lord Halifax on India.

Mr. Shridharani, who has a smooth and lively flow of words, has written an idealized appreciation of Gandhi, discussing his personal qualities from the point of view of a devoted disciple. His work, with its series of descriptions of moments in the Mahatma's life, does not add to our knowledge of Gandhi in the sense of presenting new factual material or of relating Gandhi to the issues before India today. Neither does it reveal the national significance to India of Gandhi. But it does show details of Hindu thought, strange to Westerners but logical in India's culture, which help to give India the moral strength which informs its nationalism.

W. NORMAN BROWN

A Victorian Utopia

MIDWEST AT NOON. By Graham Hutton. University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

GRAHAM HUTTON had the delicate job during the war of directing the activities of the British Information Service in Chicago. He has taken the subtlest possible revenge —which was to write a book about the Middle West which does not mention the Chicago *Tribune.*

The omission of the World's Greatest Newspaper was probably a triumph of malice over perspective, for Mr. Hutton has omitted very little else in his sympathetic and fact-laden study of America's inland empire. The author took to the country, studied its history, traveled extensively across it —more than 100,000 miles—and talked with its people. His book reports in detail on agriculture, urbanization, folkways, scenery, schools, and almost anything you can think of. He appears to have ended by liking about everything except the climate. Baking under the scorching Illinois sun, freezing in the icy blasts off Lake Michigan, he stored up a profound hatred which makes the long and funny diatribe against Midwest weather the liveliest passage in the book. Mr. Hutton concludes that maybe Midwesterners were isolationists because their aggressive instincts were exhausted in the process of coming to terms with the climate.

His tolerance seems to have been extended less happily to the Midwestern style, and the customary British economy and lucidity have fallen behind. You will find here none of the clipped and trenchant wit of such British visitors as Mr. Brogan or Mr. Crowther, but instead a voluble, repetitious, and rather unaccented prose, which accepts words like "enthuse" and tends to drench the subject with the mere outpouring of verbiage.

Hutton's basic view is that "Midwesterners are a youthful and romantic people . . . a self-reliant, self-assertive, but extremely kindly folk," out of the first flush of optimism, however, and somewhat insecure—"they know they are still 'going places' and are not sure whither." Their optimism—their certainty that anything can be solved permanently, quickly, and easily—reminds him wistfully of the optimism of Victorian Britain; and he warns that it runs the same risks of disappointment and frustration. "Happily with all their idealism and perfectionism, which often tends to make the best the enemy of the good, they are realistic, matter-of-fact, self-critical, and adaptable. If they were not, Americans and many others might view their future more gloomily."

These remarks are tinged, not with patronage, but with envy. The whole tone of the book shows vividly how perspectives have changed in two decades. What would the author of "Main Street" have thought if he had been told that in 1946 a traveled and sophisticated Englishman would write, "The Midwest is the greatest repository of individualism and of respect for the individual in America, which means the world"? But Babbitt—like Mr. Pontifex—is an amiable tyrant when compared to Himmler or Vishinsky. Mr. Hutton's nostalgia is probably correct: the Midwest is the closest thing today to Victorian England, with much the same weaknesses and much the same strength, as placid, as smiling, and as remote. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

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Poetry Explained

THE NATURE OF POETRY. By Donald A. Stauffer. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THIS is a professor's book rather than a critic's. It is a good professor's book. The argument is arranged in a clear, if somewhat mechanical, pattern with its points grouped under the seven main heads of exactness, intensity, significance, concreteness, complexity, rhythmicalness, and formality. The exposition is admirably clear, and Professor Stauffer is not afraid to repeat or to stop at regular intervals to advise the reader of just where he is in the argument. Professor Stauffer is thoroughly acquainted with standard theory, and out of his wide, professional knowledge of poetry he is always able to quote the right people at the right time, to quote them with good sense, and, on occasion —for example, Housman or Arnold—to analyze them brilliantly. In short, this book has all the virtues of an extremely competent instructor's course of lectures for undergraduates on the nature of poetry.

It is inevitable that such a book should have certain limitations precisely because of the audience it aims at. What are virtues, granted this audience, become drawbacks for another. Far too often, for other than undergraduate purposes, the too familiar argument or illustration turns up in the foreseen place: Sidney is quoted for the didactic theory

of poetry, Cowper—this is, I believe, a mistaken commonplace—illustrates the flat use of detail, and "Antony and Cleopatra" organic form. Indeed, there are places where the reader suspects Professor Stauffer has not revised his lectures since his return from the Pacific, as when he remarks, as if we were still in the '30's, that "the critical problem that promises to engage the present century centers on the relation between art and propaganda." There are even a few instances of what may appear to be the professional attitude in the bad sense, as when Dryden comes in for the usual easy and unfair dressing down or when the partial contradiction in the name "free verse" is used to dispose of the whole idea. (Poor Mr. Winters, whose "Primitivism and Decadence" has a fine discussion of the rhythms of free verse, is passed over in Professor Stauffer's Book List, which, however, finds space for Alden's somewhat antiquated handbook of versification.)

There may, however, be a better reason for these oversimplifications, and, in view of Professor Stauffer's general intelligence, it is probably the more likely reason. It is inevitable in a book of this kind that the really difficult questions of poetic theory will come up, and it is the nature of the case that the expositor must not get involved in them. It is certainly dubious theory, for example, to say that a poet's exactness consists in the reader's conviction that "his words mirror his mind fully, clearly, and without distortion" and to argue for "individual utterance" and against "elegant uniformity." (Is it the poet's mind which counts? Does this attitude not open up all sorts of irrelevant psychological bypaths? What is the technical skill which Professor Stauffer so ably analyzes elsewhere but a display of elegance among verbal uniformities?) Yet the expositor of poetry, unless he is prepared to plunge into the complex question of the relation to the value of the poem of the poet's personality, must take either this line or the "objective" line—an equally dubious piece of theory in its simple form.

Thus the unavoidable necessity for setting limits to the complexity of the argument, which is what gives Professor Stauffer's book its great virtue of clarity of exposition, sets limits to the general value of his argument. Within these limits he has done an admirable job, and his book must certainly be the best available introductory book on the subject.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Grandfather Caribbean

CARIBBEAN, SEA OF THE NEW WORLD. By Germán Arciniegas. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onis. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

SEVERAL times during the rare peaceful interludes of our distracting century we North Americans have been on the verge of "discovering" the Caribbean. The intention—never quite fulfilled—has been touched with patronage. It is a little as if, in one's brash 'teens, one proposed to discover one's grandfather; an amazing grandfather, battle-scarred, of vast distinction and infinite experience in good and evil. For the Caribbean, its lapidary bow of islands and the encircling Main, were already old, with a brocaded, golden, splendid age, when our forbears of the cooler Continent were humbly

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whittling spinning wheels and were still excited by the white potato.

Germán Arciniegas is a Columbian, a scholar and writer of distinction both in his own country and in ours. Geographically speaking, Señor Arciniegas has spent the better part of his life looking up to the Caribbean; we in the United States have looked down on it. It seems to make a difference.

At length, and after what must have been enormous and rewarding reading, he has undertaken to tell the whole of the lusty, violent, and heroic story, from that immortal instant in the quiet October night when the lookout on the Pinta sighted the first landfall in the west, to the faro-dealers politics of Roosevelt I by which we acquired the Panama Canal Zone. (Still, one gathers, a sore point with a Colombian.) He has succeeded, probably as well as any writer ever can in the space of a single volume.

History—(if I may be permitted so unfashionable and romantic a belief)—is made by men. Inevitably, the story of the Caribbean becomes the tale of the incomparable company of actors who played their fiercely romantic, often tragic roles upon that hotly sunlit stage. Inasmuch as mass biography is peculiarly difficult, Señor Arciniegas is not always successful. Christopher Columbus, to my view, remains elusive, of far too small a stature. But in their velvet and their rags, their armor and their sweat-stained uniforms, they all march past, a memorable procession. Cortés; Balboa; Drake; Toussaint the gentle conqueror, and Bolivar; the first, worst, yet most endearing of the New World's Morgans; French, Dutch, Spaniards, Danes, blacks, whites, and—as the usually admirable translator so mysteriously calls the sorely trampled aborigines—the "parrot hued"; all take form.

The past, like the picturesque, is another's discomfort. In "Caribbean" one journeys vicariously, with skilled pilotage, through four centuries of life, change, splendor, of Olympian adventure, with an ease, a relish—and perspective—denied the participants. That is what books are for. And this book is a very solid and a very worthy one indeed.

JOHN VANDERCOOK

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FICTION IN REVIEW

HELEN HOWE'S new novel, "We Happy Few" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75), is about a Boston girl who learns to be an American woman. Bred in the isolate culture of Boston and its environs, Dorothea Natwick is priggish and self-absorbed, over-sensible of the social and intellectual values which are her birthright, a flagrantly inconspicuous consumer of very expensive advantages. The process of her education is the process of opening out her horizons beyond herself and her immediate society until her spirit includes all the multitudes that are democratic America.

The chief point, that is, of Miss Howe's novel is the equation it makes between parochialism and infantilism, between maturity and the ability to encompass the multitudinousness of life beyond the borders of one's own parish. But curiously enough, it is in the first half of her book, when Miss Howe is concentrating on the embattled culture of her small section of New England, before she introduces her heroine to the enlarging experience of the great West, that she manages not only to be most entertaining but also to suggest the most mature and universal meanings. It is in the early portions of "We Happy Few," laid in Constable where Dorothea's father is master of a boys' school and where her mother has such a happy field for her eccentricities of pride, or in Cambridge, where Dorothea, as the wife of a Harvard instructor, continues the Natwick tradition, that Miss Howe, for all that she is dealing with such highly specialized individuals, yet tells us most about our least specialized selves. This is of course the genius of satire, that, with the exaggeration of humor, it extends the particular into general truth. In the second half of her novel, however, Miss Howe deserts Boston, to have Dorothea discover the American range and American humanity. The selflessness that neither marriage, motherhood, adultery, war work nor death has been able to teach Dorothea, an experience of ordinary Americanism does teach her. It is the lesson of democracy that finally cuts Dorothea down to size. The only flaw is that, with her, democracy itself also gets cut down to size—Miss Howe's firmest intentions to the contrary notwithstanding. "We Happy Few" ends with the wide American panorama presenting itself as little more than a series of small-spirited, harassed, and unhappy people who in their uneducated fashion are just as egotistical as the well-educated Dorothea. The commonalty of man, therapy for a poorly balanced emo-

tional nature, shows itself to be largely a matter of helping make sandwiches with the other ladies or holding a neighbor's crying child. Miss Howe's novel falls apart in the middle and the break, it seems to me, is the result of a fault not so much of narrative structure as of basic idea.

The idea is of course a popular one. Miss Howe is scarcely alone among current novelists in regarding democracy—or the proletariat, or the fight against fascism, or a sweeping view of the multitudinousness of American life—as if it were a medicine especially prepared to cure the sick soul of the modern individual. One recalls, as an extreme instance, the novel of a few years ago in which a young woman was cured of neurosis by giving visas to refugees; or the more recent example in which the heroine was saved from nervous collapse by joining the movement for cooperatives. As a matter of fact, asked to name, on the evidence of the novels I read, the one dominant trend of our progressive literary culture, I would probably specify this mechanical notion that the individual finds himself by losing himself in some larger social manifestation.

That, despite her sincere belief in this idea of social therapy, Miss Howe herself aborts it by giving us, alongside the certification of Dorothea's health, such a dreary picture of indiscriminate American society speaks, I think, very well for her deeper novelistic endowments; and I mean this quite without irony. It is as if the eye and ear that can catch the subtle nuances of the first sections of "We Happy Few" cannot but go on to betray Miss Howe's formulation of conscience. While Miss Howe's program calls for Dorothea's regeneration through contemplation of some vast body of corporate virtue called the United States of Democracy, her literary senses feel out all the petty snobberies and prides that are bound to inform a nation of human beings. One can only hope that her writing future will trust these senses, that Miss Howe will try to proceed not by good works but by her large gifts of grace.

These gifts of grace are Miss Howe's satiric powers, which she herself evidently respects very little or she would not try to drown them in favor of a soft "affirmation" of life; and it is a judgment supported, I fear, by the dominant literary culture of our time. I daresay that the majority of Miss Howe's readers and critics, if they approve the satiric portions of her novel at all, will approve them only as preparation of the sound and wholesome moralism that follows. That there is more moral realism and therefore more true morality of every kind in the brief high-comic descriptions of Mrs. Natwick's cheery barn funerals or in Miss Howe's chart of priorities on Henry James among the Harvard faculty or in her anatomy of the picnic basket than there is in all Dorothea's long passages over the American frontiers is, I suppose, as difficult of comprehension today as the idea that criticism can still be constructive even if it fails to announce a positive platform. Of all our morality, but especially of our social-political morality, we demand that it be given straight and bitter, undiluted with fun. Because draughts of solemnity taste so bad, we deceive ourselves that they are our eye-openers instead of our newest opiates.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

OCCASIONALLY I am also reminded of people's notions about performance. Thus, a reader questioned my May 4 reference to Caruso's art as "a vocal, not a musical one": it seemed to him that if one heard a great vocal art one heard a great musical one—that the free flow of beautiful sound was musical.

In my article I had explained "vocal art rather than a musical one" as "an art in singing, not in musical phrasing," and had said that Caruso's emotion "did not express itself in inflection of the musical phrase that employed his voice, but in manipulation of his voice that sometimes produced a beautiful legato phrase and sometimes tore the phrase to pieces." But evidently this distinction had no meaning for my reader, as it has none for most people—the people, for example, who are surprised, bewildered, or even outraged by my criticisms of musicians like Heifetz, Horowitz, and Koussevitzky. I am not referring now to those for whom the performance of any celebrated musician is good, and all the performances by celebrated musicians are equally good in their various ways. I am referring to those who reason that to perform a piece of music is to produce the required sounds, and to produce beautiful sounds is to perform the piece well, and who, dazzled by the tonal splendors produced by Heifetz or Horowitz or Koussevitzky, ask what can be wrong with them, what indeed could be better. They neither perceive nor can understand the distinction between the sensuous quality of a violinist's tone and the phraseological inflection of the tone, and the fact that the dazzling beauty of Heifetz's tone amounts to superb playing of the violin but his fussy, wailing inflection of the tone most often produces a sentimentalizing, cheapening performance of the music.

A letter from another reader made this distinction about Koussevitzky. "The sound was marvelously fine; and the *Eroica* was a real performance, which carried a certain conviction because it was all so consistent and carefully worked out. There were, of course, the characteristic distortions of the quiet melodies of the first movement; and comparing it with Toscanini's performance revealed exactly what you have always pointed out in Toscanini's playing—the alive flow, the rhythmic continuity, which carries the music forward always with a kind of inevitability, so that the huge intensities come about naturally yet with greatest effect, nothing is distorted or over-emphasized, and the piece adds up to a tremendous intensity and force. The Koussevitzky first movement did not build up at all. Everything was played beautifully but it didn't make a large whole; as a result the climaxes seemed tame and without the exciting meaning Toscanini gives them... But the sound of the orchestra is one of the refinements of civilization."

But a great musician I know surprised me recently by dismissing Koussevitzky as "no conductor, only a dilettante." I was surprised because it turned out that he was thinking of the rhythmic slovenliness, distortion of phrase, and other musical defects that had caused him to leave the concert before the end; and I would have expected him to distinguish Koussevitzky the musician from Koussevitzky the conductor. But then he surprised me further by insisting that he meant the conductor too, contending that the orchestra played marvelously because it was a group of wonderful musicians; and I would have expected him to know better than that. The orchestra that Koussevitzky conducted at his first concert in New York, in November 1924, was the same group of players that Monteux had conducted the preceding April; but its sonority and style were astonishingly changed to what—despite all subsequent changes in personnel—has remained the characteristic sonority and style of the Boston Symphony ever since; and clearly what changed them and then kept them unchanged—except to polish and refine and perfect them—was Koussevitzky. It is the years of work with him that make it possible for the orchestra to play with the same fabulous beauty and finish without him, as it did, for example, when Nadia Boulanger beat time for it at the Harvard Fauré Festival.

The continuity in a Toscanini performance is produced by a continuous activity—a moment-to-moment exercise of concentration, attentiveness, effort, control—which is fascinating and moving to watch in its relation to the moment-to-moment flow of the performance. These two geared continuities are what the OWI film of his performances of Verdi's Overture to "La Forza del Destino" and Hymn of the Nations should have given us by keeping him in uninterrupted view throughout each performance—relating him visually to other participants possibly by changing the angle of the camera to include them, possibly by piecing their images into the background of his, possibly in some other way. Instead the film uses the technique that is conventional in films of orchestral performances—of shifting back and forth between the conductor and members of the orchestra. This technique gives us a number of close-range shots of Toscanini in action—but each time only a few moments of this action broken off for the blowing of the clarinettist or the sawing of the cellists or the singing of a section of the chorus. The moments are impressive and exciting, but not as the uninterrupted sequence would be.

While I am speaking of Toscanini I should mention that throughout the past year I continued to feel the tenseness in his performances that I spoke of in December—a lack of the natural flow described by my reader. I mentioned an example of this in my review of the recorded performance of "The Stars and Stripes Forever" last week: in the earlier performance on the army V-disc there was a relaxed, spacious broadening out for the concluding passage; in the performance on the Victor record there is a tense driving ahead in this passage. It may be the result of emotional strain; and perhaps the performances next fall will show a relaxation of the tension.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

I BELIEVE that the art of Jean Dubuffet—three examples of which I discussed two weeks ago—has been related to French Existentialism. As the brightest new hope of the School of Paris since Miró, it is quite fitting that Dubuffet should rise to notice on the wave of the first new aesthetic movement in Paris since Surrealism, which similarly inspired Miró. (The point would be that French painting since 1925 has become directly dependent as never before on literary and philosophical movements.)

It is easy to perceive the affinities between Dubuffet's painting—which attacks the human form with graffiti

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modeled on children's drawings and with linear schemes in the manner of Klee (influenced by the blueprint and map)—and the world-hating attitudes revealed by French Existentialism in such works as Jean-Paul Sartre's *La Nausée*. On the assumption that the highest truth is always hidden, one has the impulse to deny the ultimate importance of a connection so obvious to the first comer. But one would be wrong here. And the problem is not even to ascertain the connection but to date it.

La Nausée was published in 1938 and Dubuffet has come into prominence only with the war. (I gather from an article in *Art News* by Aline B. Louchheim that he is in his forties, began painting shortly after the last war as a disciple of cubism, gave it up in frustration to become a successful wine-dealer, and returned to it only during the recent war.) Dubuffet's devalorization of the human image, the hatred he concentrates on public faces in public places would appear to have been motivated by events in France under the Vichy regime. And the same events are popularly made responsible for the vogue of Existentialism among French intellectuals. But Sartre adopted his philosophy before the war, and it seems to me that it would have attained a certain popularity even without the disasters of the war, while I am sure that Dubuffet's pessimism derives from an experience antedating and underlying that of the most recent history. Such nihilism, embodied as cogently and as successfully as it is in paint, could not have been improvised on the moment's notice of a war that lasted five years. The very quality of Dubuffet's art make it plain that it rests on the experience of a lifetime and on a deep-seated and constant view of the world.

What we have to do with here is an historical mood that has simply seized upon Existentialism to formulate and justify itself, but which had been gathering strength long before most of the people concerned had ever read Heidegger or Kierkegaard. Pessimism has become appropriate since 1918, and it only remained for the late 1930's to replace the exuberant and, in a sense, frivolous, hedonistic pessimism of dada and surrealism (the latter of which was at least optimistic enough to enroll itself behind the revolution) with the radical and logically responsible pessimism of Existentialism. So consequent is Existentialism that, although it pretends to discriminate between the stuffed shirts, the *tricheurs* or "stinkers," and the truly honest men, in actual fact it consigns all of humanity, regardless of status or function, to contempt and despair. The shrinking possibilities of bourgeois society in Western Europe, the hypocrisies it requires in order to keep it stable, seem no longer to leave room for anything else.

One cannot deny the historical justification of this attitude, and to see it bodied forth in such a strong work of art as Dubuffet's "Promeneuse au parapluie" is to realize its even profounder justification as far as daily life is concerned. Whatever the affectations and the philosophical sketchiness of Existentialism, it is aesthetically appropriate to our age, and may make up in art for what it lacks as a complete philosophy. Precisely for this reason it may be able to reach a fuller expression in painting than in fiction—which is a less opaque medium and therefore more liable to expose the flimsiness of any formal philosophical support.

What we have to do with here, I repeat, is not so much a philosophy as a mood; and just as painting, after 1900, became the greatest and most satisfactory expression of the moods of Paris—perhaps more cogent even than Apollinaire's and Valéry's poetry—so may it continue to express her moods after 1940.

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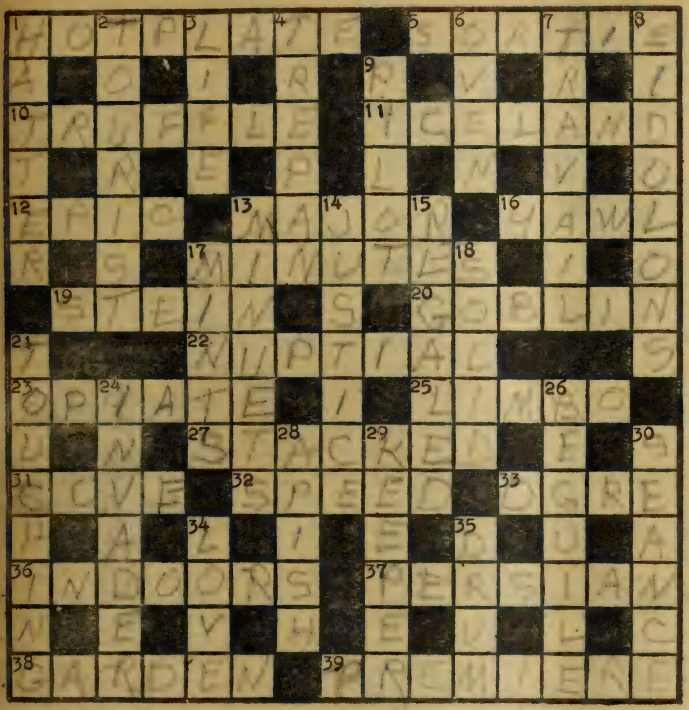
Crossword Puzzle No. 169

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Used for teaching performing bears to dance (3 and 5)
5 Sally
10 An underground fungus used in cookery
11 A country without an army
12 Heroic poem
13 Rank between captain and lieut.-colonel
16 The smack that went to the bottom
17 They sometimes seem like hours
19 Beer mug
20 A frightful fairy
22 Tin, Paul, is needed for this occasion
23 Keats felt as though he had drunk it
25 Destination of lost consignments
27 Made up cards for cheating
31 A bloke at bay
32 Exhilarating, isn't it?
33 Fearsome fellow
36 The best place in wet weather
37 A pen, sir? (anag.)
38 A lovesome thing, God wot
39 She who formed a cabinet?

DOWN

1 One, moonstruck, who helps to prevent one getting sunstruck
2 A sight-seeing traveler
3 Can only be understood backwards, but must be lived forwards
4 Surgical saw
6 Baking cell
7 Labor in childbirth
8 Phantoms showing an idol in great ages
9 An aviator
13 Graceful old dances
14 Many who ask for it would howl for mercy if they got it
15 Entertained sumptuously
17 Coins
18 Substantial
21 Parting may be sad, but it is pathetic to be together
24 An unwelcome guest
26 To lead up the garden
28 Imitative
29 Animals' attendant
30 Where people go to get up their spirits
34 They say it's unlucky to marry for this
35 When the order came to retire, the drummer boy beat it

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 168

ACROSS:—1 CARUSO; 5 MULLAH; 9 KIMONOS; 11 ASSAIL; 12 DESIGN; 13 SPRITES; 14 DEER; 17 WERE; 19 EGREGIOUS; 22 TIROL; 23 NASAL; 25 BLEATS; 26 WEIGHT; 27 SIREN; 29 GREEK; 31 SADDENING; 34 IDLE; 36 GOER; 37 MARRIED; 39 OUTSET; 40 AORIST; 41 SAWDUST; 42 ODD MAN; 43 ESNECY.

DOWN:—1 CLAUDE; 2 RASHER; 3 SKIS; 4 OIL PAINTS; 5 MODEL; 6 USES; 7 LOITER; 8 HANSEL; 10 ODIOUS; 15 EGGBIRD; 16 REFEREE; 17 WIGGING; 18 ROUTINE; 20 OASIS; 21 SAWED; 24 LEND LEASE; 28 RAMROD; 29 GIGOLO; 30 ELATED; 32 IODINE; 33 GRITTY; 35 SATAN; 37 MESA; 38 DOTS.

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The Shape of Things

THE FAIRLY LARGE MARGIN OF VOTES BY which the House approved the British loan was as gratifying as it was surprising. Before the debate started the Administration, not without reason, feared a defeat that would reduce its whole international economic program to ashes. But this seems to have been one of those rare occasions when arguments really swayed votes. Reinforcing the pleas of the President and former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, leaders of both parties spoke eloquently in favor of the loan. Members seem to have been particularly impressed by Speaker Rayburn and Majority Leader John W. McCormack, and by Representatives Wolcott, Wadsworth, and Eaton who carried the ball on the Republican benches. Among the many leaders of opinion throughout the country who urged Congress to act favorably on the loan especial credit is due to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who with great courage opposed the raging, tearing campaign for its defeat conducted by important Zionist groups seeking to "punish Britain." Rabbi Wise, like many other good liberals who have been distressed by British actions in Palestine, realized that this kind of punishment would damage America just as much, if not more, than it damaged Britain.

✶

FOR THE BRITISH THE LOAN WILL PERMIT only slightly lessened austerity in the immediate future. But it will offer them a breathing spell during which they can rebuild their foreign trade without resorting to measures incompatible with American interests. The money, it is certain, will be spent to strengthen Britain's economic position, thus increasing the security behind the loan, and will not be dissipated to finance imports of consumer luxury goods. One investment it will make possible is the acquisition of coal-mining machinery urgently needed to raise the productivity of British mines. Britain used to be a major exporter of coal to Europe but shortage of labor, and other difficulties which it is hoped will be overcome now that the industry is nationalized, have reduced output to such an extent that it is inadequate for domestic needs. By using some of its borrowed dollars to pay for American mining machinery, the British hope to restore coal production to a level where they can again ship coal abroad. That would be a major contribution to the recovery of Europe which is certainly an American, as well as a British, interest.

UNLESS THE NEW PRICE CONTROL BILL IS almost completely rewritten in the House, the President is bound to use his veto power once again. The irresponsible measure passed by the Senate ignores the public demand for effective ceilings and represents a total surrender to sectional interests. Exemptions for livestock have been swapped against exemptions for petroleum, for grains against tobacco. The result, as Republican Representative Jesse P. Wolcott has pointed out, is to remove from control practically everything industry buys while renewing ceilings on practically everything it sells. Such ceilings obviously could not be maintained for long. Uncontrolled food prices would mean a sharp increase in the cost of living—the "free markets" we have experienced in the last two weeks clearly indicate what the trend would be—and make higher wages absolutely necessary; higher labor and material costs would force upward revisions in nearly all industrial prices. In short, instead of making an effort to halt the inflationary spiral, the Senate has equipped it with jet propulsion.

✶

WHETHER THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT IS trying to appease the British by its extraordinary measures of repression or whether it is using the negotiations with Britain as a handy pretext for ridding itself of all organized opposition is not yet apparent. What is clear from recent dispatches is the extreme lengths to which Sidky Pasha's reactionary regime is prepared to go. It is one thing to imprison independent labor, and left-wing political leaders; that has been going on for a long time. But to extend the definition of "communists" to include almost every cultural group in the country and many prominent liberal European residents, and, above all, to suppress *Al Waf Al Misri,* principal organ of the Wafd, Egypt's one effective popular party and the chief expression of nationalist feeling, is to invite a political crisis of major dimensions. It seems to indicate that the Cabinet, which represents the Palace clique, considers a showdown now less dangerous to its tenure than the continued rise of discontent and organized opposition. Its delay in reaching a satisfactory agreement for the withdrawal of British troops coupled with the utter misery of the people undoubtedly threatens the grandiose ambitions of Egypt's fat and dissipated young monarch. Wholesale arrests and the wiping out of independent

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associations and newspapers will not increase his popularity. Whether or not they will strengthen his position depends in part on what attitude Britain's representatives take when the renewed treaty negotiations get underway. It would create an unhappy precedent if the ruthless repressions of Sidky Pasha had the result of improving Egypt's bargaining position.

*

MINNESOTA REPUBLICANS VOTING IN LAST week's Senatorial primary did more than put a period to the archaic political career of Henrik Shipstead. They shored up the Stassen wing of the party, which had been sagging a bit since the defeat of its candidate in Nebraska; they stiffened the spine of more than one wavering supporter of the British loan in Congress; and for the benefit of the world at large they repudiated the suspicion that the Middle West was fast slipping into the McCormick groove of nationalist isolation. Seldom is a single broad issue as dominant in a Congressional campaign as was the case in Minnesota. Shipstead went to the Senate in 1922 as a foe of the League of Nations, and now after 24 years he could—and did—point to a record of opposition to the World Court, the United Nations charter, the Bretton Woods agreement, and even UNRRA. Most recently he has devoted himself to the fight against the loan to Britain, and during the campaign he went to the length of denouncing it in paid advertisements in the papers of his state, especially in districts with a large Germanic population. His opponent, Governor Thye, is one of Harold Stassen's ablest supporters, and he made no bones about the kind of foreign policy he would endorse if sent to the Senate. Thye's unexpectedly large majority by no means points to a Stassen victory in 1948; Stassen has done an educational job in his home state that still needs to be done in countless Republican sectors from the Alleghenies west to the Rockies. But if the Lundeen-Lindbergh-Shipstead country can make the grade, there is hope that even the Nebraska of Hugh Butler will in time apply for admission to Wendell Willkie's One World.

*

UNFORTUNATELY MONTANA'S DEMOCRATIC primary, which will have been held by the time this issue reaches its readers, will offer no comparable evidence of the trend of thought in that state. Senator Wheeler, even more violently isolationist that Shipstead, is a more complex character, with a more complex record. His fight for renomination, moreover, has been vastly complicated by demagogy, by a copper-dominated press monopoly directed against his opponent, and an inexcusable intervention on his behalf by the President of the United States. There was some hope that after the war, and after the death of President Roosevelt, Wheeler

might shed his blind bitterness and regain some of the perspective that marked his years as a liberal politician. But apparently he has been damaged beyond repair. His campaign against Judge Erickson, whose supporters unhappily resorted to some rather unsavory devices themselves, has been marked by the shoddy techniques he picked up as an American Firster, complete with charges that his opponent was financed by Communists, New York Jews, and Wall Street—that famous trinity dreamed up by Father Coughlin. But the chief source of confusion in the Montana primary were the gratuitous endorsements of Wheeler by Senator La Follette and President Truman. La Follette's action is at least explicable in view of his isolationist prejudices and his regard for Wheeler's pro-labor record. The President's position can be explained only by his curious concept that a private friend rates a public trust. When he first came to the Senate, under the dubious auspices of the Pendergast machine, Truman was shunned by the New Dealers until Wheeler took him in hand and gave him a berth on the Interstate Commerce Committee. And now he is doing the decent thing by "Burton"—which is gallant but galling to the millions of Americans who just don't know the President well enough to call him "Harry."

✶

PRAVDA'S ATTACK ON BROOKS ATKINSON must have made Pegler, O'Donnell, and Sokolsky green with envy. Seldom has an American liberal been subjected to so eloquent a barrage of guttertalk. The occasion was a series of three articles Atkinson wrote in the New York *Times* on his return from ten months in the Soviet Union. In *The Nation* of March 8, 1941, when the fortunes of the democracies in their war against the Axis were at their lowest ebb, Brooks Atkinson wrote an article entitled, "The Decision Is Simple." Essentially it was a testament of a man's faith in democracy as a living force. He wrote: "The moral nation is the one that guarantees the freedom of the people, safeguards the health of the population, educates and cherishes the children, fosters art, spreads knowledge, endeavors to promote honest dealings between individuals and groups, lives as a good neighbor with other nations, tries constantly to widen and deepen its understanding with faith in the destiny of man." To make it quite plain that he had no illusions about the adequacy of American democracy, he noted the economic and social bondage in which the Negro race is held, the violent discrimination that bars Jews from full participation in the benefits of American citizenship, the economic serfdom under which millions of Americans spend mean and meager lives. On his return from China where he spent many months as a war correspondent he wrote, in October, 1944, on the occasion of General Stilwell's retirement: "Inside China it represents the political triumph of a moribund and antidemocratic regime that is more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than in driving the Japanese out of China. America is now committed at least passively to supporting a regime that has become increasingly unpopular and distrusted in China, that maintains three secret-police services and concentration camps for political prisoners, that stifles free speech, and resists democratic forces." So far from being an "informer of the capitalist press" Brooks Atkinson has consistently shown incorrigible loyalty to democracy as a fighting creed. That, we suspect, is what got under *Pravda's* skin.

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SURVIVORS OF THE KIELCE POGROM WILL BE little relieved to learn, through Cardinal Hlond, that "The Catholic Church always and everywhere condemns murders of all kinds." When the Church is really out to do a job of condemnation, as against communism, it is capable of doing a thoroughgoing, unequivocal, wholehearted piece of work. Poor-spirited indeed would be the Prince of the Church who condemned communism with one breath and in the next explained that one should recognize, all the same, that this doctrine was an understandable political reaction of honest people to the evils of capitalism. Yet it was in precisely this vein that Cardinal Hlond condemned the massacre of forty-one innocent Jews in Kielce. He is filled "with sadness and regret" that these people were stoned, clubbed, and trampled to death, but "to a great degree" the tragedy is "due to the Jews" themselves. Why? Because "they occupy leading positions in Poland's government and endeavor to introduce a governmental structure which the majority of the people do not desire." The truth is that while there are a handful of Jews in office, they are insignificant in the pattern of change that so distresses the Church. The lines in Poland, tragically enough, are drawn between communism and Catholic feudalism; and the Jews, wanting nothing more than to shake the dust of Poland from their feet, are caught between the two totalitarian machines. The government uses their massacre as a stick to beat all its opponents—the Church, General Anders, and Mikolajczyk; the Church uses the same nightmare to undermine the government and damn the Communists. And the Jews, seeking only an exit from hell, find the way blocked by the British, who can't see why they don't stay where they are instead of conspiring to save the remnant of their lives.

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THE DEATH OF JUDGE JOHN BEARDSLEY HAS deprived American liberalism of one of its ablest exponents and staunchest friends. It would not be far from the truth to say that John Beardsley, identified with the cause of civil liberties in Southern California for forty years, brought the concept of civil rights to that region. A list of the victories he won for civil liberties in the courts would be long indeed. During the first World War he carried to the United States Su-

preme Court, and won, the case of a German-American deprived of civil service status by hysterical officials. In the post-war period he took to the high court the case of Yetta Stromberg—the famous "red flag case,"—which occupies a significant position in the history of the Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. For this was one of the first cases in which the Court began to use the broad language of the amendment as it was intended to be used—to defend the civil rights of United States citizens. In preparing his argument and brief in this case, Beardsley closed his law office and devoted a year to a study of the legal problems involved. As in most of his celebrated court victories, his reward consisted largely in the satisfaction of having worked out a sound concept of law and human rights. Appointed to the Superior Court of Los Angeles County by Governor Olson, Judge Beardsley was re-elected for the second time only a few days before his death.

Ivan the Progressive

THE second part of "Ivan the Terrible" will not be shown, the third part will not be made; its director, Sergei Eisenstein, has had two films released for distribution in the last seventeen years. A bourgeois critic, remembering *From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs*, might feel that the Soviet Union has, for a sixth of this century, both overpaid and underemployed its best director. No Stakhanovite, he. But more searching critics—concentrated, in this country, in the vicinity of the *Daily Worker*—are likely to agree with the analysis of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which has stated in its weekly newspaper, *Culture and Life*, that Eisenstein's film is anti-artistic, anti-historical, cold and passionless historism, and a fairy tale besides—all this because "contrary to historic truth, Ivan the Terrible has not been shown as a progressive statesman." If Ivan the Terrible is the Russian idea of a progressive statesman, this explains a lot of things that have been puzzling us.

Soviet movies, the Communist Party has decided, are so important as propaganda aids for the new Five-Year Plan that no more historical subjects, biographies, or comedies will be filmed—comedies, in particular, are "primitive and bad." All films must be made about "simple Soviet people, who are the real creators of history"; the films' themes will be, preferably, valor in war and loyalty to the Soviet Union; and a good many subjects are—shall we say suggested? The list begins with the Great Patriotic War and ends with Georgian fruit farms and "mother heroines"—women who have had ten or more children. Many a Russian movie-goer, before this terrible new Plan is over, will groan to himself: Better fifty years of Hollywood than a cycle of mother heroines! He will have to take what comfort he can in the realization that, as the Party says, "the cinema is a sharp ideological party weapon." Poor Eisenstein, impaled for seventeen years upon it, must by now realize that better than anyone.

Brooks Atkinson made some comments on the flat and deadly automatism of present-day Soviet writing; and the new Five-Year Plan for Soviet movies has a stupefying resemblance to that series of films, glorifying Free Enterprise and the American Way of Life, which was once planned by the National Association of Manufacturers. American movie-goers will look gloomily at the possibility of getting a decent film from that freshly whetted party weapon, the Soviet cinema; and they know from the grim experience of the last few years that there is little more likelihood of getting a good one from that profit-bearing financial institution, Hollywood. The French, who have made a majority of what good movies there have been in the last ten years, say that the quota system attached to the American loan will make it next to impossible for them to compete with American movies in France itself. The discriminating consumer had better get accustomed to staying at home with a good book; and the thing for a really talented director to do is to take up, say, tattooing: there are always a few sailors who will demand neither ideology nor profit from a true work of art.

The Battle of Germany

MOLOTOV'S statement on Germany to the Council of Foreign Ministers appeared at first glance to indicate a shift in the Russian position nearer to those of America and Britain. Disclaiming ideas of a peace of revenge, he argued against further dismemberment of the Reich, urged its political unification, and proclaimed the necessity of its industrial revival in the interests of European economy. All these ideas have been supported by Britain and, though with less urgency, by the United States. On the other hand they conflict totally with the policies of France which has always insisted that the industrial Rhineland must be separated politically and economically from the rest of Germany lest it again serve as the arsenal of aggression. As Mr. del Vayo explains in a cable from Paris on another page, the Molotov speech has stunned the French. The shock was not reduced when a French compromise offer to accept a provisional plan for German economic unity, so long as the Saar was excluded, was blocked by the Soviet Foreign Minister.

It is noteworthy, however, that French dismay has not been matched by American or British elation. It is evident that Byrnes and Bevin are going to look long and hard at Molotov's gift-horse, suspecting it may be of the Trojan breed and intended to carry Russian influence to the western boundaries of Germany. Their suspicions

have no doubt been inflamed by Molotov's insistence, in the course of an equally skeptical scrutiny of Byrnes's own equine offering—the 25-year treaty to maintain German disarmament, that reparations to the tune of 10 billion dollars must be paid to Russia before the occupation of Germany ends. He declared that this claim was in accordance with the Potsdam agreement but, as a matter of fact, that document carefully avoided the assessment of reparations in monetary terms. Nor did it provide for their payment in "current production," as well as by removals of plant and machinery, as Molotov now asserts. On the contrary, the Potsdam declaration expressly stated that the proceeds of exports from current production were to be used in the first place to pay for necessary imports. That must mean that current production would not be available to meet reparations until Germany had achieved a trade balance. But, at the moment, America and Britain are together paying out hundreds of millions of dollars for the imports required to prevent wholesale starvation in Germany and a surplus of exports is a very distant goal.

That is the reason, perhaps, why Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin have so far made little reference to the more distant ideals of German unity enunciated by Molotov and have concentrated on the problem of economic unity of the Reich now. In their view that includes free trade between the occupation zones and the pooling of exports to pay for imports. Unified economic administration was specifically provided for at Potsdam but its consummation has been prevented hitherto by French insistence on the prior settlement of the Rhineland question, and Russian objections to giving exports priority over reparations. Bevin has now declared that if this Potsdam provision remains neglected Britain will be compelled to organize its zone in a way that will prevent it from burdening British taxpayers. That would seem to portend an imitation of the Soviet policy of integrating the Russian zone with the Russian economy. Byrnes has offered, as a second-best alternative to unification to form an economic union between the American zone and those of any other occupying powers.

Obviously there is no conflict between these proposals, as the British and American zones would certainly be more productive if operated as one economic unit. But we can be certain that Russia will oppose partial unification, since it would insure continued Soviet exclusion from any voice in the administration of the Ruhr, and would limit reparations to what could be extracted from the Russian zone. And reparations, it is clear, are the immediate Soviet preoccupation as they have been ever since V-E day. That is not surprising in view of Russia's terrific losses in the war. But it is important to note a change of emphasis regarding the mode of payment. Earlier the U. S. S. R. had been the sternest advocate among the Big Four of German deindustrialization. That fitted in with the policy of taking reparations in the form of plants. Now Molotov combines agreement with the British about the importance of German industry to Europe's economy with a demand for a large slice of current German production. Evidently Moscow has decided that there is more to be gained by having the Germans work their own machinery than by transporting it to Russia. This may be due partly to recognition that the removal policy involved a wastage of German skills, partly to shortage of labor in Russia. Hence Molotov's advocacy of Germany unity under conditions which diverted surplus production into Russian hands. But unless that surplus was genuine, that is to say, a surplus created after all imports had been offset, it would mean that Russia was milking the German cow while America and Britain provided the hay. Clearly we would not find this an acceptable arrangement, particularly as we are desperately afraid that Russia is seeking to add Germany to its collective farm.

It appears then that the first discussions of the German problem by the Big Four offer little hope of an early solution. Indeed, there can be no real solution while Russian and the Western powers are in fundamental conflict. Before the Big Four can make peace with Germany they must make peace between themselves. Until they do that Germany will remain a battleground where Russia on the one side and America and Britain on the other compete for offensive and defensive positions and offer rival bids for the support of the German people. A better set-up for the revival of German nationalism can hardly be conceived.

Sidney Hillman

BY HENRY A. WALLACE

Washington, July 13

IT IS easy to overemphasize the political side of Sidney Hillman. Political alertness and progressive political action were of his very being. And he leaves as the record of his political force three great agencies of the people's will—the American Labor Party in New York, the C. I. O.-Political Action Committee, and the National Citizens Political Action Committee. No one dares deny to these agencies—working in cooperation with the Democratic Party organization—a tremendous share in the people's progress during the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But of coequal stature with the Sidney Hillman of political action was the Sidney Hillman of labor statesmanship. It is of the utmost significance that the memorials of Sidney Hillman's death came as much from management as they came from labor. The union that he built in his youth and guided throughout his life has given to American labor a remarkable example of collaboration with management in the interest of both the

employer and the worker, with a constant concern for the consumer and the general welfare. Justice, efficiency, stabilization, and progress in industry were Sidney Hillman's watchwords. Perhaps his most important single contribution was to provide a setting of labor-management cooperation in which all parties concerned had a real sense of participation and a real stake in a joint endeavor. For Sidney Hillman made of the Amalgamated much more than just an organization to preserve and advance the rights of labor; he made it a driving force which offered constructive leadership in advancing the interests of the industry and the economy as a whole.

Whether in labor-management relations or in political action, the dominant fact about Sidney Hillman was his patient passion for the common good. He always thought in terms of what he could do today, no matter whether the thing he could accomplish today was big or small. Doing this, he felt that he was always in a position to do something bigger tomorrow. Extremists of the left frequently maligned him as much as those of the right. But he was unswerved by such character assassins as those who once called him a proponent of slave labor when he accepted the twenty-five-cent minimum wage. Acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage was the all-important fact; get the principle established and then keep up the fight for a higher minimum. And Sidney Hillman fought on with brilliant and dynamic leadership. In the end, the increase in the minimum has been the measure of a healthier and wealthier industry.

In the same way, his genius for political action has given the people an ever-increasing participation in the political life of their nation. He built well with patience. He walked softly. He travelled far. And our world is immeasurably richer for his having worked among us.

What Sidney Hillman Stood For

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WITH the death of Sidney Hillman, the progressive labor and political forces of the country have lost their ablest leader. The full measure of that loss can be taken if one tries to think of a man to fill his place. It will be impossible to find such a man today or, we suspect, in the near future. For Hillman in recent years had become much more than the farseeing and creative union executive he had always been. The fierce conflicts that shook the country in the years before the war, together with the impact of the war itself, drove him into an active political role, first in support of Roosevelt's program, domestic and foreign, and then in building a labor political movement, capable of exercising independent power both at the polls and in Congress. The C. I. O.-Political Action Committee was Hillman's creation, even though it had the strong backing of Murray and the other top leaders of the organization. Its effective intervention in the 1944 campaign was attested to even more fervently by its enemies, in their attempt to frighten the voters with the specter of red revolution, than by its very realistic leaders. The parallel organization of the National Citizens Political Action Committee was also Sidney Hillman's work; for he understood from the start the necessity of effecting a working partnership between labor and independent progressives.

Above all Hillman was a brilliant stategist. He knew, when P. A. C. was founded, that a national third party would make a present of the election to the Republicans; he knew that the only realistic course for a left political organization was to put progressives in office and try by every means to weaken the hold of the old guard over both old-party machines. He knew that independent labor action must limit and direct itself to what it could hope to accomplish; it could not leap from birth into political maturity. The job of education conducted by P. A. C. among its own political membership has been one of its most impressive accomplishments.

But Sidney Hillman was no less alive to the necessity of allying American labor with the militant forces of labor everywhere. His role in creating the World Federation of Trade Unions to replace the moribund and largely discredited I. F. T. U. was again one of creation as well as leadership. And there, as in the organization of P. A. C., he showed unequalled skill in avoiding both Communist domination and the schismatic effects of anti-Communist fanaticism. If the new world labor organization has succeeded in reaching decisions where the agencies of the United Nations have largely failed, a very important share of the credit must go to Sidney Hillman. Almost alone among American labor leaders, he had a broad political philosophy, a keen and realistic political mind.

The effect of his death will be realized only gradually; even by his closest associates it cannot be gauged immediately. But shock and sorrow will be followed by a sense of loss that can only be heightened as labor and its progressive allies face the challenge thrown down by the reactionary forces whose strength is growing day by day in Congress and in the country.

DEL VAYO IN RUSSIA

▶ The Nation's *European editor arrived in the Soviet Union this week to write an exclusive series for* The Nation. *He will present a first-hand report of happenings within the Soviet Union, the progress of reconstruction, an appraisal of the Kremlin's foreign policy, and the inside-Russia view of world affairs.*

Can Man Survive?

BY G. BROCK CHISHOLM

THE most important question to the human race now, and perhaps permanently, should be "Is there going to be another war?" This question can be put in various ways—for example, "Is it possible for the human race to take the extraordinary and unprecedented actions required to ensure that the normal cycle of peace, preparation for war, and war which has gone on throughout known history will no longer occur?" Or "Is it possible for members of the human race actually to live in peace with each other as they have never done?" Because of man's vastly increased ability to kill, all other questions pale into insignificance; basically nothing else matters. All other importances of man on earth depend on his ability to survive in reasonable numbers. It is man's very survival which is now threatened, and so the question above can be put in another way: "Can man arrange to survive as the dominant species on the earth, and if so how?"

To pose the question in this way is not necessarily to accept as an original premise that, in any final sense, it would be a good thing for man to survive. It may well be that man's disappearance from the earth, or at least his being pushed out of the dominant position, would be in the best interests of whatever is the goal (if there is a goal) of the evolutionary process which has been going on for a long time. Other animals have come and gone. It may be that man will also become extinct and some other organisms will be left freer to develop along the lines of their own particular destiny. As a result of the recent tremendous advances made by man in the efficiency with which he can kill off his kind it would seem to be very likely that few members of the human race will be alive after 20, 50 or 100 years—or whenever the next world war takes place.

Our question, then, might be put in still another way: "Should man tamely submit to extinction or should he try to do something to prevent it?" If we examine this question from the point of view of man there is hardly room for doubt of the answer. Survival would seem to be the first law of nature—not necessarily individual survival but definitely the survival of the species. After the enormous investment the race has made in the cause of survival it would be ridiculous to give ourselves up now without taking all possible steps, no matter how drastic or revolutionary, which can increase even slightly our chances of survival as a species. The plain fact is that man, generally, *wants* to survive as a species. If we can agree on this premise then the answer to our question demands only a study of ways and means—the best method, the cost, and whether man is willing to pay that cost or not.

To use a medical analogy, the human race is, socially, desperately and dangerously ill. The first necessity is a clear diagnosis of the type of illness, with an identification of the cause or causes, and then the prescription of treatment. Using all available knowledge of the human being and his functioning, it should be quite possible to do this with some confidence in our ability to reach sound conclusions. The real difficulty will come—as in prevention of diphtheria, tuberculosis, and many other diseases—from the probable unwillingnes of the patient, the human race, to take the medicine or treatment because it tastes bad, or smells awful, or is painful, or involves giving up some of his present certainties, or because he still has faith in one or other of the old medicines which have never been effective. Any change drastic enough extensively to modify perhaps the most consistent behavior pattern of the whole human race throughout thousands of years, is going to be very painful indeed. Extensive surgery is not pleasant, but a persisting cancer is worse in the end.

Emerson describes the choice every mind has to make between truth and repose. To quote from his essay on "Intellect": "God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you please—you can never have both. Between these, as a pendulum, man oscillates. He in whom the love of repose predominates will accept the first creed, the first philosophy, the first political party he meets—most likely his father's. He gets rest, commodity, and reputation; but he shuts the door of truth. He in whom the love of truth predominates will keep himself aloof from all moorings, and afloat. He will abstain from dogmatism, and recognize all the opposite negations between which, as walls, his being is swung. He submits to the inconvenience of suspense and imperfect opinion, but he is a candidate for truth, as the

GENERAL G. B. CHISHOLM was Director-General of Medical Services for the Canadian Army during the war and is now Canada's Deputy Minister of National Health and Canadian delegate to the United Nations Health Assembly. A psychiatrist of world-wide reputation, he delivered the William Alanson White Memorial lectures last October on "The Reestablishment of Peacetime Society." On that occasion Secretary Henry Wallace remarked: "The lecture of General Chisholm last night is one of the most thought provoking which has ever been given in Washington. It goes to the very roots of future peace." The above is the first installment of a two-part article.

other is not, and respects the highest law of his being."

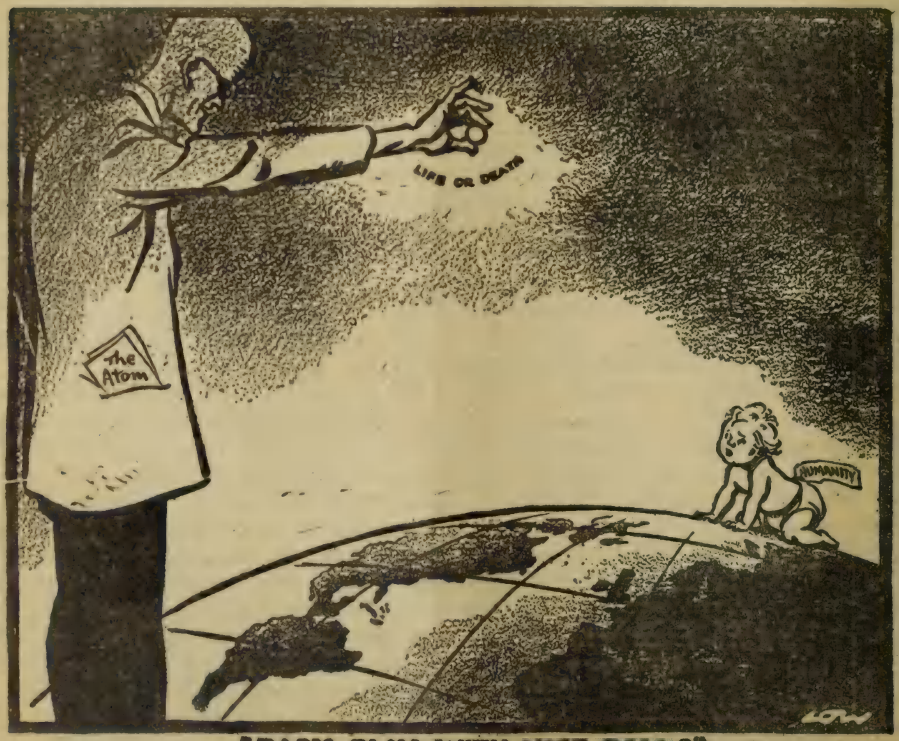
In Emerson's day there was little social obligation to choose the hard way of following truth. Repose was not synonymous with racial suicide as it is now. The complacent attitude which found its expression in the saying "God's in His heaven, all's right with the world" did not promise complete disaster as it does now. The lives of large numbers of the race were not dependent on the goodwill of other peoples all over the world as they are now or shortly will be. Even extensive hate and intolerance could rarely gain more than relatively local expression until quite recently. The choice between "truth" or "repose" is no longer a matter of only individual concern. The people who chose "repose" made two world wars possible and, if they continue to choose it and impose that choice on their children, will be responsible for the final catyclasm.

Emerson apparently believed that every mind had indeed a free choice between truth on the one hand and repose, or orthodoxy, or authoritarian certainty, on the other. That belief was, at least to a considerable degree, mistaken. It is clear that throughout life "conscience" plays a very important part in any such choice, and that "conscience" is imposed by parental and other pressures in very early childhood. It is also true that the ability to dissociate, to avoid looking at uncomfortable things, is commonly taught in childhood and becomes a fixed behavior pattern for life.

A great difficulty in attempting to diagnose our illness, to find its causes and eventually to prescribe its treatment is the necessity to get a wide enough point of view. It is obvious that the picture must be seen whole, and not exclusively from the point of view of any one individual or group in the world.

It is, however, very difficult to assume a point of view which is not local and affected by the prejudices of our particular environment and upbringing. Complete freedom from prejudice, true objectivity, is an unattainable ideal. We are all cursed with loyalties. Our minds are not free to judge, to accept or reject, by the use of pure facts; instead our prejudices, emotions, and consciences become involved and affect our ability to see clearly and our decisions. But in order to help ourselves to look at this world with as little prejudice as possible and the truest perspective we can attain, let us imagine ourselves visitors from some other world, say, from one well outside this solar system. Let us suppose that on the way we have called on many other worlds and seen many kinds of life and ways of living.

First, let us look at this particular star in terms of space. We might number it one among millions or we might call it by a name that a few of its inhabitants have



"BABY PLAY WITH NICE BALL?"

Reprinted from The Nation *of Sept. 1, 1945*

been using recently, "Earth." It is one of eight (plus some asteroids) which revolve around a much larger and hotter star. There is nothing particularly impressive about this Earth. It has one small satellite whose principal use seems to be to assume blame for certain peculiarities of behavior of some of the inhabitants of Earth. Earth is not at all remarkable for size. It is dwarfed by other bodies even in its own locality: just a below-average unremarkable star.

This one seems to be made of much the same materials which form other stars. It has gone a long way in the cooling-down process which seems to be general in what we have seen of this particular universe. We can easily see from the evidence presented by rocks that it was at one time very hot indeed, in a molten state, but for at least the last few billions of its revolutions around its sun, called "years" by some of its inhabitants, it has been relatively cool and has produced little heat itself. The long, gradual cooling process has been slowed greatly in the case of Earth by the heat radiated by the relatively large star, "Sun," around which it revolves. Earth is not so hot as many other bodies nor yet so cold as many others. It was much hotter a few billions of years ago and will be much cooler a few billions of years in the future. Its rate of cooling has not been constant; we find that there have been periods, the latest quite recently, when thick ice, perhaps a mile deep, covered it at both poles and possibly one half the distance from each pole to the equator. These periods perhaps had something to do with the sun not giving off so much heat for a few thousand years, or perhaps something got in the way and shadowed Earth from Sun for a while. Whatever it was could, of course, happen again and probably will. Perhaps, though, before such a cold spell comes again, and if it is not too severe, the local inhabitants may be able to arrange some sort of central heating system which will make it possible for them, or some of them, to survive. If the change comes slowly enough man may be able to grow fur again over a period of a few thousand or hundred thousand years, or, indeed, he may arrange to put some selected individuals in some sort of cold storage to await another cycle of warmer weather, while the rest die off. However if such a probable cold spell goes very far the next time, the present dominant species on Earth may well not survive, and some other more cold-resistant species may get a chance to show what it can do.

Next, what about this little star in time? Once again it is quite unremarkable, not very old and not very new. We do not know and cannot yet find out when life first appeared on Earth. There is plentiful evidence of many forms of life, not so complicated as some present forms but still a long way along the road of development, at least some billions of years ago. We know that some 500,000,000 years ago, more or less, much of Earth was populated with a variety of animals. Many large and savage species roamed the swamps and forests; many small but no less savage things crept or slithered through the jungle or marginal ooze of lakes or seas. Each species was doing its best to survive in the ways which were peculiar to itself.

But some of the present forms of life on Earth are very recent newcomers; man is one of these. Whether man developed very slowly for a very long time and then shot ahead suddenly over a period of only a few hundred thousand years; or whether at some stage of his development he was endowed with some supernatural (or not yet understood) equipment, a "soul"; or whether he was superimposed, by some supernatural (or not yet understood) process, ready-made on a world full of other animals which had developed slowly, we have not yet found out. We also notice that, very strangely, these possibilities cannot be discussed by many inhabitants in many places on Earth because of faiths and fears about these things which were imposed in childhood.

Whenever man began to be of any importance on Earth, it was probably not more than a million years ago, though some estimates of his presence in something like his present form go as high as twelve million years. Whichever is nearer the truth this is a very short time indeed in terms of world development.

We may well wonder how it is that man has assumed such a dominant position on Earth in such a short time. Many other animals have lived as long; many have lived longer and eventually disappeared. What of man's equipment has put him so quickly and so firmly in the saddle? Each species of animal has some special equipment of its own that makes its methods of survival different from those of all others. In effect each organism represents a different experiment in competition for survival. Some animals can hear many sounds inaudible to man, for instance. Others can see much better. Others can run faster or jump farther, or hug or claw more effectively, or go longer without food or water. Some, by clever camouflage, can blend with their background. Others can hibernate through long winters or dry spells when food or water are hard to find. Some can live under the water and others under the ground or high in the air. In all of these fields, and many others, man is very poorly equipped. What then is man's specialty? If we examine man's body in detail we find that everything he has, except one thing, is outclassed in many other species. The only instance in which man shows a superior development is his brain, and particularly in one part—the upper end, or "fore-brain."

This, his brain, is man's only apparent specialty. Only by its use has he come so far and so fast. Only man's power to think puts him and keeps him at the head of the procession on Earth.

[*To be concluded next week*]

Why India Starves

BY M. R. MASANI

Bombay, India

AN American engaged in the good cause of collecting funds for the relief of the victims of starvation in India recently mentioned in the course of a letter to a friend in India, the reasons generally given by people in the United States for not doing anything to help. His list included:

India is so far away that we aren't interested.

India has always had famines and always will have famines; if you save them this year, they'll die next year.

More food means more children and just as much starvation—so why help?

The Indians are used to famines and because of their religion they can starve without suffering much.

The Indians are inferior people and not worth helping. Sub-human masses live in India, not individuals.

Nothing can help the Indians until they become Christians and stop exploiting and killing each other.

There are fabulously rich Indians; why don't they help their own people? Why should we give money to such a wealthy country?

It's Britain's job; let her do it.

India's starvation is not our fault. We didn't bomb India nor did the war affect her.

Writing from India, one is inclined to leave to others nearer home the task of convincing Americans that the people of India are not really "sub-human," that their mass conversion to Christianity is neither necessary nor adequate for the solution of India's food problem, and that, religion notwithstanding, it is as painful for an Indian to die of starvation as it is for other human beings. No doubt the India Famine Emergency Committee's mission, which is now touring India, and the eminent journalists attached to it will apply themselves to this task on their return home. The facts set out in this article may, however, dispel three misapprehensions that would appear to be current among American readers: that more food for India means more children and just as much starvation; that India is a wealthy country and that fabulously rich Indians do not help their own people; and that World War II did not adversely affect India's food economy.

It is necessary to distinguish between the present crisis and normal conditions in the case of a country like India.

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The food situation is, of course, always grave in a country such as ours where the masses of the people have, in the best of times, barely one square meal a day, where a balanced diet is unknown except to the well-to-do, and where the shortage of food is normally so great that there would be no food at all for 115,000,000 of the population if the rest of the people were provided with a normal diet. Today, however, India has struck a new low. Drought last fall and winter has led to a failure of crops resulting in a drop of between six and seven million tons of food grains in addition to our normal annual deficit of 10,000,000 tons. To the extent that this is not made good from overseas in the remaining months of 1946, the people of India will have to starve beyond their usual measure and many may have to die.

How does it happen, the reader will ask, that a country with a fertile soil, with an area of 380,000,000 acres sown to crops, with 280,000,000 of its people working the land, and with 200,000,000 cattle out of the world's total stock of 700,000,000, is in such a plight today? It is not possible here to go into the long-range causes of this paradox beyond indicating that an obsolete system of land tenure with only a third of the land owned by those who till it, a peasantry denied literacy and burdened with debt, holdings fragmented till they drop to an average of three or four acres per family, the absence of irrigation over large tracts of a country dependent for water supply on the vagaries of the monsoon, and the absence of a supply of good seed, modern implements and fertilizers have all played their part in producing this tragic result.

It has been urged, mostly by British publicists, that the rapid increase in India's population is as important a cause of India's misfortunes as all the factors mentioned above. It is estimated that an average of .86 acres of cultivated land is available per head of population in this country. As against this, nutrition experts in America have calculated that 3.1 acres per head are required to produce a "liberal diet," while even for what is called "an emergency restricted diet," 1.2 acres per head are necessary. In the light of these figures, it is clear that the ratio of cultivated area to population is distinctly on the low side in India. Is this ratio increasing or decreasing? Though the evidence is conflicting and the statistical data of the Indian government notoriously unreliable, one might not be far wrong in concluding with Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, until recently Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratories in Coonoor and now on the staff of the Food and Agriculture Organization, that "the available evidence suggests that the area of land

under cultivation is not increasing proportionately to population growth, so that the ratio is decreasing." This does not, however, mean that the chronic starvation of people in India is caused by over-population, for we have by no means exhausted either the limits of cultivable land or the possibilities of the land already under the plough, which, on an average, yields only a fourth of what it does in England and a third of what it does in Japan. All it means is that our food production must catch up with the increase in our numbers, the rate of which appears to be quite modest when compared with those of several other countries in the past few decades. Between 1870 and 1930, our population increased by 30.7 per cent; that of England and Wales by 77 per cent; that of Japan by 113 per cent; and that of Russia by 115 per cent. It should not be difficult, therefore, to agree with the conclusion arrived at by an American writer, Kate L. Mitchell, who says: "There is every reason to believe that by making full use of her resources, India could support a far larger population than at present. The cause of Indian poverty is not the rate of population growth, but the fact that India is a case of arrested economic development."

This is India's long-term problem. What has aggravated the situation in the past few years has been India's involvement, as a part of the British Empire, in a war which was not of her choosing, with the consequent wartime loss of rice imports from Burma and Thailand. The presence of a large force of British, American, and other troops who lived to a varying extent on the country, the inability of the peasant to obtain even his normal supply of tools and fertilizers, and the failure of the British government in India adequately to mobilize and augment the resources of the country all contributed to today's emergency.

Food and finance are by no means unrelated; another complicating factor has been the inflation resulting from a persistent expansion in currency since 1940. This currency expansion was the means devised by the British government to pay for the services and materials it drew from India for war purposes without parting with anything tangible in return. Speaking about the effects of this dubious expedient, the present Secretary of State of India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, said in the House of Commons on November 4, 1943, that "he thought the main cause of the present famine [i. e., the Bengal Famine] was that a large number of people in certain provinces had not the purchasing power to pay for such food grains as would keep them alive. For that inflation, the government of India and nobody else could be held responsible."

In 1943 the government of India appointed a Food Grains Policy Committee, with Sir Theodore Gregory as chairman, to consider the increasing gravity of the situation. That committee recommended that India import a million tons of food grains every year, that being India's average annual imports before World War II. The committee also advised the initial import of half a million tons extra to help build up a Central Food Grains Reserve to meet precisely the sort of situation we are facing today; but unfortunately the government failed to persuade the British and allied governments to make available the necessary shipping facilities.

What is India doing to reduce the impact of the blow that is about to fall on her? The government has tried to speed up its "Grow More Food" campaign which has already brought some 11,000,000 more acres under food crops during the past three or four years. Efforts have also been made to get a greater proportion of grain into the common pool and provinces like Bombay and Madras have highly involved schemes of compulsory levy which leave to the peasant little more than what he needs for himself and for his dependents. The rationing of food grains and sugar has also been extended.

The ration that was in force when the present crisis developed some months back was a pound of cereals daily for adults. That this is no princely ration can be seen from the fact that it was also the ration provided to criminals in Indian prisons and prescribed as a minimum by the Famine Relief Code. People in the United States may not realize that for the mass of our people, whose average per capita income is about $20 a year, the entire diet consists of grain alone—that meat and fish, milk, vegetables, and fruit are beyond their means. This meager ration has now been cut by as much as 25 per cent. Today men and women are expected to subsist on a ration of only 12 ounces per day, yielding about 1,000 calories as against the 2,800 calories they require for a healthy existence, and as against the 3,000-odd calories that the average American consumes. Ours is a ration of which it can be fairly said "it is so little that a man cannot live and so much that a man cannot die." Comparatively efficient administration in the affected areas today saves people from dying on the scale that they did in Bengal in 1943 when, according to the Famine Inquiry Commission, two and a half million people lost their lives. But no amount of efficiency can save the entire population from chronic starvation nor prevent a whole generation of stunted infants and children in a country which had dreamed, at the end of World War II, of entering a happier era.

That is the background against which India's representatives on the new Inter-

national Emergency Food Council have been trying to persuade the governments and people in your hemisphere to come to our assistance. We in India do not want beef or ham or pork, as other countries do. But we desperately need wheat and rice to keep alive, and our hungry children can use a lot of imported milk powder.

India asks for what is her due. She does not go to the rest of the world with the begging bowl.

The Indian people, given half a chance, are prepared to do their duty by themselves and by the rest of the world. It is for the people of more fortunate countries to consider their obligations to the people of India who are today facing famine through no fault of their own, but because nature has conspired with war. Must the people of India sadly reflect with the poet that this is yet another case where "knowledge comes but wisdom lingers?" It is for the government and the people of the United States to answer.

A New Deal for Texas?

BY HAROLD YOUNG

TEXAS may get a new deal in state government this year in the person of Dr. Homer P. Rainey. Fired as president of the University of Texas a little less than two years ago, Dr. Rainey at the moment is the leading candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination—which in Texas means election. The decision will be made at the primary on July 27.

Dr. Rainey's candidacy represents the first militant political attack in years on big business's domination of government and education in Texas. The corporate elite of Texas, most of whom are the straw bosses of absentee owners and managers, fear and hate Rainey as they used to fear and hate Franklin Roosevelt. The amount of money they will spend to try to defeat him will be fabulous. In addition he must contend with the opposition of nearly all the state's large daily newspapers, an unreasonable rationing of radio time by the Texas Quality Network, and a cruel whispering campaign on the level of French-postcard pornography.

The rationing of radio time, an innovation of this campaign, applies to all candidates but it injures Rainey the most. Much of his following has been built by a regularly-scheduled radio program, "Religion in Life." Whereas the others are just candidates on the air, Rainey is a radio personality to thousands of rural and small-town voters. He has complained to the Federal Communications Commission, asking whether the agreement of the four stations to limit political candidates is a violation of the antitrust laws, and pointing out that the restriction prevents "thousands of rural voters" from hearing campaign issues discussed. Three of these stations are controlled by newspapers which are bitter enemies of Rainey—the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, the Dallas *News*, and the Houston *Post*.

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Dr. Rainey's rise to political eminence is ironic. The stubborn, hard-headed representatives of big business on the University's Board of Regents made him the political figure that he is by trying to destroy him as an educator. He was dismissed as president of the University of Texas on November 1, 1944, because he protested the domination of the University and, as a matter of fact, all education in Texas by the corporation interests. There were many quarrels between Rainey and the Board of Regents, but a majority of regents determined to fire him only after he had issued a lengthy statement listing the Board's many violations of academic freedom and sound administrative practice. Had things worked out as they usually do in Texas, Rainey would have moved on and left the regents in control. But instead he chose to stay and fight, finally deciding he could win his battle only by political action. That is why Dr. Rainey is in the midst of a campaign for governor.

The big corporations have no reason to love Rainey. He proposes to pull the state up to higher levels in public education, public health, social security, and general economic well-being by means of more taxes on natural resources—oil, gas, and sulphur. Most of these resources are either owned or exploited by monopolistically inclined corporations of the North and East, whose representatives in Texas elect governors and legislatures to keep taxes down on these items. Rainey proposes a constitutional amendment to repeal the state's $35,000,000 ceiling on social-security funds used for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid for dependent children, and the like. He proposes to abolish the state ad valorem tax, which brings in about $18,000,000 a year, and make up the loss with increased levies on resources, gasoline, tobacco, and liquor.

The platforms of the other candidates beat around the fringes of such issues as pay increases for teachers and more state pensions—but they also promise no increase in taxes. Rainey proposes a minimum of $1800 a year for school teachers and tells how he will raise the money.

His forthrightness about taxes is refreshing in Texas politics.

There is only one element missing from the current campaign—Governor Coke Stevenson, the slow-talking rancher who has been governor of Texas longer than any other man. He succeeded W. Lee O'Daniel in 1941 when O'Daniel was elected to the United States Senate after serving less than a year of his second term as governor. Since then, Stevenson has been reelected twice. Much of what is wrong with Texas at the moment is Pappy O'Daniel and Coke Stevenson, both willing allies of big business. They are the pair who stacked the boards of regents of the University and other state schools and colleges with corporation men, lobbyists, Republicans, and Texas Regulars.

The Texas Regulars were a political party formed in 1944 by a group of die-hards who left the Democratic party after an unsuccessful anti-Roosevelt revolt led by George A. Butler, Houston lawyer and nephew of Jesse Jones. But the Texas Regulars were a state of mind before, during, and after 1944—a state of mind of which the chief characteristic was hatred of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Stevenson and O'Daniel both connived in the rebellion, which was organized to steal the state's electoral vote from Roosevelt. Jones disavowed the Regulars late in the 1944 campaign, but he did not convince many people, Franklin D. Roosevelt least of all.

A race with Pappy O'Daniel, Coke Stevenson, and Dr. Rainey all in it—as once appeared to be shaping up—would have matched the real antagonists. Stevenson, however, decided not to seek reelection. Perhaps the man who tried the hardest to persuade Stevenson to change his mind and run was Jesse Jones. There were reports, printed in very few Texas papers, that Jones offered Stevenson the editorial support of Jones's own Houston *Chronicle*, the Houston *Post*, the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, and the Dallas *News*. "Draft Stevenson" movements showed that he had strength. He was the top man in a pre-campaign sampling by the Texas Poll, an accurate regional poll of the Gallup type. The corporation executives and oil men promised all the money he might need. The governor, however, decided he had had enough of public life, and retired rather than battle his way through another rough and tumble campaign.

There are five men in the campaign who have a chance to win. Rainey, of course, heads the list and is definitely the man to beat. The others are Jerry Sadler, formerly a member of the Texas Railroad Commission and a veteran of World War II; John Lee Smith, now lieutenant governor; Beauford Jester, currently a member of the Texas Railroad Commission; and Grover Sellers, state attorney general.

Sadler can be classified as the maverick of the race—at this time he is not acceptable within the corporate pale. While a member of the Railroad Commission he was very rough on the Humble Oil and Refining Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and the Magnolia Petroleum Corporation, a Socony-Vacuum subsidiary. Against Rainey, however, if there is a run-off, the corporations would probably settle for Sadler.

The choice of the blue chip boys is among the trio of Smith, Jester, and Sellers, with Sellers the favorite. Organized labor generally will support Rainey, but some of the American Federation of Labor leadership believe they can go along with Sellers.

Jester is a wealthier man than any of the other candidates and the one most at home in a country club. He may have learned better by now, but early in the campaign he pulled a minor political blunder in Dallas by leaving word at a hotel desk that if he received any long distance calls, he could be reached at a local country club. It might have been disastrous if anybody had called from the forks of the creek. Many Texans who are not otherwise bothered by wealth are extremely suspicious of it when it is at play and might be drinking or drawing to an inside straight.

Homer P. Rainey

Sellers supported Roosevelt in 1944, but he now would extend the olive branch of peace to the Texas Regulars. Jester likewise has no animosity against the Regulars, who represent more campaign contributions than they do actual votes. Any man who welcomes the Regulars into his camp cannot and does not intend to change the status quo in Texas.

Smith, in a word, is fantastic. He spouts analogies from Roman history like the brightest boy in a one-room school, but it is noise, not erudition. Although very outspoken on most things, he is the one candidate who has dodged answering the party's questionnaire on his loyalty in 1944.

Smith is also the darling of the labor haters. He beats his breast with a primitive fury for a state constitutional amendment outlawing the closed shop and for statutory preference for veterans in all private and public employment. Sellers and Jester belabor the C. I. O.-P. A. C. with enough fervor to convince their money-backers. Sadler has declared himself against the closed-shop. All of the four—Sadler, Jester, Sellers, and Smith—have obviously kissed off any C. I. O. support.

Any analyist who relates the Texas political situation to a hard-and-fast division of liberals and conservatives is just going to break his heart. The conservatives simply outnumber the real liberals. Dr. Rainey is a progressive but his campaign is well inside what the strategists and realists believe are the limits to which the Texas electorate will follow a liberal candidate. A great leader can enlarge these limits, perhaps, but he has to get elected first.

Rainey's strength lies in his personal popularity. He has one asset that is no minor advantage in Texas, though one that might be overlooked elsewhere: he is an ordained Baptist minister. He has another and greater source of votes in the fact that thousands upon thousands of people who call themselves conservatives have long had definite anti-corporation sentiments, several generations removed from their most likely source—the old agrarian radicalism of the Populists. These conservatives somehow realize, despite the silence of the daily press, that big business—much of it absentee—rules the state. "Wall Street" is an old battle cry in Texas, and there is always a core of sincerity in it—even on the tongue of a demagogue such as Pappy O'Daniel. In the privacy of the election booth, many of these conservatives will vote their anti-corporation prejudice.

The trouble in Texas is that this issue of corporation control is so seldom clearly drawn by a man who really means to do something about it. The persevering college professor, Homer Price Rainey, is that rare individual. He may be the next governor of Texas.

The UNRRA Scandal in China

BY ILONA RALF SUES

FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA will go down in Chinese history as the only American official of today who placed human rights above political and military opportunism, meant what he preached, and had the courage to stand up for the people.

When the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration stopped all shipments to China (with the exception of food) at a moment's notice, after a cable from more than half of UNRRA's staff in China had confirmed reports that the Chinese Government was using relief supplies as an antidemocratic political weapon, and that food was diverted to the black market or left to rot in Shanghai warehouses while 30,000,000 people faced starvation, he set a signal example to the White House, to Congress, and to the War Department. Washington has consistently ignored the urgent appeals made by spokesmen for the vast majority of the Chinese people to stop military, financial, and economic support to Chiang Kai-shek's government. Our unconditional assistance has emboldened Chiang and has practically nullified the results achieved by General Marshall in his patient peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

If the Little Flower's action is followed by a stiffening attitude toward Chiang on the part of the Washington Administration, it may mean the beginning of an era of real reconstruction and rehabilitation for China.

ILONA RALF SUES is the author of "Shark Fins and Millet." During ten years at Geneva she was active in the opium control work of the League of Nations. More recently she has lived in China and is thoroughly conversant with economic and political conditions in that country.

The main reason for the UNRRA scandal—and many other scandals as well—is, beyond any doubt, our obtuse help to the small, reactionary clique of would-be rulers who are blacklisted by their own people, have an unbroken 20-year record of antidemocratic terrorism, and an all-embracing, well-nigh perfect system of corruption.

How does UNRRA work? It gets American supplies into China. But it is CNRRA—the Chinese Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, a government monopoly—which decides how these supplies are to be distributed. UNRRA can only advise and help with its technical personnel.

CNRRA's official yearly operating budget is 210 billion Chinese dollars, or $105,000,000 U. S., but the Chinese government does not furnish the funds. During the first six months of 1946, CNRRA obtained only 43 billion Chinese dollars: 23 billion came from the sale of UNRRA supplies, 18 from loans, one billion from "miscellaneous sources," and only the remaining one billion Chinese (or 500,000 American) dollars from the Chinese government!

Head of CNRRA is a 56-year-old Shanghai industrial magnate, O. S. Lieu. He is the stooge for the "Soong Dynasty" which controls finances, foreign relations, and most profitable rackets in China. Lieu was, before the war, manager of the Great China Match Co., the Shanghai Cement Co., and the China Industrial Corporation. During the war, H. H. Kung, Chiang's brother-in-law, then Finance Minister, appointed him as head of the Government Match and Cigarette Monopolies. When Kung was replaced by his rival, T. V. Soong, Mme.

Drawings by Gropper

Chiang's brother, Lieu became T. V.'s confidential agent. When the Kuomintang took over the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Co., he became managing director. And when the Japanese surrendered, they were ordered to turn over to Lieu the Shanghai Textile Mills and the ships!

Thus CNRRA Director O. S. Lieu (and his boss, T. V. Soong) have large interests in the textile mills where UNRRA cotton and wool are spun; in the flour mills which grind UNRRA wheat; in the CMSNC, which has sublet three wharves to UNRRA and handles docking facilities and inland navigation.

The Chinese Embassy in Washington is fighting La Guardia's decision and advances the stale alibi of dry rivers and poor roads as an excuse for the lagging distribution of relief supplies. But all reports from UNRRA and other sources stress the fact that the coast, the Yangtze River, the Grand Canal, and other waterways are open, as well as most railroads, and that the network of highways, with minor exceptions, is in fair shape.

Shanghai's wharves and warehouses are clogged, and, up to May 24, only 10 per cent of UNRRA supplies got through to famine areas.

Why? Because military supplies have priority. President Truman's report on lend-lease explains the situation perfectly. It states that four Chinese armies were moved by air to Manchuria and other areas, at a cost of $300,000,000. In addition, Chiang received vehicles valued at $68,000,000 (used on those "impassable" roads for troop transports), and ammunition valued at $50,000,000 (bullets in lieu of wheat!). U. S. lend-lease to China from V-J Day to December, 1945, alone amounted to $602,045,000. In addition, 40 Chinese divisions were equipped and trained with modern American materiel, as compared with only 20 divisions during the war.

There are some 10,000 trucks idle in Shanghai. Gas is plentiful and unrationed. Some of the U. S. airplanes transferred to the Chinese Government could fly grain and medical supplies into the interior, instead of being used in the war against the stricken people.

The first flour put on the market in January by CNRRA was sold in 20-bag lots, supposedly for bakers. Actually it went into the hands of black-marketeers. From January to April, the price went up from 4,000 to 12,000 Chinese dollars per bag.

In January and February, from 30 to 60 children were picked up every week in the streets of Shanghai, dead of starvation.

Flour and relief were, in many instances, distributed through the phony "labor unions" of the Kuomintang. Unemployed workers were not allowed to join the unions. Thus people who had jobs got relief and people without means of support were permitted to starve. And —quite incidentally—employed workers who needed relief were compelled to join the Kuomintang union!

CNRRA's program of industrial rehabilitation was another racket: a man of means, in good standing, with the Kuomintang Party, could buy all the machinery he wanted. The little fellow who had lost everything in the war got nothing to rebuild his workshop. Result: concentration of wealth in a very few hands.

UNRRA policy requires that relief be administered without discrimination, but CNRRA decided differently. All areas under democratic self-rule, home of some 200 million people who are holding out for peace and a coalition government, and have supported General Marshall's peace efforts from the start, have received less than 2% of UNRRA supplies.

Chiang Kai-shek broke all promises given to the people and many promises given to General Marshall. He and his group prefer civil war to a democratic government which would curtail their power and privileges. Withholding food and medicine from the people is one of his means of coercion. He did not expect that his attitude would meet with Allied indignation.

But in the case of UNRRA, as in all other China questions, real help to the people can only be effective when civil war is made impossible—if all American troops are withdrawn and no governmental loans granted until the Chinese Government has been reorganized in accordance with the agreement reached by the Political Consultative Council in February, as a result of the truce agreement concluded under General Marshall's sponsorship.

Food, not bullets, is what the Chinese people need, and it is food that can strengthen the bond of friendship and lead to beneficial economic relations between the United States and China.

Molotov Shocks France

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, July 12

TODAY, for the first time since my arrival in France, the editorials in the Paris newspapers were hardly distinguishable one from the other. Perhaps this situation may change in the coming weeks, but as I write there is national unity behind the government's foreign policy such as never existed before. It is expressed in the attitude of the Cabinet where Communist ministers voted with the Socialists and the M. R. P. for what has been all along the French position on Germany: the political and economic separation of the Ruhr, French occupation of the Rhineland, and a customs and economic union with the Saar.

What is important is to understand exactly how the views of the government and the press on this issue reflect the thinking of every Frenchman. Writing in *La Resistance,* M. Destree makes this very clear: "France cannot but be instransigent on the German problem. Its position is that of no single party. It would have surprised us had the Communists adopted a different attitude, for they have never ceased to affirm their defiance of Germany and, if one may believe Jacques Duclos, their policy on international questions is dictated by a single consideration, the interests of France." *Franc Tireur,* a paper which has been consistently friendly to Russia, carried this headline: *"Un Seul Reich? Il Nous Semble Avoir Déjà Entendu Ca."* (One Reich? We Seem To Have Heard That Before.)

In general the first reaction of the press and public to Russia's stand against the French plan for separation of the Ruhr was one of bitter disappointment and French commentators find it difficult to undertake an objective analysis of Molotov's full statement. A few isolated voices recalled that the Russian Foreign Minister demanded complete disarmament of Germany and liquidation of its war industries, creation of an inter-allied control commission for German industry, dissolution of all military and paramilitary organizations, liquidation of all remnants of Nazism, and the organization of German politics on democratic lines. But for the French the Ruhr is the touchstone. They are in mortal fear of leaving the Ruhr within the frontiers of the future Fourth Reich for, according to the traditional viewpoint of the French General Staff, without the Ruhr neither the Second nor the Third Reich could have gone to war. To see Russia, on whose support they had counted, siding with Great Britain and the United States against separation of the Ruhr, makes the French feel that their country has been sold out and its future security compromised.

Aside from the political aspects of the question, France feels that it is being deprived of the coal indispensable to its industrial recovery. Since the first of the year, the French government has been imploring the Allies to increase France's quota of coal from the Ruhr; now any prospect of that seems remote in the light of Bevin's announcement that, whatever happens, his government must so organize the British zone in Germany as to impose no extra burden on the British taxpayer. Today, therefore, France considers itself the loser on two scores, political and economic. At the second conference of the Foreign Ministers Georges Bidault successfully played the role of mediator, notably in the case of Trieste; but he remarked with subtle irony that his mediation failed precisely where vital French interests were concerned.

Actually, the chances of mediation in the world that has emerged from the war are very slight at present. The new diplomacy is characterized by a lack of contact, of real negotiation. At the Foreign Ministers' conferences and in the meetings of the Security Council, monologue has replaced dialogue. A Foreign Minister or a delegate rises to outline his country's policy. Other speeches follow—but there is no healthy give-and-take discussion. And though the positions may be set forth with unquestionable clarity, as in the controversy over Germany, no attempt is made by diplomatic exchange to bring the various points of view closer together.

The French are terrified by the increasing activities of Nazi groups in Germany and the frequent armed attacks on the occupation forces. No Frenchman with political understanding would favor the annihilation of Germany. No responsible French political leader would dispute the fact that Europe must have a Germany capable of producing. "But how can we keep this country of producers in the family of nations and at the same time prevent it from being a country of warriors?" That is the question that Frenchmen are asking as a consequence of the Molotov speech.

Postscript, July 14: Under the title "Loyal to France," Pierre Hervé, leading columnist and Communist deputy, writes in today's *L'Humanite:* "For some time the French Communist Party has had differences of opinion with the German Communists. It has others with the Italian Communists. Moreover, is it not inevitable that there should be clashes of interest between the big nations? Is it not natural that in international debates, the views of France and the Soviet Union may differ—indeed, conflict? The French Communists intend to fight to insure that the security of our country is safeguarded and the legitimate needs of our economic recovery taken into consideration by the United Nations. That is, simply, the reason for our attitude."

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

American Inflation Hits the World

WE TEND to think of the current battle in Washington over price control as a domestic affair but actually its outcome is of momentous importance to almost everyone in the world. On June 29, when the President's veto blasted the phoney OPA bill which the Congressional die-hards had concocted, leaving prices in this country temporarily at the mercy of the free market, economic seismographs in many countries registered a major disturbance. On some of the European black markets the price of dollars fell as some speculators who had been paying far more than the official exchange rate for American bills foresaw depreciation in the dollar's buying power and started to unload. In Canada the government revalued its currency, wiping out the ten cent premium that United States dollars had commanded for the last seven years. The readjustment was considered necessary to enable Canada to maintain its own very successful control of prices.

But while Canada, thanks to large holdings of dollars and gold, was in a good position to defend itself against inflation here, other countries were not so fortunately placed. For Britain the rise in American prices meant that the purchasing power of its much-needed American credit was shrinking even before Congress had approved it. Theoretically this should be offset by the fact that inflation in this country would make British goods more competitive in foreign markets. But at this time Britain has no difficulty in selling everything it can spare for export so that the actual trade advantage afforded to it by dollar depreciation is unimportant. Certainly it does not offset reduced ability to buy food, raw materials, and machinery in the United States. Moreover the British are convinced that an inflationary boom in America now will be followed by an equally violent deflation which will drag down the whole level of world prices. If they prove right the loan they are contracting in terms of dollars with a low purchasing power will become repayable in dollars with a high purchasing power; in other words, they may have to return far more real wealth than they receive.

For many Latin American countries price inflation in the United States poses a similar problem but in reverse. During the war years they sold raw materials to this country in great quantities at controlled prices. Since they were not able at the time to buy equivalent amounts of American manufactures, they accumulated large dollar credits which they would like to turn into machinery, automobiles, textiles, and other goods. Now they see that prices are likely to be raised against them. They sold in terms of 100 cent dollars; they may find they must buy in terms of 75 cent ones.

Our neighbors to the south, however, have possible defensive measures open to them. Some of them might follow Canada's example by appreciating their exchange rates; all of them are likely to raise prices against the United States which cannot get along without large quantities of Latin American sugar, coffee, copper, cocoa, linseed oil, and other commodities. Already the Cubans, with whom the Department of Agriculture has been negotiating for months seeking to buy the whole of the 1946 and 1947 sugar crops, have secured a new contract which provides that prices will be raised *pari passu* with increases in the food price index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Thus Cuba will be protected against the higher cost of flour and other foods which it imports from this country.

The peoples abroad most likely to be adversely affected by American inflation, and those least able to defend themselves against its ravages, are those of the hungry countries. Between June 30 and July 10 some of the foods that UNRRA is buying for relief shipments increased in price as follows: wheat, $1.97 a bushel to $2.16; hogs, $14.75 per hundred pounds to $17.75; lard, 14 cents a pound to 18 cents. What this means is that UNRRA's funds, which are strictly limited and already barely adequate for the tasks assigned to the agency, are being effectively reduced in purchasing power.

Even more serious is the question of procurement for export. Up to June 30, the Department of Agriculture had been providing for export requirements of wheat and meat by "set-aside" orders which required elevators and slaughterhouses to sell to the government at ceiling prices a definite proportion of their receipts of these commodities. With the suspension of OPA these orders were rescinded for, in the absence of enforceable ceilings, their continuance would have meant government competition in the open market—a powerful additional stimulus to price increases. There is enough wheat in the pipelines to cover promised deliveries for the next month and, as regards meat, the Department apparently expects that heavy livestock marketings will soon begin to check the upward trend of prices and allow it to resume purchases without disturbing the market.

The fact is, however, that with the end of food ceilings the hungry people of Europe and Asia are forced to compete directly with the swollen pocket-books and large appetites of the American people. In this situation I, for one, would not like to prophesy how far prices may rise when the full pressure of foreign as well as domestic demand for wheat and meat is brought to bear on American supply. For supply of such commodities cannot be rapidly increased in response to higher prices as it can in the case of many manufactured articles. This year's wheat harvest is almost completed and while it is near last year's record, total supply is considerably less owing to the reduction in the carry-over. As for meat, the livestock population is considerably higher than before the war but it has not kept pace with the growth of national income. "Production of meat," writes the *Journal of Commerce* of July 10, "is now about as large as it is likely to be. Shortages will be ended not by larger output but when prices reach a level at which the demand for wheat will be equated to supply;" in other words, when the lower income groups, here and abroad, will be unable to afford to buy it. And, since every increase in the price of meat encourages the diversion of grains from human to animal consumption, a runaway meat market must mean less bread for those to whom it is literally the staff of life.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

In the Waxworks

At mid-day when the light rebukes the world,
Searching the seams of faces, cracks of walls
And each fault of the beautiful,
Seized by a panic of the street I fled
Into a waxworks where the élite in crime
And great in fame march past in fixed parade.
How pale they were beneath their paint, how pure
The monsters gleaming from the cubicles!

When, as in torsion, I beheld
These malformations of the evil mind
I grew serene and seemed to fall in love,
As one retiring to a moving picture
Or to a gallery of art. I saw
The basest plasm of the human soul
Here turned to sculpture, fingering,
Kissing, and corrupting life.

So back and forth among the leers of wax
I strutted for the idols of the tribe
Aware that I was on display, not they,
And that I had come down to pray,
As one retires to a synagogue
Or to a plaster saint upon the wall.
Why were these effigies more dear to me
Than haughty manikins in a window-shop?

I said a rosary for the Presidents
And fell upon my knees before
The Ripper and an exhibit of disease
Revolting more in its soft medium
Than in the flesh. I stroked a prince's hand,
Leaving a thumbprint in the palm. I swore
Allegiance to the suicide whose wrists
Of tallow bled with admirable red.

Why were these images more dear to me
Than faïence dolls or gods of smooth Pentelikon?
Because all statuary turns to death
And only half-art balances.
The fetish lives, idolatry is true,
The crude conception of the putrid face
Sticks to my heart. This criminal in wan
Weak cerement of translucent fat

Is my sweet saint. O heretic, O mute,
When broils efface the Metropolitan
And swinish man from some cloaca creeps
Or that deep midden, his security,
Coming to you in brutish admiration
May he look soft into your eyes;
And you, good wax, may you not then despise
Our sons and daughters, fallen apes.

KARL SHAPIRO

The Fabian Webbs

BEATRICE WEBB. By Margaret Cole. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. $3.

DESPITE the author's prefatory disclaimer this is, of course, the story of Sidney as well as of Beatrice, and Beatrice *and* Sidney, for it is not possible to write the biography of one half of a close and fruitful partnership without telling a lot about the other half and still more about the whole. Without the partnership either might have been the subject of a monograph, for both were people of talent who had begun to make reputations on their own before they married. But the most remarkable thing about them was that they so exactly complemented each other that together they exerted an intellectual force far greater than twice their separate strengths. "We are both of us second-rate minds," wrote Beatrice in her diary at the time of her engagement, "but we are curiously combined." Sidney was the logician, the master draftsman, the sponge of significant facts; Beatrice had a more intuitive mind and a wider social experience. It was she who first conceived the idea of their great "History of Trade Unionism" but without Sidney's drive and organizing ability she could never have completed it.

Before their paths came together, when they were both in their thirties, the two Webbs had travelled over very different country. Beatrice, a daughter of the *haute bourgeoisie*, had little formal education but was brought up in a stimulating household where conversation on books and affairs was maintained at a high level. At the proper age, she served her time in London society and came close to marrying Joseph Chamberlain, the most glamorous political leader of the day. But she saw through him as she saw through the delights of society and turned aside to pursue the search for a faith and a profession that she later described in her absorbing book "My Apprenticeship." There followed adventures in "slumming," her introduction to social research as one of the contributors to Booth's famous survey of London life and labor, and a growing interest in economic institutions which led to a study of consumers' cooperation.

Sidney, springing from the ranks of the lower middle classes, had to fight his way up the educational ladder. He did so with such success that at the age of 23 he passed into the First Division of Civil Service despite the lack of a university education—a really extraordinary feat in those days. Not long after he joined the recently founded Fabian Society and with Bernard Shaw and Graham Wallas began to sow seeds from which the British Labor government is reaping a harvest today.

In the nineties, however, at the time that they married, the Webbs were not thinking in terms of a separate workers' party. They took no part in the activities of the Independent Labor Party which, despite the contempt the Webbs felt for it, made a great contribution to the building of the Labor

Party proper by heavy spadework on street-corners and doorsteps. The Fabians, in the same period, were less concerned with carrying their message direct to the people than with influencing the élite. They did succeed to a certain extent in infiltrating the Liberal Party but the limitations of this method were brought home to the Webbs and their friends by the experiences of Beatrice as a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (1905-1909).

The Minority Report which she and three other members signed was a devastating attack on the whole Poor Law system, a penetrating analysis of the causes of poverty, and a series of revolutionary proposals for state action to remove those causes. To popularize these ideas the Webbs promoted a national organization and took to public agitation in a big way. But although they created quite a stir, they made little impression on the Liberal government of the day. The crusade failed and its failure turned the thoughts of the Webbs to the need for a third party with a socialist program.

During the first world war, the Webbs moved closer to the Labor Party, then more of a trade union group than a national political organization. Sidney assisted in its reconstitution on a broader base and drafted the new program on which it fought the election of 1918 when, though still small, it emerged as the official opposition. For the next twelve years, the Webbs were immersed in labor politics, although their literary output continued to be formidable. Sidney went into Parliament and twice held office in minority Labor governments. But they were both disappointed at the results and were glad to retire from active politics after MacDonald's betrayal of the labor movement in 1931.

Thus the last, and most sensational, phase of their career —their enthusiastic discovery of Soviet Russia—took place against a background of disillusion. This enthusiasm was all the more astonishing because their attitude toward the Russian revolution had been cold and critical. Beatrice, Mrs. Cole writes, regarded the Bolsheviks in 1918 as "a new and unpleasing variety of anarchists or syndicalists, who had unfortunately obtained a chance of putting their ridiculous theories of workers' control into practice." Invited in 1919 to come and see for herself, "she retorted grimly that she knew what happened to hostages."

However, in 1932, when the Webbs finally went to Russia, after an intensive preparatory course of reading, both sides forgave and forgot. The Soviet government entertained its distinguished guests in a way that made Sidney comment: "We seem to be a new type of royalty." To the Webbs Russia appeared like a Fabian blueprint brought to life; the collectivist state in full operation, with, of course, all that nonsense of workers' control long abandoned. Above all, they were impressed with the "moral fervor" of the Russian Communists, in whom they found the dedicated élite of which they had long dreamed. They came home after two months, laden with documents, unabashedly admitting that they had "fallen in love with Soviet communism," and devoted their last working years (they were now in their seventies) to explaining and defending the new civilization they had discovered. Mrs. Cole, while obviously not sharing all their enthusiasm, finds it rather touching and I think most readers will do likewise. Yet we must also regret that two such experienced researchers failed to get below the

What about cartels?

CHARLES R. WHITTLESEY'S

National Interests and International Cartels

Because healthy world trade is a prime requisite for a peaceful world, the problem of cartels is of vital interest today. Yet it is usually discussed with more heat than knowledge. The very word "cartel" has acquired emotional implications which make dispassionate discussion difficult. Professor Charles R. Whittlesey of the Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, brings sanity into the situation by critically examining the flood of contentions, pro and con.

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1. The Cartel Problem
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MACMILLAN

surface in Russia and to examine the human cost of the great experiment. One reason, I suspect, was that in writing "Soviet Communism" they relied overmuch on documents, treating the word as the deed, and accepting dubious statistics on trust. The result was a picture which impressed by its massive detail but lacked the light and shade that gives perspective.

This review would not be complete without a word about the excellent qualifications of its author. Mrs. Cole knew the Webbs as a disciple, as a political adversary, and finally as a friend. She and her husband, G. D. H. Cole, were among the young Fabians who came along to challenge "the old gang" in the years just before World War I. They were leaders in the Guild Socialist movement, which the Webbs heartily disapproved, both because of the heretical nature of its ideas and the light-hearted "bad manners" of its members. But, as Mrs. Cole says, the Webbs never wasted energy in bearing grudges and although the fight was sharp while it lasted it did not prevent the renewal of warm relations. So Mrs. Cole has been able to enrich this book with a wealth of personal knowledge. Written with affection, respect, but not, thank heaven, undue reverence, it is a modest but worthy tribute to a notable woman and a still more notable marriage.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Aragon in English

ARAGON, POET OF THE RESISTANCE. Edited by Hannah Josephson and Malcolm Cowley. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.

I GREATLY admired Aragon's poems on finding them, some years ago, a few at a time and selected with excellent taste, in Roger Callois's *Lettres Françaises*. It was not until the publication of the two volumes "Le Crêve-Coeur" and "Les Yeux d'Elsa" that the distinction had to be made between the Aragon who without self-conceit shared the experience and emotion of his companions at the front, turning it into excellent poetry, and the man who so frequently turns sympathy into a sort of professional pity, embarrassing to the reader and, I should think, to the men Aragon claims to represent. (In the same way I admire Louis Aragon's war record, but in reading about it I don't want repeatedly to be slapped in the face with a wet dishrag because I didn't happen to be around to wash up after dinner.) There are also pieces of verse like Lancelot in "Les Yeux d'Elsa" where Aragon confuses metempsychosis with skin-grafting. Not even Hugo's "Châtiments" are as fulsome.

The poems I like best in "Le Crêve-Coeur" are Le temps des mots croisés, Ombres, and Complainte pour l'orgue de la nouvelle Barbarie—for its mechanical accomplishment. Zone Libre reminds me enough of Apollinaire to make me wish he hadn't died so soon. Elsa je t'aime again is such a mixture of Apollinaire's rhythm, prosodic procedure, and sensibility that it is impossible to forget how imitative it is.

A great deal of what Malcolm Cowley's book translates from "Les Yeux d'Elsa" isn't worth the trouble, whereas the long sequence called Cantique à Elsa, which certainly includes the best poetry in the book, is completely omitted. The poetry about which I think there isn't any doubt can be found in Ouverture and in Aragon's completely beautiful piece of writing Le Regard de Rancé; here his preoccupation with the *trobar clus* of the early Provençal poets really does perfectly accomplish its intention. The description of Rancé's finding his mistress murdered and mutilated in her bed, the embalmers standing by, whispering and discussing anatomy, surpasses the merely macabre; and the equation woman-mother-country for once becomes wholly acceptable. There are implications in Aragon's patriotism which have nothing to do with the Stalinist line—as *Partisan Review's* editors like to think—but which lead to the equivalent of a *magna mater* religion, an Albigensian heresy, such as De Rougemont describes in his "Love and the Western World." It is precisely about *trobar clus* that Aragon fails to be explicit in his prose prefaces, merely mentioning that he would like to "renew the mysteries of the *clus trover*, of that hermetic art about which I have not finished dreaming."

Whether you can swallow Aragon whole depends on how you accept the prose introduction to "Les Yeux d'Elsa": "My own Place de l'Étoile is in my heart, and if you wish to know the name of the star, my poems sufficiently betray it (Elsa). People will say that a man owes it to himself not to expose his love in the market-place. [Aragon is a master of paraleipsis.]...To all those who in uttering the one blasphemy disown both Love and that which I love, even though they should be powerful enough to stamp out the last spark of that fire of France, I hold up before them this little paper book, this wretchedness of words, this doomed book of black magic; and how should it matter what becomes of it if, at the moment of ultimate hate, I shall for an instant have shown this lacerated country the resplendent visage of love." Even if this is all right in the poems, where certain old conventions make it pardonable, it won't do in prose. In another part he writes, "I sing of arms and the man," and sets himself up as the recognized embodiment of the unknown soldier. Corbière's taunt applies here: *Garde national épique.*

In the same preface Aragon advertises his innovations in rhyme, crows with delight at having composed a few quatrains of French alexandrines which, because of internal rhyme occurring at a set place, can optionally be printed as sestettes of octosyllabics. A great amount of space is taken up with Aragon's illustrations that prove how clever a rhymer he is. "...Opéra paré d'opales," which he compares with Mallarmé's "...tristement dort une mandore," is to him not

The concentration camps of Franco, Vichy, Germany have left over 100,000 sick and wounded Spanish anti-fascists. Most of these Spaniards in exile in France have Tuberculosis.

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mere baby-talk but a revolution in French versification. He claims to be going on from where Apollinaire left off. He imitates "Alcools" and "Caligrammes" in rhyming *Toulon* with *ombres, embarquèrent* with *Dunkerque,* and so on, where the tonic syllables in order to rhyme according to this scheme must have the same exact vowel with immediately following consonant. Apollinaire's poem Zone, for instance, rhymes *Pape Pie Dix* with *Christianisme;* and so far as I know it is the first time this sort of thing has been used in French rhyme. (In America MacLeish made a complete system out of it.) But this is of no importance compared to Aragon's conscious absorption of Apollinaire's style and sensibility. He invents nothing, and there are more unflaunted, really subtle internal rhyme-schemes in Verlaine's sonnet Parsifal alone than in all of Aragon's verse put together. He is fighting a sham battle—the symbolists settled all this long ago.

The translations of Mr. Cowley's book have little to do with the original poems. "They all (the translators) knew in the beginning, and they learned again before completing their task, that poetry is in the strict sense untranslatable." Cervantes, and many others, said this a long time ago; but Mr. Cowley, more stubborn, publishes an entire volume to prove his point. I do not quite agree with his assertion that Aragon's "own personality, his own style, his own story are strong enough to persist essentially unchanged in all the translations." The translations are like Dr. Johnson's dog walking on its hindlegs; the wonder is that it can be done at all. Kenneth Muir translates: "...and yet I know...your month of Sundays. O!" There is no interjection in the original, but we have to have something to rhyme with *I know.* This is naive but unimportant. Why does Mr. Cowley, in his own translation, put the rhymed Tapestry of the Great Fear into blank verse, unless to prove what is apparent, that the few translations which do not try to rhyme are the only accurate ones?

Louis MacNeice, having to rhyme with *heart*—which anyway does not occur in the original—writes:

> I shall not ever forget the lilacs or the roses
> Nor those the spring has kept folded away apart.

Impossible to derive meaning from this without consulting the French:

> Je n'oublierai jamais les lilas ni les roses
> Ni ceux que le printemps dans ses plis a gardés

where in the original you have at least a Botticellian personification of Spring enshrouding the fallen soldiers in the folds of her gown.

Again, in his introduction, Mr. Cowley writes "I might call special attention to John Hayward's More Beautiful Than Tears, a poem which I had at first judged to be too purely French for even a rough English approximation, let alone an accurate version like Hayward's." I could wish my special attention hadn't been called to:

> What matter if I die, it is enough
> If others see that blessed face reborn:
> Dance, children, dance your capucine, forlorn,
> My country is Dearth, Penury, and Love.

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since the world *forlorn* is gratuitous, though ending in *orn;* the plural of *mon enfant* unimportant but unwarranted; and Dearth and Penury stilted:

> Qu'importe que je meure avant que se dessine
> Le visage sacré s'il doit renaître un jour
> Dansons ô mon enfant dansons la capucine
> Ma patrie est la faim la misère et l'amour.

These are not isolated examples, alas.

I was surprised at first to find that Mr. Cowley's book had no juxtalinear translations on facing pages. When I began to read I thought vaguely of the paper shortage, of distorting mirrors, and of the paper shortage.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Editor-in-Chief of the Navy

THE CAREER OF JOSEPHUS DANIELS is a problem in democracy. Here is a "tar-heel editor," fully as naive and as provincial as you would expect. (In Paris he was guided by a French naval officer "who had never heard the name of Pasteur." As pronounced by the Secretary, no doubt.) He is intrusted with the American navy in a world crisis. He tries to make the navy bone-dry and democratic, and fails. But with Daniels as editor-in-chief, the navy functions efficiently. (Sims was to attack one major decision, but found little support either in the navy or in Congress.) Daniels was not a disaster. Indeed, he was a very good Secretary. He was loyal to his great leader; he had an enthusiastic and capable assistant; he knew how to leave technical details to experts. He proved that "the common man," with shrewdness, kindliness, honesty, and a high purpose, can go a very long way. Oddly enough, the pacifist editor became the advocate of a big navy, more radical than some of the admirals. As such, he clashed with the British, who never accepted "the freedom of the seas." There are traces of good old-fashioned Anglophobia in his book ("The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923," North Carolina, $4) as folksy, as racy of the soil as his style or his religion. But the right to challenge England's supremacy is restricted to the United States. Britannia and Columbia, twin gems of the ocean, rule the waves. All others are interlopers. Good horse sense (I hope the horses won't be offended).

The center of interest, of course, is not Daniels but Wilson. Daniels's devotion to his chief is a credit to both. The portrait is not idealized: Daniels does recognize the stiffness of Wilson, and his temper; Wilson was no F. D. R. But he claims—rightly, I believe—that there was no Wilson mystery. What puzzled the professional politicians was that Wilson meant what he said. Still—and that was the world's tragedy—even when he brought down the Tables of the Law, he did not quite know his own mind. There are two quotations in the book which, when brought sharply together, are particularly illuminating. The first is from Wilson himself. "The devils had taken me up to high mountains to be tempted of them, but I had forced British and French statesmen to sign an Americanized treaty. I am compelled to be sincere if they are not. I can stand defeat. I cannot stand retreat from conscientious duty." The other is borrowed from Lincoln Steffens (I streamline). Clemenceau—"You gentlemen profess to want a permanent peace. Do you mean it?" Wilson and Lloyd George nod. "Have you counted the cost?" "What cost?" "Why, giving up empire, privileges; not possessing the keys of trade routes and spheres of influence any more." Wilson and Lloyd George protested that they did not mean exactly that; no, not all that; not at once, anyhow. "Then," said Clemenceau, "you do not mean permanent peace. You mean war." The old democratic Radical, brought up in the humanitarian tradition of 1848, could have been won over to permanent peace, if Wilson had clearly meant peace, that is, the complete renunciation of privilege. But Clemenceau knew that equivocation is the root of war.

ALBERT GUERARD

Old Truths in Germany

IT SEEMS TO ME SYMPTOMATIC of our emotionally upset thinking that the rediscovery and restatement of old truths—that not all people are alike, that there are good and bad, brave and cowardly—should make the particular value of a book on present-day Germany. Percy Knauth, the author of "Germany in Defeat" (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.75), is endowed with a keen sense of the essentials of character, and gives his sympathy freely where he feels sympathy is deserved. His understanding of men, especially of those who suffer, is his strength as a writer; it enables him to paint arresting portraits of old underground labor leaders in Frankfort planning for the future, of a young woman in Leipzig who faces suicide calmly and serenely, of a courageous minister of the Confessional church who grapples valiantly with the political facts of a confusing reality. Percy Knauth is, to my knowledge, the first to tell the real story of the underground movement and revolt in Buchenwald, the surrender of Nürnberg catacombs, and the actual plot of July 20 in the Führer's headquarters.

He is no sentimentalist, however, and reports just as strikingly on the maze of human weakness and wickedness that was Hitler's Reich. Many people swear in all honesty that they never belonged to the Nazi Party; yet with each word they say or write they demonstrate how deeply the poison of National Socialism perverted their thoughts and feelings. A short sketch on Pastor Niemöller, who paid for his religious beliefs with eight years in a concentration camp but still volunteered for Hitler's submarine war, is illuminating. A whole chapter on Adolf Hitler, based on interviews with his closest collaborators, is one of the finest short character analyses of Hitler ever written.

The weak points of the book lie in the drawing of general conclusions from concrete personal observations. In Knauth's evaluation of Soviet policy in Germany, wishful thinking replaces an objective study of reality. And by limiting the significance of the affair of July 20 to a mere military cabal of disgruntled generals, he is led to the very debatable statement that the Allies have all the reason in the world to congratulate themselves on the failure of that attempt to shorten the war by ten months.

HERMAN EBELING

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE press on Laurence Olivier's production of Shakespeare's "Henry V" has been exceptionally warm and friendly, as seems no more than proper. Although the press is not to blame for it there is also a rumor, credited apparently by a good many, that it is the best movie ever made. Through some people I have talked with I gather that it is also possible for intelligent people to be disappointed, displeased, or even bored by the film. Indeed I will not be greatly surprised if a sort of highbrow underground develops, devoted to spoiling the fun of relatively easy-minded enthusiasts. Let me therefore first appease the more demanding among my readers, insofar as may be, by getting off my chest all I can possibly find to object to.

"Henry V" is by no means the best movie ever made; it is a recreation of an old dramatic poem, not the creation of a new one. Nor is it the best of Shakespeare's plays; it is merely a very good and vigorous and at times very moving and beautiful one which, among all his plays, is one of the most obviously amenable to movie treatment and which was for obvious reasons particularly germane at the time it was planned and made. The movie treatment, in turn, is by no means as adventurous as it might have been. No attempt is made to develop a movie style which might in poetic energy and originality work as a cinematic counterpart to the verse. The idea is, rather, to make everything on the screen and soundtrack serve the verse, as clearly and well and unobtrusively as possible. Within this relatively modest and, I think, very wise and admirable intention, moreover, the success is not complete.

Much as I like most things about the opening sequence, in the Globe Theater, and skilfully as I think it is used on the whole, to accustom many levels of the contemporary audience to Shakespeare's style and skill, I am sorry about the subtly patronizing way in which a good deal of it was done. We have a right to assume that the Elizabethan stage at its best was in its own terms as good as the theater or the screen can ever hope to be, and I wish this might have been suggested—as it is in flashes by Olivier—without even the faintest suggestion of "Murder in the Old Red Barn," or of "life ran very high in those days." The gradual transference from theater to screen seems to me good or better than good in each single idea, but a little heavy and balky taken altogether, and in spite of shrewd editing and, within each single scene, exquisite pacing, the movie is during its first hour or so almost as fitful and choppy as the play. I very greatly like the anti-naturalistic, two-and-a-half-dimensional effect that is got by obtunding shallow perspectives in painted drops, and these drops are very pretty and clever; but too many of them are pretty and clever in a soft, almost travel-poster way which to some extent conflicts with and lets down the foregrounds. The night sequence in the English camp might, I think, have been still better if it had taken more of its country-night poetic atmosphere straight from nature, and had wholly avoided the smell and look of a good, semi-naturalistic studio set. The shooting of the battle is fine in its main design; I have an idea that here again, sharp naturalism and sharp detail would have improved it and would only have intensified its poetic quality. Shakespeare, after all, was exceedingly rangy in his diction; the movie diction of these good but lesser poets is a little too resolutely "poetic."

I personally enjoyed—and even heard and understood—nearly everything that was done by the comics and semi-comics—especially Robert Newton as Pistol—but well played as they mostly were, I'm not convinced that they survive three hundred years with enough vitality to make them honestly and generally amusing, without a sort of "cultured" over-generosity towards them which I rather dislike in any context and find particularly distasteful in humor. They were not up to giving the narration of Falstaff's death any of the dizzying blend of comedy and noble piteousness it has in the text, nor can I imagine any human beings who would be; and although the actress who played Mistress Quickly gave her lines much tenderness and thought, she was, barring the Irish comic—with his unplayable role—the only embarrassing bit of amateurishness in the show.

I have, I must confess, a glimmer of the kind of unhappy premonition which sometimes signals a change of heart—a feeling that with many more seeings, and a good deal more remembrance, much that now seems highly satisfying, visually, will come to seem too much like conventional illustration to be quite so happy; and that a good deal of the casting, which now seems as nearly perfect as any I have ever seen in a film, and incomparably the best I have seen in a Shakespearian production, will seem perhaps no less good, so far as it goes, but a little predictable, even stodgy. I fear particularly that elements in Renee Asherson's performance as the French princess, which now seems to me pure enchantment, will in time look a little coarsely coy. But if this time ever comes I fear also that I will have lost a certain warmth of spirit, and capacity for delight, which this film requires of those who will enjoy it, and which it asks for, and inspires, with a kind of uninsistent geniality and grace which is practically unknown in twentieth century art, though it was part of the essence of Shakespeare's. I don't have the feeling that any extraordinary, fresh creative force is at large in the film except that of Shakespeare, though the film itself swarms with the evidence of creative intelligence of a gentler and still highly honorable kind, and with evidence also of a quality of taste which is far too good and too sure of itself to need to scorn the great middle audience. It is not, I repeat, the most exciting or inspiring or original film I have seen. But I cannot think of any that seems to be more beautiful, more skilfully and charmingly achieved within its wisely ordered limits, or more thoroughly satisfying.

Such are my objections; I could with pleasure fill twenty times this space with a mere listing of specific excellence, without more than beginning to express my esteem for the film and its makers. But what little of that there will be room for will have to wait a couple of weeks.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WRITING about jazz records a year ago I remarked on the way attitudes like those of the musicologists were turning up unexpectedly in discussion of jazz. For one thing like the musicologists' preoccupation with stylistic developments and tendencies instead of with the particular work of art as a unique artistic communication. And for another thing like their habit of setting up an early form of an art as *the* art, which meant that subsequent deviations from that form to other forms were deviations from the art to things that were not the art.

In jazz the early form was the New Orleans group improvisation, which one reader described as "cornet lead, clarinet, and trombone countermovements over a two-beat rhythm section"; and he went on to say that "all other methods wander out into the damnedest complications and methods having nothing but historical connection (if that) with the original jazz style." Thus the early Louis Armstrong Hot Five performances with "Armstrong's soloing," which were a "first break away from the sometimes less individually brilliant but always more collectively alive New Orleans style," were also a first step toward present-day "individual exhibitionism, powerhouse arrangements for 27 trumpets and 89 saxophones, and Duke Ellington," and toward the intervening performances of the Chicagoans that my correspondent disliked. So that while the early Hot Five with Dodds and Ory played jazz, even the slightly later Armstrong-Hines-Robinson combination only played "*like* jazz."

But another reader with a more rigorously systematizing mind contended that the term "jazz" was correctly applicable only to the New Orleans type of ensemble performance to which it had been applied originally; and that performances which emphasized solos rather than ensemble—even performances as good as those of the Armstrong Hot Five, the Dodds Black Bottom Stompers, the Chicago "jazz imitators like Beiderbecke, Teschmacher, and Spanier"—were not "jazz in the strict sense." And he too pointed out that they were the first step toward the later Armstrongs and the performances redeemed only by a solo by Buck Clayton or Bix; and that "from there it is only another short step to Glenn Miller and Tin Pan Alley."

To all this I answered that jazz could not stop with the New Orleans style, and a deviation from that style was not *ipso facto* a deviation from jazz: one had to distinguish, in the deviations, what was jazz from what was not. One also had to recognize the particular value of the particular performance in whatever style of jazz, and accept the fact that a particular Chicago performance happened to be better than a particular New Orleans. And it did not become bad because something bad followed from it: only the bad thing that followed was bad (to say nothing of the good things that also may have followed).

My idea of what was jazz and what was not I described in an answer to a further letter from my systematizing correspondent, in which he argued that to insist that the music produced by the Armstrong Hot Five is the same as the obviously different music produced by the later Armstrong Savoy Ballroom Five "leads to hopeless confusion," and therefore he did not see "what is gained by insisting that both must be called jazz." I wrote: "I have considered jazz to be the performances of small groups of musicians—performances spontaneously, freely creative in the traditional language and style described by Wilder Hobson in 'American Jazz Music,' and exhibiting the integration, the immediacy of relation of ensemble performance in both the ensemble and the solo passages. Against these I have set the well-oiled performances of written-out arrangements by large bands. And I have taken into account in-between types like the various Ellingtons, ranging from the early ones nearest jazz, in which the soloists operate with considerable freedom, to the later ones that are nearly all arranged gilt-and-plush. But the New Orleans performances, the Armstrong Hot Fives and Hot Sevens and Savoy Ballroom Fives, the Chicago performances—these I have regarded as different ways of doing what I have described as jazz. . . . The same thing is gained by calling a Hot Five and a Savoy Ballroom Five both jazz as is gained by calling a work of Mozart and a work of Beethoven both symphony; and confusion is created by giving them two names."

And now my first correspondent has written again, to ask whether I have listened to the recently reissued Teschmacher and Johnny Dodds and Jelly-Roll Morton performances, and whether I now hear the faults of the Chicagoans —"erratic rhythm sections, alternately jerky and wooden . . . inability to improvise collectively . . . Teschmacher's bad tone and intonation"—as against the "relaxation, melodic and tonal richness, and rhythmic flow" of the Dodds and Morton groups. Yes, I have listened; and the two outstanding performances in Decca's Teschmacher volume (Set B-1017; $3.50)—the Chicago Rhythm Kings' "There'll Be Some Changes Made" and "I've Found a New Baby" (80063)—are for me, in their own style, superb jazz, made exciting by their rhythmic drive, their flow of ensemble and solo invention, and especially the rhythmically intricate solos of Teschmacher, even with their imperfections of execution. The other performances in the volume are poor. But in Decca's Dodds volume also (Set B-1020; $3.50) only the two performances in which Armstrong plays—"Weary Blues" and "New Orleans Stomp" (80073)—have the melodic richness my correspondent speaks of. The others are lively ensemble performances which get monotonous for lack of interesting musical ideas—Dodds's invention being undistinguished and limited. After them it is amazing to hear in "Weary Blues" and "New Orleans Stomp" not only the richness of Armstrong's own melodic invention but the way it causes everybody else—and Dodds, in particular—to be suddenly full of ideas and the performances to be not only more individually brilliant but more collectively alive. (More extraordinary is the "Wild Man Blues" recorded at the same session, and included in Decca's Armstrong volume. It consists of two solos: one of Armstrong's greatest, which elicits from Dodds a superb answer in the same style.)

I should add that from some of the material sent by my systematizing correspondent I discovered that it wasn't only the attitudes of the musicologists that were turning up in jazz, but the musicologists themselves who had moved in on jazz, finding in it, as usual, not something to enjoy but an additional material for their categorizing and system-grinding. This was something I had not realized when I had encountered in the *Herald Tribune* an article on "Jazz Purism" by one Rudi Blesh, which used the same method of falsifying schematization as did the monstrosity on chamber music in the nineteenth century that Professor Paul Henry Láng contributed to a New Friends of Music booklet. But that will have to wait.

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Letters to the Editors

UNRRA Defended

Dear Sirs: The following paragraph appears in an article entitled "Elections Every Sunday," by Donald Downes, in the May 18 issue of *The Nation*:

> "Much of the responsibility for the high prices and bad distribution rests with the weak Italian government. When election day lasts four months, it is hard to make politicians concentrate on such matters as food and price-control laws. UNRRA is partly responsible, for it has apparently failed to use the utmost possible pressure to get the government to act. Harlan Cleveland, head of the economic section of UNRRA, in a conversation with this writer casually confirmed the fact that 100,000 tons of textiles, 100,000 tons of phosphates, and nearly 50,000 tons of medicines, all of Italian make, are being hoarded by manufacturers and speculators in the north. Probably 100,000 tons of textiles is enough to make two complete outfits for every man, woman, and child in Italy. A suggestion that these materials be requisitioned by the government and distributed in the same manner and under the same price control as UNRRA goods was looked upon by Mr. Cleveland as foolish, and I suppose as dangerously anti-capitalist."

The observations in this paragraph are as generally superficial and uninformed as the rest of the article. The facts:

1. When he came to visit the UNRRA mission in Italy, Mr. Downes was patently looking for something scandalous to pin on UNRRA. He didn't find anything, so he apparently decided to saddle UNRRA with problems for which it has no direct responsibility.

2. There are 100,000 tons (more or less) of textiles, mostly synthetic goods produced during the war and still held in manufacturers' and wholesalers' warehouses, in Northern Italy. These are not goods made with UNRRA cotton and wool, which are moving. The synthetics have not moved into consumption channels because (a) they are mostly inferior synthetic goods (fiocco), which nobody wants now that good cotton and wool is coming on the market; and (b) they are being held at too high (but now falling) prices. The UNRRA mission has consistently pressed the Italian Government to do something about them, and would favor any system that would actually get these goods, inferior as they are, to the people who need them.

3. Small stocks of superphosphates—around 40,000 tons—were discovered some time ago. Steps have now been taken by the Government to make sure that all superphosphate moves quickly out on to the farms where it is needed. The phosphate rock from which this fertilizer is made results from a trade agreement between the Italian and French Governments. It is not part of the UNRRA program.

4. The stocks of medicines — Mr. Downes' figure is way out of line— are not of Italian make, as stated, but are imports which the Italian Government has been slow in distributing. There are also some captured enemy stocks, which have only recently been turned over to the Government by the military. In cooperation with the Allied Commission, UNRRA has brought the utmost pressure to bear on the Italian Government to get them distributed, and has even modified its own program because of the existence of these stocks. It is expected that this situation will improve shortly, and we are not relaxing in our efforts.

HARLAN CLEVELAND

Washington, D. C., May 23

Liberal Blind Spot

Dear Sirs: Reinhold Niebuhr has illumined a curious blind spot in American "liberalism" in his recent article on British labor. British labor is carrying to completion much of the program for which it has campaigned and for which our so-called "liberals" are currently agitating. Oddly enough, our liberal press has paid little attention to this important development in Britain and even to the epoch-making steps toward Indian independence.

Too few Americans realize the difficulties of liquidating an empire or transforming it into a commonwealth in these days of heightened nationalism. Our own experience in the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and our sad bungling of our racial minorities should make our "liberals" more patient with Britain's colonial policy.

Equally strange is the double standard of political morality with which many judge the actions of Russia, Britain, or ourselves. Distance lends enchantment; the average Russian does not mind being watched by the secret police or the peasant does not care whether his farm is collectivized. But a much milder terrorism in our factories in the field can arouse these same people to great indignation.

Truman's unfortunate bill to draft striker's is roundly scored; but many of our liberals praise the compulsory labor registration system in Russia not to mention the uncounted millions who were virtually enslaved to work in the lumber camps and mines of Siberia. Perhaps these policies of the Russian government can be defended as temporary expedients. But why not give British labor an equal tolerance of error?

DAVID ELLIS

Utica, N. Y., June 10

New Veterans Group

Dear Sirs: Over 100 paraplegia patients at Halloran General Hospital have formed the Paralyzed Veterans' Association. A paraplegic is an individual paralyzed in varying degrees from the waist down as a result of injury to the spinal cord.

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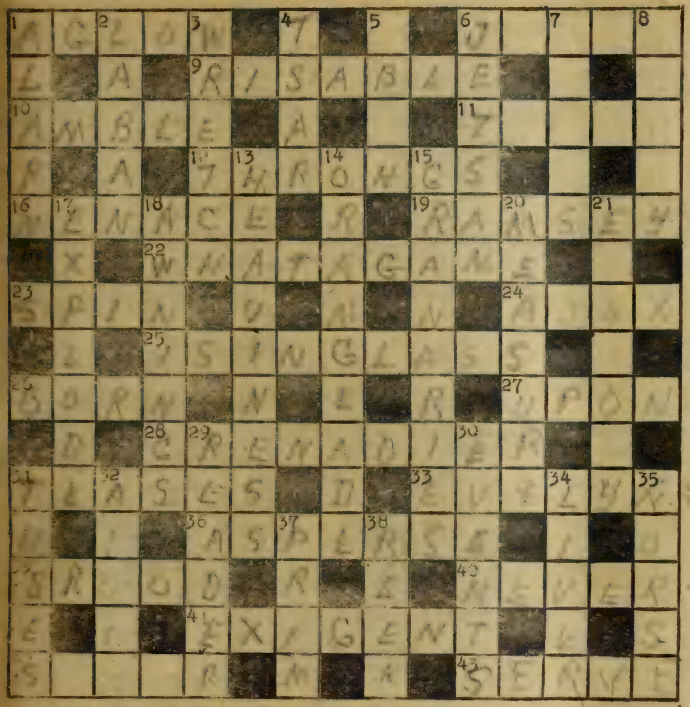
4. Maintenance of Halloran hospital for the treatment of paraplegic patients by the Army or the Veterans' Administration.
5. Increased disability pension laws. A single veteran should retain all benefits when hospitalized and not be cut to $20 per month as the present law requires.

P. F. C. BOB MOSS, Publicity Director

Staten Island, N. Y., June 27

Crossword Puzzle No. 170

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Phosphorescent?
6 He married the girl himself, in *Trial by Jury*
9 Laughable
10 Not the pace that kills
11 State of things at any period
12 Crowds
16 Threaten
19 First name of a pre-war British premier
22 A sporting view of life (4, 1, 4)
23 Fish with a swivel or spoon-bait
24 General A. Jacks
25 Glutinous stuff
26 Nee
27 In an elevated position
28 Name of the first regiment of British foot-guards
31 Pulls the leg of
33 Feminine, or masculine, name
36 Slander
39 Meditate on children?
40 Surely not!
41 Demanding immediate attention
42 Brandished by the Bard
43 Wait upon

DOWN

1 Rings you up
2 He decreed seven years' hard labor for a wife
3 Poor fellow
4 A Romanoff, perhaps
5 Where they allow only twenty-five letters to the alphabet?
6 Unlike flotsam, this is *thrown* overboard
7 Heaps of unhappiness
8 Easy's not quite the word for it
13 Weightiness
14 Fresh fruit drink
15 There's plenty when they are full
17 Burst into laughter
18 They keep the sun off
20 Slow and stately dance
21 Humorously, one's body
29 A book, or its user
30 Coming ones cast their shadows before (sometimes)
31 Radio set valves
32 Sailor's at the front
34 The happiest one is he who does not know that he has one
35 Language of ancient Scandinavia
37 Very proper
38 Smoke

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 169

ACROSS:—1 HOT PLATE; 5 SORTIE; 10 TRUFFLE; 11 ICELAND; 12 EPIC; 13 MAJOR; 16 YAWL; 17 MINUTES; 19 STEIN; 20 GOBLIN; 22 NUPTIAL; 23 OPIATE; 25 LIMBO; 27 STACKED; 31 COVE; 32 SPEED; 33 OGRE; 36 INDOORS; 37 PERSIAN; 38 GARDEN; 39 PREMIERE.

DOWN:—1 HATTER; 2 TOURIST; 3 LIFE; 4 TREPAN; 6 OVEN; 7 TRAVAIL; 8 EIDOLONS; 9 PILOT; 13 MINUTES; 14 JUSTICE; 15 REGALED; 17 MINTS; 18 SOLID; 21 TOUCHING; 24 INVADER; 26 BEGUILE; 28 APISH; 29 KEEPER; 30 SEANCE; 34 LOVE; 35 DRUM.

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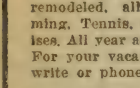

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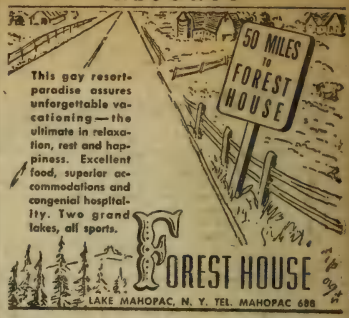

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The Shape of Things

STRAINING OUR ANGLO-SAXON TRADITION to the snapping point, we will assume the innocence of Representative Andrew Jackson May until he is proved guilty. We will not rush to conclusions just because his endorsement has been found on checks made out to a dubious lumber company for lumber that was never delivered; nor will we pass hasty judgment on him for allegedly having badgered the army into giving millions of dollars' worth of war contracts to as questionable a collection of characters as ever approached the public trough. We will give the Congressman the benefit of the doubt—but not for long. He has refused to appear before Senator Mead's investigating committee unless guaranteed special and unprecedented privileges. This is asking a great deal for a man who as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee demanded expulsion, without so much as a hearing, of State Department employees whom he chose to regard as "pro-Soviet" and "disloyal." Perhaps the Kentucky representative will be able to refute testimony that he served as guardian angel for an Illinois syndicate that expanded from a letterhead to a "paper empire" by way of lush war contracts; and that in at least one telephone conversation with its Washington agent he demanded his cut. But until he does take the stand, he is clearly disqualified from carrying on as chairman of one of the most powerful committees in Congress. While unrefuted evidence of graft and malfeasance continues to pile up against him, Mr. May cheerfully occupies himself with nothing less monumental than devising legislative controls on the production of atomic energy. Honest as he may be, we would like to see him demonstrate his innocence under oath before nuclear fission becomes the monopoly of his shady business associates.

*

A REPORT SIGNED BY EIGHT OF THE TEN members of the Congressional Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee declares that "the ultimate responsibility for the attack and its results rests upon Japan" and that "the diplomatic policies and actions of the United States provided no justifiable provocation whatever." That is not exactly a startling conclusion, and months of painstaking inquiry would hardly have been necessary to establish it but for a concerted attempt to prove that Japan had been maneuvered into undeclared war by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The four Republican members of the Committee, two from the Senate and two from the House, began the investigation apparently convinced of the truth of this thesis and intent only on finding "facts" to support it. To their credit, Representatives Keefe and Gearhart have been sufficiently impressed by the evidence to sign the majority report, the former with some reservations. Senators Ferguson and Brewster, however, have lost none of the fine prosecuting zeal with which they set out. Having failed to find the proofs they wanted, they accuse their Democratic colleagues of suppression of facts. Their minority report might just as well have been written without any inquiry for it simply repeats the accusations against the late President and some of his chief advisers that they had made before. The verdict of history, we think, will not bear out their charge that on December 6 and 7, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt failed "to take that quick and instant executive action which was required by the occasion." This vendetta pursued beyond the grave reflects on its perpetrators, not its victim.

*

AT NO TIME SINCE THE COUP THAT BROUGHT Villarroel and his gang to power in Bolivia has there been doubt in informed circles about the nature of the regime. Several articles in *The Nation,* beginning with one by Manuel Seoane immediately after the new government was set up at the end of 1943, gave precise facts to establish its fascist character. The State Department's decision to recognize it—after a fake investigation by our chief whitewasher, Avra Warren—was based strictly on considerations of expediency. The department apparently hoped both to draw Bolivia out of the Argentine orbit, and to stop Nazi activities there. Like other similar maneuvers this one succeeded only in confusing public opinion here and in Latin America. The Bolivian regime continued as an out-and-out dictatorship with Axis ties; its affiliation with Perón became even closer. Although its leaders constantly proclaimed their love of freedom, attempts by democratic groups to function legally were met with assaults, arrests, and frequent assassinations. At the end of May this year Villarroel proclaimed a state of seige, suspending all constitutional rights and locking up a lot of opposition leaders and newspaper publishers. Now Villarroel is dead and a revolutionary group, supported by some elements in the army, has smashed the regime after several days of sanguinary fighting. The

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rebels have liberated all political prisoners, and their worker and student leaders have invited members of the Supreme Court and the head of the National University to join them in choosing a provisional government.

*

LAME-DUCK SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER will find his best political epitaph in, of all places, the New York *Daily News*. Even more intrenched in isolationism than Wheeler, and if possible more vindictive, the *News* at last concedes defeat. In the repudiation of Senators Wheeler and Shipstead by the voters of Montana and Minnesota respectively, the *News* admits "you have something . . . If this is not a trend, then we do not know one when we see one." Could it be that the late Captain Patterson was wrong; that the nation was really behind President Roosevelt all the time and didn't have to be "lied into the war?" The *News* doesn't go so far, but perhaps if its editors look more deeply into the matter they will find that since Pearl Harbor the people have turned out of office not merely Shipstead and Wheeler, but such other stars of the isolationist firmament as Clark of Missouri and Clark of Idaho, Danaher of Connecticut and Holt of West Virginia, Nye of North Dakota and Fish of New York. "Mass movement" would be a more descriptive term than "trend." We said last week that the Montana race was not a clear-cut test on the isolationist issue, that the campaign had been complicated by such extraneous issues as the President's ill-considered endorsement of Wheeler. We believe that to be true; but the complications all favored Wheeler, who was generally expected to win by a small margin. His defeat in spite of these advantageous cross-currents is the clearest kind of repudiation of the isolationism which in a period of six years reduced him from the stature of a liberal crusader to the proportions of an embittered, narrow-minded man. The liberal who entered the Senate in proud association with the elder La Follette, Norris, Borah, and Tom Walsh, leaves public life in the company of Hamilton Fish, Stephen Day, Father Coughlin, and the rest of that unsavory band that called itself "America First."

*

CONDOLENCES TO THE STATE OF GEORGIA on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge. After four years of Ellis Arnall's enlightened administration in Atlanta, it would be hard in any circumstances for Georgians to face a return to the spoils system in government, ranting chauvinism in public life, sinking standards in boss-controlled schools, and all the other blessings peculiar to the Talmadge-Bilbo brand of demagogy. It is particularly hard to face this prospect in the knowledge that a majority of Georgians want no part of it and voted against it by a margin of more than 70,000. Talmadge owes his election to two known factors. The first is Georgia's county-unit electoral system, whereby one

vote in Chatahoochee County is the equivalent of twenty votes in Atlanta. This rotten-borough mechanism goes far to explain Talmadge's victory over James V. Carmichael, who was Governor Arnall's choice as a successor, but it does not go far enough. Four years ago Arnall won despite the county-unit system and without the 100,000 Negro votes that supposedly went to Carmichael.

*

THE KEY TO TALMADGE'S SUCCESS WAS the intrusion of a third candidate—former Governor Rivers. There is reason to believe that the Rivers campaign was financed by the same Georgia Light and Power gang that backed Talmadge, in a deliberate and successful attempt to cut into the Carmichael vote in doubtful counties. By subtracting the 100,000 Negro votes from the Carmichael total it would appear that a majority of 30,000 white Georgians voted for Talmadge, but here a third factor—necessarily unproved but reliably credited—must be taken into account: namely, that the full Negro vote did not in reality go to Carmichael. A number of these ballots are believed to have been bought for Talmadge, a substantial number captured by intimidation, and an unknown percentage simply stolen. If such explanations, however valid, are small comfort, there is at least the reassuring fact that a majority of Georgians did vote against Talmadge. They are not likely to allow archaic electoral machinery to prolong minority rule indefinitely.

*

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM CLARK IS HOLDING a stick of dynamite in the form of a report brought back from Nürnberg by his special assistant, O. John Rogge. This is the same Mr. Rogge who two years ago was forced to suspend the sedition cases against a number of Firsters, Bundists, and other national pests for lack of clinching evidence. His report has not been made public officially, but portions of the document, in addition to testimony taken by Army Intelligence officers, have been cited in the columns of Drew Pearson and Marquis Childs. From Herbert von Strempel, formerly one of Göring's Washington agents, the investigators learned of a huge slush fund for the defeat of Roosevelt in 1940. Von Strempel himself had $5,000,000 to spend, but Göring scoffed when asked whether this was the full amount. "Five million!" he is quoted as replying. "We were prepared to spend from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 to achieve that end." Göring is reported to have worked through William R. Davis, the oil man who, it will be recalled, was credited with inspiring John L. Lewis to break with Roosevelt and with financing Lewis's dramatic broadcast to the nation on that occasion. There is a great deal more in the findings of Mr. Rogge and his associates, touching on nationally known figures. We withold further comment until full publication of the report—or the resumption of the trials. But in the meantime we want to warn against efforts to eliminate another agency that has been useful in tracking down American ramifications of the Nazi conspiracy. This is the military affairs subcommittee headed by Senator Kilgore, which has delved deeply into German cartel connections in the United States. Speedy publication of the Rogge report should help checkmate such Senators as Brooks of Illinois and Wherry of Nebraska, who have been leading an undercover fight to kill the committee and minimize its findings.

Inquest on a Dead Pigeon

LEON HENDERSON said last week that, regardless of what action Congress finally took, OPA was a "dead pigeon." That finding, we fear, will prove accurate even though the President decides to sign the bill that has emerged from the Senate-House conference. The best thing that can be said for this measure is that it includes a drastic revision of the Taft amendment, but against this improvement must be set the fact that it exempts some important basic commodities from controls and leaves the prices of others free to gyrate until August 20, when their fate is to be decided by a new three-man decontrol board. Since the bill also provides that the Department of Agriculture is to have the last word on farm prices, this means that OPA will in the future divide its authority with two other bodies. That should prove a sure guarantee of administrative chaos, which is, perhaps, the objective of some members of Congress. But even though the bill were a sound one, it is doubtful if effective control over prices could be reestablished. Three weeks of mad markets have shattered the line and stouter levers than Congress has provided would probably prove powerless to roll prices of primary products back to June 29 level.

There will certainly be a concerted effort to blame the end of effective price control, with its many dangers, on Mr. Truman because legally it was his veto that cut markets loose. But we do not think that all the people, or even nearly all of them, will be fooled this time. They know that the measure the President turned down was a phoney; they know, too, that it would have been perfectly possible for Congress to pass on July 1 a bill temporarily extending price control. That would have prevented prices from getting out of hand pending a new effort to achieve satisfactory legislation extending OPA for another year. The House passed such an extension bill in short order but the Senate, under the leadership of Taft, O'Daniel, and others, balked. These Senators cannot dodge major responsibility for the consequences of the inflationary forces they so recklessly let loose.

In the three weeks which have passed since price control ended Americans have had a suggestion of just how destructive those forces may prove and, we suspect, much worse is still to come. For except in the case of some

foods the rise in primary commodities has not yet been reflected at the retail level. This is due both to a normal time lag and to a go-slow policy on the part of processors and merchants who have been anxious to see what would happen in Congress before adjusting their prices in accordance with the changes in commodity quotations. The relief thus afforded to consumers is, however, likely to prove very fleeting. They can be sure that, when the cotton and the hides now being bought at sharply advanced prices are turned into shirts and shoes, the retailers' tags will tell the story.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the index of producer prices of twenty-eight basic commodities rose 24.8 per cent between June 29 and July 16. In the same period, industrial raw materials advanced 19.1 per cent, wholesale food prices 33 per cent. An attempt is being made to explain away such increases by saying they are quite modest if comparison is made not with ceiling prices on June 29 but with black-market prices which, it is claimed, represented realities in the case of many commodities. Thus the New York *Journal of Commerce*, whose daily index of sensitive commodity prices showed a rise of 16.2 per cent on July 15, declares that the actual rise, using a black-market instead of an official base and allowing for the ending of subsidies, is *only* 6.3 per cent—in itself a sensational advance in little over two weeks. But in any case this argument is invalid since it assumes that most people were paying black market prices prior to June 29, while actually a very large number would not, or could not, do so. That surely is demonstrated by the fact that so many consumers have indignantly refused to pay the new prices for meat and butter. Had they been accustomed to buying in the black market, they would hardly have been so outraged.

Such consumer resistance, incidentally, is the one hopeful feature of the present situation. It has already proved moderately effective in the case of meat, when a quite unjustifiably steep rise in the price of livestock resulted in a healthy coincidence between a rush of animals from the farms and a housewives' refusal to buy. But to be effective a consumers' strike must be organized and widespread. It will require the strong backing of both unions and civic bodies, and the pressure must be steadily maintained. We are glad to see that the C. I. O., as well as many of its affiliated unions, have begun to move in this direction, and we hope that the A. F. of L. will not allow factional differences to prevent it from adding its powerful support.

From the trade-union point of view it is much better to check inflation on the price front than to try and outflank it by forcing an increase in wages. Should the cost of living continue to climb, pressure for higher wages will naturally develop. But union leaders know well that the labor hounds can seldom catch up with the price hare and that both hunter and hunted are likely to end up by plunging into the chasm of deflation. Strikes for higher wages, therefore, should be a last resort under present circumstances; strikes against higher prices, by a reduction of purchases to absolute necessities, will prove a more effective remedy.

Obligations in Palestine

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS DISCUSSIONS on the Palestine issue proceed in London behind sealed doors, it is important for Americans to keep in mind a few basic facts. If we forget them we are likely to fall into a mood of exaggerated compunction which will help neither our own position nor those of the peoples more directly involved.

The first of these facts is that the Mandate for Palestine, with its explicit obligations to the Jews, was accepted by Britain for obvious political reasons. If altruistic ends were served they were, let us admit without reproach, incidental or at least subsidiary. But the obligations were undertaken none the less and the adoption in 1939 of the policy described in the White Paper, whatever its immediate justification in terms of imperial strategy, in no way absolved Britain of a commitment which had been accepted by both the League of Nations and the United States as one of the basic conditions of the Mandate. The White Paper merely violated the terms of the Mandate, as the League declared and as leading British statesmen, including the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his predecessor, Mr. Churchill, charged at the time. A mandate is not a private enterprise to be administered as a person might administer his country estate; it is an international public trust and its violation is every nation's business.

The facts that financial support for the Jewish National Home has come largely from the United States, and that our large Jewish population overwhelmingly favors the Zionist development admittedly give this country no special political rights in Palestine. They do, however, create a special interest which is legitimate as well as inevitable and which has always been admitted by Britain. That the voting strength of Jews, especially in large centers like New York and Chicago, has influenced the attitude of the Administration and of both major parties cannot even be questioned; I wonder in what democratic country this would not be the case. Jewish influence has served partly to offset contrary pressures, such as those of the great oil interests, in determining this nation's policy in Palestine and the Middle East generally. It is a political factor which must be given its full weight in analyzing the balance of forces in America; but only an anti-Semite would be tempted to convert it into an accusation.

When the President proposed that Palestine admit 100,000 displaced persons from Europe, he had no rea-

son to think that his advice would be considered an intrusion into Britain's national affairs; nor indeed had he any right to assume that the Labor Government was intending to continue in Palestine a policy for which it had bitterly attacked the Tories. The Labor Party had been explicit in its campaign promises: it was committed to the abolition of the White Paper. Like liberals in other countries, British Labor had taken the view that the Empire's interests would be served rather than injured by carrying out the purposes of the Mandate; and the plight of Europe's surviving Jews, and even the difficulty and expense of providing a minimum of protection and food for those who had flocked into the D. P. camps in the British and American zones of occupation, counseled speedy action. Once in office, however, and confronted with the intransigence of Colonial officials in Palestine and the threats of Arab agitators, the Labor ministers drew back from the logic of their own arguments. The Anglo-American Joint Committee of Inquiry was called into being to serve several purposes at once: first, to delay a final decision; second, to commit the United States to the proposition that if it wanted to give advice, it should also be prepared to accept responsibility; and third, to acquaint the United States at first hand with the thorny difficulties in the way of the mandate.

How far the British Government hoped also to implicate this country in the actual defense and administration of Palestine still remains a question. But from our point of view, participation in the Joint Inquiry committed us to nothing beyond the terms of the inquiry itself, and the unanimous report which resulted assumed the continuing responsibility of the British Government as the mandatory power. Only after the report had been published, and after Mr. Truman had reiterated his hope that at least the recommendation to admit 100,000 refugees would be promptly carried out, was the idea that America should become permanently involved in Palestine put forward in England.

Never has this idea been fully explored. Its first official appearance was in Mr. Attlee's speech of May 1 in which he said that "His Majesty's Government wish to be satisfied that they will not be called upon to implement a policy that would involve them single-handed in such commitments, and . . . they wish to ascertain to what extent the government of the United States will be prepared to share the resultant military and financial responsibilities." It has cropped up since then in various forms, official and otherwise. And by repetition and gradual extension it is coming to imply that America has no business to press for action in Palestine unless it is prepared to back up such action with arms.

This implication the United States should refuse to tolerate. Assuming for the purposes of discussion that Britain has a right to request American military help in carrying out its policy in Palestine—an assumption which would, I believe, be sharply challenged in the Security Council—we have an equal right to consider such a proposal strictly on its merits. Nothing we have said or done about Palestine imposes upon us an obligation to say yes. And if we decide to say no, we do not thereby forfeit our right—which is also a duty—to insist that Britain live up to the terms of the mandate under which it governs Palestine. Nothing could be more unfortunate than to allow ourselves to be jockeyed into a position where we feel we must keep our mouths closed or dispatch an armed force to Haifa. A "put up or shut up" attitude in London won't help soften Anglo-American tension.

On the other hand, not as a quid pro quo but as a contribution to good relations and an early solution of the refugee problem, we should recognize Britain's anxieties and do what we can to mitigate them. First of all we should erase the impression that we intend to sit back with our heels on the table offering advice while Jews, Arabs, and British slug it out in Palestine, and Russia watches from the side-lines. The United States has already offered to undertake the transfer of the 100,000 D. P.'s, if they are admitted to Palestine, and provide funds for their settlement and rehabilitation. American Jewish agencies have promised full support, and enormous sums of money have already been raised to enable the Jewish community in Palestine to absorb the refugees with as little internal dislocation as possible. But this is not enough. What the United States must do if it is to reassure even the most friendly and pro-Zionist Labor people in England, is to indicate a willingness to help solve the tangled problems of the Middle East of which Palestine is only the most unyielding. British leaders know very well that powerful economic interests, notably oil and aviation, strongly opposed to the Committee report and the President's attitude, are doing their best to undermine both. They know that key men in the State Department and in diplomatic posts in the Middle East are bitterly anti-Zionist and can be counted upon to encourage Arab resistance to any change of policy. Leaders like Laski who are trying to induce their government to accept the report would be immensely helped if they could believe the United States would stand firm, after election as well as before, and would refuse to take advantage of Britain if the ending of Arab appeasement should result in penalties to British interests.

Above all, our position would be strengthened in England and in Palestine if we were to agree to accept a fair proportion of those European Jews who wish to emigrate but do not insist on going to Palestine. Small or large, the number is unimportant. What is needed is proof that our concern for the fate of a dispossessed people is generous enough to induce us to open our own doors. By an understandable paradox, it would be the most effective method we could use to pry open the doors of Palestine.

Atoms and Common Sense

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Washington, July 18

A WASHINGTON observer may be permitted to doubt the truth of that tiresome cliché to the effect that modern transportation and communication have shrunk our planet into a single community, in which ideas circulate with the speed of light.

In Washington, at least, it just isn't so. To get an idea from the Federal Triangle to Capitol Hill takes years; to get one from the people of the country into the Senate or House is, with this Congress, practically impossible. This past week has provided disheartening proof of the existence of a Chinese Wall, or perhaps an impassable tropical jungle, encompassing the Capitol —insuring the legislators against violation of their tradition: learn nothing, forget nothing.

At one end of Constitution Avenue, in the Interior Department auditorium, was a two-day Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy. It was addressed by distinguished, literate, and intelligent speakers. With logic, humor, illustration, and exhortation, they stressed two points, neither novel but both profoundly true. The first was that domestic development of atomic energy must be freed from military domination, and the second was that our only defense against an atomic war and our only hope of survival lie in a world organization, set up by international law, to control atomic energy.

At the other end of the avenue, on the floor of the House, there was a debate on the May-mangled McMahon bill. And for every scientist at the Institute who demonstrated that there could be no "secret" in atomic discoveries, there was a Representative who screamed against this legislation which would "give the secret away." For every round of applause in the Interior auditorium approving the thesis that atom bombs from abroad were the only replies to be expected to atom-bomb manufacture at home, there were equivalent huzzas in the House greeting pleas for army manufacture of more and bigger atomic weapons of our own.

As this is written, the House has not yet acted on the McMahon bill. Administration leaders may succeed in knocking off the amendments tacked on by Chairman Andrew Jackson May and his Republican allies in the Military Affairs Committee. A pair of the amendments require one and permit two members of the armed forces to serve on the domestic control commission. A third amendment insists that the director of the proposed military applications division of the commission be an army or navy man, and a fourth authorizes the army to manufacture atomic bombs at the rate it sees fit.

Even if the outcome of the House deliberations is favorable, there remains, to keep us all awake at night, the terrifying fact that such a large number of legislators are imbued with such a large amount of ignorance, misconceptions and tortured conclusions. Representative Rich, Republican of Pennsylvania, wants to bury the bomb and all its secrets so deep that no one else can ever find them. Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Republican of New Jersey, residual legatee of the Dies Committee, apparently wants to bar scientists from atomic work because they yearn to give the secrets to Russia. Representative Elston, Republican of Ohio, who has found an entrancingly simple formula for making all decisions, abhors civilian control because Communists favor it.

Even if the Congressmen were not convinced or impressed or even touched by the Institute (which was sponsored by the National Committee on Atomic Information), even if they aren't susceptible to learning, their very imperviousness points to the need for the Institute, for more and more forums that will tell other Americans the frightful truth of this age—that we have found a way to destroy ourselves and the whole world.

Most speakers at the Institute had no illusions. They knew what was going on in Congress and what was *not* going on in the minds of too many Americans elsewhere.

Philip Morrison, of Los Alamos and Hiroshima, told of a Professor Nishina, who, with $20 worth of equipment, worked in Hiroshima for a few weeks and solved the fundamentals of the release of nuclear energy, discovering bomb facts still held secret in this country, all without the benefit of the Smyth report. William Higinbotham, Chairman of the American Federation of Scientists, told what America would have to do when the Professor Nishinas all over the world had completed their studies and built bombs of their own: "We shall be forced to give up the concept of cities."

Quoting a War Department General Staff report, Higinbotham noted its two recommendations—urged for action now, not at some future date. They are: "Evacuation of unnecessary inhabitants from threatened urban areas [translation: every major city in the nation] and . . . rapid creation of adequate shelters for people who must remain." Those results, Higinbotham commented, "could not be accomplished without regimentation and discipline such as Americans have never yet tolerated.

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[This program] would require giving up our freedom."

Even some of the speakers appeared to need enlightenment. A basic finding of the Lilienthal committee, restated by its secretary, Carroll L. Wilson, was lost on John Hancock, Bernard Baruch's advisor on the U. N. Atomic Commission. This was that at the present stage in world affairs, human nature, and the atomic art, the best that could be hoped for from an international control plan was defense against a *surprise* atomic attack. Hancock, even as Baruch in New York, continued to flog away at his Utopian, unrealizable, and very dead horse: a demand for abandonment of the veto right at a level where the veto power is simply not germane.

Pierre Auger, scientific advisor to the French delegation on the U. N. Atomic Commission, distilled the issue into a couple of sentences: Of course the agreement providing for an Atomic Development Authority had to be a treaty, meaning a document no individual section of which could be abrogated at will by any signatory. But if it were violated, the issue would obviously be a question of going to war. And whether or not the violator nation chose in the Security Council to veto the declaration of war against it was by way of being academic.

It was Auger, in fact, who best and most thriftily stated each issue before the Institute and before the world. (It is noteworthy, incidentally, that American scientists look to him and his two colleagues, Joiliot-Curie and Kowarski, as their real representatives in the U. N. Conceivably, this may be explained by Baruch's remarkable choice of advisors.) Auger was the one to state most simply that the generosity of the American control plan would be better understood if we, unilaterally, announced that we had suspended the assembly of atomic bombs. He was the one to note that it was less than ideal negotiating tactics for Baruch to demand an inventory of atomic ore deposits from other nations without at the same time giving any promise of a *quid pro quo*—particularly when secret information on the location of ore resources is the only asset some of the participating nations possess.

Finally, it was Auger who brought out that in the great peace-seeking effort of the Americans in the U. N. Atomic Commission, Baruch had failed to present the foreign delegates with one scintilla of helpful scientific information as a first gesture of our promised sharing of fundamental (not atom-bomb) data.

(The wisecrack of Professor Wigner, head of the Oak Ridge laboratories, on this subject is worth recording. Asked how much information the Manhattan District had released at a recent scientific meeting, in accordance with a prior promise, Wigner replied, "Speaking approximately, very little; speaking exactly, none at all.")

It remained for Mrs. Edward U. Condon, wife of the distinguished head of the Bureau of Standards, to add the last summary of the Institute, the state of science, and world affairs. Secretary Wallace, her dinner partner at the Institute banquet, was pointing out to her that soon science would be able to control all matter.

"Except," said Mrs. Condon, "the matter with the human race."

Salazar: Franco's Junior Partner

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, July 19

THE STORY of British policy toward Spain would be incomplete if Salazar were left out. From the beginning the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships have run a parallel course, rendering each other the most valuable services. The Badajoz massacre near the start of the Spanish War, which opened the decade of Franquist terror, was one of the first fruits of this infamous collaboration; the Salazar police drove Spanish Republican fugitives back across the border to be herded into the Badajoz bullring, where thousands were machine-gunned. Until very recently the Unitarian Service Committee was still struggling to find haven overseas for Spanish Republicans in Portugal who were in immediate danger of being arrested and delivered to Franco. The Spanish dictator would not have felt so sure of himself these past years had he not been able to count on an efficient ally in Portugal. Conversely, Salazar would long ago have been overthrown had it not been for a Spanish army ready to back him in a crisis. The offensive and defensive alliance between Spain and Portugal, signed by the two dictators when they realized that Hitler's fate was sealed, continues this bloody partnership.

Personally, Salazar is more presentable than Franco. He is far more intelligent and has not the degree of cruelty that characterizes the former chief of the Moorish Legion. But the political ideas the two men espouse are identical. A single party, the Uniao Nacional, similar in structure to the Spanish Falange, constitutes the base of Salazar's corporate state. As in Spain, the church in Portugal is on the side of the dictator. The head of the hierarchy, Cardinal Cerrejeira of Lisbon, is an old friend of Salazar; they studied together at the University of Coimbra and a twist of fate might easily have reversed their roles in life. As in Spain, the cost of living has increased enormously in Portugal. From 1939 to 1944, years for which official figures are available, living costs rose 210 per cent; they are even higher today. In the

same period, wages and salaries increased by only 35 per cent. Rosy accounts of prosperity under Salazar are pure fiction; the Portuguese masses know only poverty and starvation. Food consumption averages 9 kilograms of meat, 11 litres of milk, 186 grams of cheese, 485 grams of butter, and 40 eggs *per capita per annum*. Little wonder that, according to one of the country's outstanding physicians, one of Portugal's 8,000,000 people dies of tuberculosis every fifteen minutes.

Again as in Spain, the opposition to Salazar has spread to circles which originally were the very source of his power. This fact has made Britain and the United States consider the advisibility of repainting the dictatorship some brighter, democratic hue. Last fall, under Anglo-American pressure, Salazar announced that "free elections" would be held on November 18. The opposition was allowed to participate under certain conditions: first, a candidate had to declare his acceptance of the corporate state; second, no one who had spent some years outside of Portugal could run for office—in other words, the entire democratic opposition in exile was excluded (compare this with the projected "amnesty" in Spain to which I referred in my *Nation* article of July 6); finally, the electoral census was rigged to prevent thousands of the regime's adversaries from voting.

Though the November election was a farce, it convinced Salazar that the whole operation had been extremely dangerous. The day after his proclamation of the election, the opposition came out fighting. They formed the M. U. D. (Movimiento de Unidad Democratica), a coalition which included democrats of every creed, from conservatives to Communists. But after twenty years of illegality they needed time to reorganize their forces; they asked that the voting be postponed for six months and backed up their demand with mass meetings and demonstrations. Dismayed by this impressive show of strength, Salazar refused any delay, whereupon the M. U. D. took the only course open to it and issued a call for a boycott of the election. On polling day no more than 25 per cent of the electorate voted. This Pyrrhic victory showed Salazar that 75 per cent of the Portuguese want neither him nor his regime.

Since then Salazar's health has deteriorated. This year for the first time he failed to speak on May 28, the anniversary of the dictatorship. The names of two possible successors are already circulating in Lisbon: the Minister of War, Santos Costa, a tough, dyed-in-the-wool reactionary, and Marcelo Caetano, the more subtle and intelligent Minister of Colonies.

Salazar—or, if he should die, his regime—is bolstered on one side by Franco, on the other by the British. A few days ago in Paris I met two Portuguese democrats, one of whom had just arrived from Lisbon and the other from London, where he has lived for several years. We talked about our respective countries and the role Portugal is playing in British policy toward Spain, a role wholly consonant with the tradition of Anglo-Portuguese relations. The oldest alliance in existence today is that between Portugal and England, dating from 1373; for the last two centuries particularly Portugal has been more or less within the sphere of British interests.

Both my friends are convinced that fear of Russia is the key to Britain's status quo policy, which maintains fascism in power in the Iberian Peninsula. One of them went so far as to say that Portugal is the decisive factor underlying British hostility to the return of a democratic regime in Spain; a victory for the Spanish Republic would mean the early end of Salazar, and Britain does not want that.

As a result, said the man from Lisbon, resentment is growing among Portuguese democrats of every political conviction. The people of Portugal have always felt a strong admiration and friendship for democratic England and its people, seafarers like themselves. They reckon that without the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, what remains of their country's once-great colonial empire would have been lost. But on the other hand, they know well that British protection has been dictated by self-interest; that Britain has as much to gain as Portugal from safeguarding the integrity of Portuguese territories in Europe and overseas; that Britain has never hesitated to use the big stick when the Portuguese have refused to submit to its will, as they did during and after the Napoleonic invasion, and again in 1890. Nor have they forgotten that before the first World War, in one of those appeasement moves toward Germany that inspires British policy from time to time, London was disposed to sell out the Portuguese colonies to satisfy the Kaiser's appetite for *lebensraum*.

But until now these manifestations of greed and selfishness were attributed to Tory rule or tradition. In 1945, after the overwhelming Labor victory, the Portuguese breathed a sigh of relief; Lisbon and Oporto, the birthplace of the Republic, acclaimed the advent of the new British government as the beginning of a new era in Anglo-Portuguese relations. Disillusionment set in very soon. Today Whitehall appears quite satisfied with the tact displayed by Salazar's dictatorship. The Lisbon brand of fascism is more gentlemanly than Madrid's and testifies to British influence by its careful observance of good manners in the exercise of terror. One never hears stories from Lisbon of mass executions such as took place in the Spanish prison of Alcala de Henares; Salazar quietly dispatches his enemies to the concentration camp of Tarrafal, in the Cape Verde Islands. There his victims work in a quarry under the tropical sun. The camp's official mortality figures list 9.73 per cent of deaths due to malaria; actually the rate is much higher. When asked for quinine, Esmeraldo Prata, the colonial doctor in charge of the camp "health service," answers: "My job

here is to sign death certificates." Tuberculosis is rampant; one of the next to die from it will probably be Edmundo Petro, a true "premature anti-fascist" who entered the "Camp of Death" in 1935 when he was only fifteen years old. On the whole, however, repression is carried out more discreetly than in Spain and gives the British Foreign Office fewer headaches.

I asked my London friend, who had listened to this recital in silence, what he thought. He said that having lived in England many years, he could not help but admire the sterling qualities of its people, though this never blinded him to the evils of its foreign policy. "Unfortunately, the great majority of the English people are convinced, today more than ever, that they always win the last battle. They have developed such self-admiration that they are in danger of falling prey to the master-race complex. The fact remains that after having helped to save mankind from Nazism, for which they deserve the gratitude of all democrats, the English today are the most disliked people in the world. And they seem not to realize this, or to care." Then he added, "The worst of it is that though they never seem to tire of praising the liberal character of their own institutions, they always foster reactionary governments elsewhere."

My Portuguese friends are convinced that the battle is one and the same for Portugal and Spain. Theirs is a feeling shared with growing intensity by large numbers of Portuguese and Spaniards. The idea of closer collaboration has been spurred by the co-existence of fascist regimes in the two countries and by the realization that the Anglo-Saxon powers are playing the same anti-democratic game in both. The Uniao dos Anti-Fascistas Portugueses en Francia have invited me to address their first big public meeting in Paris on July 25; they did so because they know we are bound to work together for the liberation of Spain and Portugal, and that we are bound to keep on working together beyond that. A common destiny links the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.

Can Man Survive?

BY G. BROCK CHISHOLM

II

AT this early stage of his evolution we must not take it for granted that man's present dominant position on this star called Earth is necessarily permanent. Outside of such possibilities of his obliteration as we suggested last week, if man should become complacent and for a time ignore some of his rivals, he might be destroyed very quickly. Suppose man, after a few generations of freedom from smallpox or diphtheria, no longer thought of these enemies and stopped vaccinating and inoculating children. Epidemics like the old Black Death could quite conceivably wipe out most, or even all, of the world's human population in a very short time, helped along by the rapid methods of transportation introduced by man. It is quite possible that one of the species of bacteria or viruses might develop a degree of virulence which man could not cope with until he had become extinct in large areas of the world. Other animals have been defeated, and apparently permanently.

Continual and permanent vigilance is necessary if man is to survive on Earth—though even with all he can do, he may sooner or later be rendered extinct as have so many other animals before him.

In spite of these obvious truths, it appears that man generally regards his tenancy on Earth as permanent and unassailable. He has, until quite recently, very extensively wasted the natural resources of Earth, with no thought for future generations at all. Even yet we note that many of Earth's raw products are being used faster than they are being replaced. This shortsighted policy, so usual in man despite his intelligence, seems to persist as a result of the local and short-term points of view he seems to have about everything.

It follows then that man's natural and inevitable future lies in the further development and use of his brain, his ability to think. All indications suggest that if there is any universal plan for man (which is not to be taken for granted) it must involve that development of his thinking power. His survival demands it and his evolution up to now shows it to be his only superiority over other animals. There has, of course, been a gradual, though interrupted, development of this ability in man; but it is very evident that the actual thinking equipment available is not by any means used effectively to attain the ends man generally professes to want to attain. We notice that throughout man's history there have been, and still are, certain influences which prevent, in the individual and in groups, the full use of man's intellectual endowment. These influences, which everywhere limit man's thinking, make blind spots in his experience, and distort his judgment and decisions, are his "taboos."

GENERAL G. BROCK CHISHOLM is Canada's Deputy Minister of National Health and Canadian delegate to the United Nations Health Assembly. This is the second and concluding installment of an article based on the proposition that "the problem of society in a world trembling with the power of self-destruction is essentially the problem of society's individuals."

Taboos are the social sanctions set up in all tribes of humans by interested and powerful individuals or groups and authoritatively imposed on the young to protect the privileges, ideas, or faiths of the old people. Such taboos may prevent young men of the tribe from wandering away to explore certain rivers or mountains, explorations which must not be undertaken because "a terrible and powerful god lives there," or because "the spirits of the ancestors would not like it," or for any one of many possible magic reasons. They proscribe changes from the ways of the old people or demand certain attitudes or obediences. In various human communities taboos affect attitudes about such things as money systems, educational systems, systems of government, sexual education and behavior, marriage, clothes, health, foods, and religion.

In many of the most important questions of life it is evident that the minds of large numbers, indeed almost all, of the human race are not freely open to consider how true or untrue old ideas are, or to consider any advantages which might be found in new ideas. Old ideas and customs are generally called "good" or "sound," and new ideas, or experimental thinking or behavior, are usually labeled "bad," "unsound," "communist," "heretical," or any of many other words.

The power these words have obtained over much of the race is astonishing. They are the symbols of the control that older people and the past have, and cling to, over young people and the future. They are the chains that bind man to his miserable past and his discouraging present. They are the premises which were incorporated into consciences when each human was too young and dependent to defend himself by using his intelligence. We find that rarely is it possible to discuss intelligently, without striking prejudices which have been inculcated in childhood, such ordinary commonplace things as health, clothes, Negroes, politics, patriotism, conscience, Jews, superstitions, war and peace, money, sex, property, marriage, religions, some diseases, India, wage scales, socialism, communism, trade unions, political parties, and so on through a long list which varies from place to place, time to time, and family to family. Very few people can think clearly and honestly about many of these things; and yet these, and such as these, are the things which make up the life of man and which, misunderstood, mishandled, and fought over, have caused most of the fear and misery in the world.

Most of the humans on Earth are sure that they know what is "right" and "wrong" about every one of these questions; but there is no general agreement, and we find that in almost all cases the certainty comes, not from intelligent consideration, but from the accident of birth into a particular family at a particular time and place. The certainties have generally been imposed in infancy and any questioning of their validity called "bad," "wicked," "evil," or some like word, accompanied by evidence of strong parental disapproval. Parents are usually quite sure that their values, learned in the same way, are true, final, and permanent.

It is amazing that this attitude can be so universal when even in the next house may live other, just as intelligent people who have quite different sets of "rights" and "wrongs." Rarely do we find humans who examine their authorities. Mothers and fathers are supposed to have acquired, by the mere fact of giving life to children, all wisdom on all subjects, and very usually pose as authorities on every aspect of living to their children, even though their own living may not have been at all happy, satisfying to themselves, or useful to the community.

When we investigate to find the time at which taboos are introduced into the thinking process, we find everywhere that the distortions are produced in childhood. The method is the application of fear—fear of punishment, fear of loss of parental protection, fear of disapproval and consequent insecurity. Distinctions are drawn for the child by labeling all activities or interests as "good" or "bad." And it is very evident that the human race has been doing this for a long time. At least several thousand years ago these same methods were in vogue. Certain writings of long ago, however, show a better understanding of the threat to the race inherent in this system than is common now. The early folklore of the Hebrew tribes, for instance, contains a story in which their god, Jehovah, or Yahveh, warned the first man and woman against having anything to do with good and evil. A serpent, symbolizing the tempter who seduced them away from the true destiny of man, induced them to adopt the conceptions of good and evil, promising them that they would become as gods. As gods they could control other people by the use of good and evil. The old story goes on to show how, at that moment, they introduced guilt, fear, shame, prudery, and deceit to the human race. I find much wisdom in this ancient story and marvel that so little of that wisdom has survived to the present time.

In looking about us we see that taboos have, perhaps, been most rigid, and the distortion of thinking most prevalent, in relation to the whole field of reproduction. The sexual taboo is usually set up in early infancy. All normal infants explore their environment as extensively as possible, and this exploration naturally includes their own bodies. They, of course, have no concept of the feelings associated with some parts of their bodies being "good" and those associated with other parts "bad." The first impressive introduction to this limiting concept commonly occurs when they are first "caught" touching their genital organs. The offending hand is slapped and the accusation of "bad, bad" is made. There is little probability of any child so misinformed about equipment

so vitally important in marriage, making a really satisfactory marital adjustment later in life. The flavor of "badness" will always permeate all sexual functions as long as that child lives. This same feeling of "badness" appears to be the greatest stimulus to promiscuous sexual exploration throughout adulthood; it seems to be the greatest source of the associated feelings of danger and adventure which are so attractive.

It is very important to understand that tabooing of activities does not mean the simple prevention of those activities on a reasonable basis. It means the prevention of activities, whether physical or mental, on an authoritative, moral-magic basis which is not arguable or answerable to reason. Certain controls which in themselves are quite reasonable, and both socially and personally desirable, can become both socially and personally damaging as the result of the use of authoritative moral-magic instead of reasonable methods of application.

Commonly in childhood the process goes something like this:

1. Child does something he wants to.
2. Mother punishes or disapproves with accompanying "Bad, bad boy."
3. Child is afraid of physical punishment, or threatened loss of security in disapproval, and does not again commit same act when mother is there, but
4. Child does same thing when mother is not there.
5. Mother discovers child has done it again, sometimes "a little bird told me" or "God told me." (As a result, child may enjoy killing nasty, tattling little birds, or may hate God as much as he dares to, all his life; both are enemies.) Other methods of discovery are not explained to child.
6. Mother punishes child.
7. Child stops doing it when mother is not there for the same reasons as (3) above, but he is now more confused with magic and more convinced of his essential "badness." He knows that he is supposed to be "good" but is really "bad." He must pretend he is "good" so that he will not be punished or meet disapproval from everyone.
8. Child imagines doing things he would like to do and often unguardedly indicates this to watchful parents.
9. Mother punishes or strongly disapproves of child's *thinking* things and frequently copes with the situation with "Remember God [already an enemy] always knows what you are thinking," with all its implied threat of continual, night-and-day surveillance, disapproval, and eventual punishment.
10. Child has to control his thinking and make it "good," leaving no outlet whatever for all his normal and desirable urges and wishes, which by now are almost all labeled "bad." All the "original sin," the normally developing human urges, must be hidden even from himself by pretence, guilt, shame, and fear. The result is usually a hatred and fear of God which may be compensated for by a superficial, cringing conviction and demonstration of "love," or, on the other hand, by a defiance of all rules attributable to God in an effort to prove to himself non-belief and thus avoid fear.
11. During this same time other magics which prevent the development of clear thinking have been set up. Among these are fairies, Santa Claus, personification of animals and things, night skies in which stars are deceased relatives, babies brought by storks, or in the doctor's bag, or found under rose bushes, and many other distortions of reality. Unless he goes through a long and difficult process of re-education it is probable that no child who has ever believed in any of these things can ever, throughout his life, think quite clearly and quite sanely about a wide variety of important things in his adult environment. This statement is not theory; it is quite provable.

Factual thinking for adults so authoritatively misinformed in childhood is permanently labeled bad and dangerous, and can be undertaken only defiantly or shamefully, accompanied by reactions of guilt, fear, and insecurity. Naturally the threat of these feelings is usually sufficient to repress any such attempt or to distort the attempted intellectual process extensively. Every psychiatrist has seen many clear illustrations of this process and knows that it is a potent factor in the production of the confused thinking which is almost universal in the human race. The astonishing belief is commonly supported, as a moral value, that it can be "bad" to know, to want to know, the truth.

Imagination has, by this process, been distorted and permanently crippled. It can be allowed to play only with "good" urges and desires, except with accompanying feelings of guilt and shame, or bravado and defiance. What is this "imagination" which may be crippled? It is a function of the highly developed cerebral lobes of his brain, possessed to a far greater degree by man than by any other animal, which enables him to picture and experience objects or circumstances or activities which are not present in reality. Does it matter if imagination in man is crippled and shackled by moral values and distorted by fears, if it is forbidden by taboos to explore in certain directions? Clearly, it does matter—very greatly.

Imagination provides a way of exploring without any real danger, of trespassing without being caught, of adventuring to gain experience without committing oneself in reality. Imagination is a scout that man may send out in all directions—past, present, and future—to investigate all circumstances, activities, possibilities, and consequences. Major adjustments to the important requirements of any civilization must be made in all fields of human urges. Only by true reports from a free imagination is it possible to get true pictures of the results of various kinds of adjustments to these demands. Each person's environment and problems of adjustment are different from those of others and continually change.

They require always his own solution, not a standard rule to be applied at all times and under all circumstances throughout his life. If the scout (imagination) must be deaf to some things, blind to others, and may not feel still others, its value as a reliable source of information is greatly reduced. Actions and decisions founded on its reports are not likely to be effective or sensible.

The only possible substitute for imagination and reason as a guide to decisions and actions is "conscience." More foolishness has been talked and written about conscience than about almost anything else. It is quite clear, and easily provable, that conscience is nothing more nor less than whatever one believed in childhood. One should be guided by conscience only if one is prepared to believe that the child was wiser than the adult is now. To go to conscience for guidance is to appeal to the rules imposed on a child before he was able to defend himself from authoritative parental certainties which might or might not be true or relevant. Actually these are rarely the rules which parents use for themselves but are only their ideas of what children should believe—generally what the parents believed when they were children.

Thus, though the parents may have escaped intellectually from their childhood beliefs, they still commonly continue to have a potent though unrecognized faith in the rightness of their own consciences. The setting up of conscience as an authority is an attempt to legislate in childhood for all possible circumstances which may arise throughout life. It would be a very foolish parent who would think himself qualified to prescribe the desirable behavior of his children even thirty years from now, when he can have no idea of what changes may have been made in the local customs of the natives by that time. Surely it would be sounder to equip the child to do his own thinking, clearly and unafraid, not hampered by taboos or the certainties which happened to be the conscience values of his parents, imposed by the authority of their parents, and so on back.

It would appear that we have now discovered our diagnosis to be something like this: "Man is prevented from progressing peacefully along the pathway of intellectual development (the pathway determined by his inherent equipment) by distortions of his power to think clearly, distortions which are imposed on him while he is still a small child and defenseless against parental authority."

If this diagnosis is valid then the prescription is easy. Stop doing it. Stop giving children final answers, rights and wrongs, local or any other kinds of certainties. Allow them to look at everything. Help them to look at all available realities and encourage them to prepare to do their own thinking, independent of their parents' faiths.

It is as simple as that, but not easy. Perhaps enough people can do it to save the human race.

In the Wind

FRANCE STILL LIVES! Cognizant of this was a New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent who cabled this story: As the Paris-Nice express gathered speed and prepared to whirl through the whistle-stop town of Fréjus, one of the passengers could restrain himself no longer. He pulled the emergency-alarm chain. The train ground to a halt before the Fréjus station and out stepped Henri Giraud, Mayor of Fréjus. Admiring townsmen, who had long fought off the impulse to do what their mayor had dared to do, hoisted Giraud to their shoulders and paraded him triumphantly into town.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT. Judging from the juxtaposition of two recent books reported in the Labor Department's current *Monthly Labor Review*, the golden age of competition yet to come (sans OPA) should consist mainly of captains of industry—a book by Michael Gore lists "101 Ways to be Your Own Boss," but Paul W. Boynton can offer only a modest "Six Ways to Get a Job."

THE HUMAN SIDE: *Business Week* reports Frank W. Abrams, president of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), is gifted with talents that include an understanding of men. His first official act, while conducting a meeting of its manufacturing committee on a hot summer day, was to order all present to take off their coats.

NATURALLY! A sign on a display of wooden blocks with bored centers in a New York surplus-goods store: "We don't know what in the hell they are, but you're sure to find a use for 'em, at 7 cents ea."

WHY DIDN'T WE THINK OF THAT? The "Washington Calling" column of Scripps-Howard newspapers reprinted the following gem of economic reasoning which they credit to a business journal: "If milk prices go up several cents a quart, families in low-income brackets will use less. Surplus would go into other dairy products—butter, cheese, ice cream—eliminating shortages in these lines. If auto prices go high enough, fewer people will be able to buy cars (even on time payments), and there won't be any more worry about steel."

OPTIMISM UNBOUNDED: A Reuter dispatch in the Tientsin, China, *Evening Journal*, for June 29: "The construction of eighty-five fortresses (blockhouses and pillboxes) at vantage points in the former foreign concessions of Tientsin has necessitated the expenditures of C. N. $300,000,000 (U. S. $150,000). This was revealed by Mayor Chang Ting-ngao who stated the expenditures would be refunded by the Central Government later. . . . Mayor Chang was inclined towards optimism regarding the prospects of settling China's internal differences."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

G. B. S. at Ninety

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

London

A WELL-KNOWN English critic, who recently reread the bulk of Shaw's works, wrote to me to express his disappointment in finding him after all "an indifferent artist." He added: "Maybe it is my eyesight that is at fault, but what I see is a chaos of clear ideas; a devotion to mankind based on emotional indifference to human beings; plenty of wit. That is all."

A harsh judgment on the greatest living writer of English prose. My first response is to cry out that such a summary leaves out the most important aspect of Shaw —G. B. S. himself. His personality impressed his age almost as Voltaire's did the mid-eighteenth century. He is what the world likes best of all—a great character. Today he has outlived his fame and become, to the younger generation, a legend. But as I found when I saw him the other day, he has in fact changed very little. He has, if you like, become one of his own Ancients. But his eyes are still as incredibly clear and his skin as pink as ever; he has the same upstanding carriage, though his legs trouble him on the stairs, and he carries a stick; he has the same immense gusto and infinite benevolence.

His vitality has not withered. He tells me that the thought of dying has become so familiar that he no longer thinks of it at all, and then, in the next breath, that he is utterly bored with people wanting to celebrate his ninetieth birthday; some of them even ask him to receive deputations. "I wrote and told them that I knew it would be a jollification for them, but that it would probably be the death of me." But he went further, explaining with his old vivacity his desire to have a Bernard Shaw Act of Parliament passed, an act to simplify the procedure by which one passes property over to local authorities, tax free, for some public purpose.

"I think," he said, "the country owes me some recognition. I don't want to be a knight, and I can't afford to be a duke, so I think they might give me an Act of Parliament. I don't mind whether my name is attached to it or not."

The biographers of Bernard Shaw will have no awkward incidents to cover. The more letters that are disclosed, the better light they will throw on G. B. S. In public he has been forced, by the insistence of beggars, to present a brazen front to charitable appeals; in private he is endlessly generous. The story of his loyalty to his old editor, Frank Harris, is typical. Harris was an unmitigated scoundrel, whom Shaw always befriended when he got into difficulties. Later in his life Harris wrote a shocking book full of libels about Shaw. After Harris's death, when his wife was hard up, Shaw took the book, rewrote most of it, published it as a "Life of Bernard Shaw," by Frank Harris, and gave the royalties to his widow. If Shaw's personal life is full of such incidents, it is because he is by nature benevolent, not because he is attached to individuals. Though he surprised his friends by making an extremely happy and successful marriage, he seems never to have had a grand passion as a young man—he preferred flirting with Ellen Terry by letter. Probably his deepest friendship has been with Beatrice and Sidney Webb, a friendship which has lasted without a break from the days when they were first associated in the Fabian Society in the '80's until now, when Shaw is 90 and Sidney Webb 87. But if Shaw has had few intimate friends, innumerable friendships, and millions of admirers, he has also made no enemies. Odd, one would say, for anyone who had hit so hard and fought so many battles with the gloves off. The explanation is that Shaw's high spirits remove the sting. The sneer inflicts a wound that does not readily heal; but pages of boisterous abuse, full of good-tempered mockery, are rather flattering. The attacks of G. B. S. are rather like the gusts of a high wind that blow the top-hat off a respectable city gentleman. The victim is forced to join in the general laughter.

All these are personal reasons for loving Bernard Shaw. They are no answer to the criticism that I quoted in my first sentence. An indifferent artist? Time will show. I should say myself that some of Shaw's comedies —"Candida," "Arms and the Man," "You Never Can Tell," for instance—will be constantly revived, as Sheridan is revived. Others will be mainly read by students of ideas. For this was Shaw's particular contribution to the British stage. He swept away the Victorian drawing-room comedy and, much influenced by Ibsen, introduced first the problem play and then his peculiar invention, the drama in which it is the ideas, and not the characters, that are dramatic. The extreme example of this is "Getting Married," which is all talk and no action. This *genre* will have few successful imitators, because Shaw's capacity for being continuously witty is unique. Perhaps his most remarkable feat is the third act of "St. Joan"

(Continued on page 100)

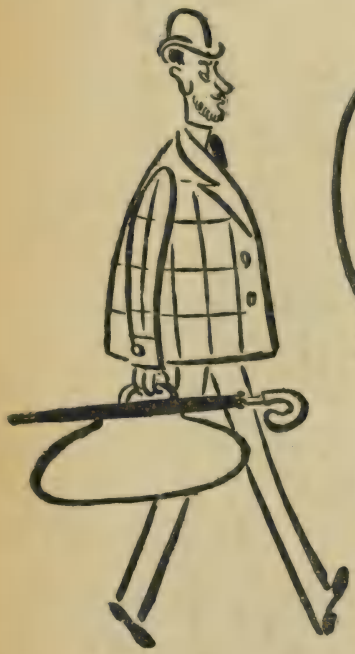
THE FIRST NINETY YEARS of George Bernard Shaw were concluded on July 26, 1946. By way of celebration those nine decades have been summed up by KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the London New Statesman and Nation, *and chronicled by OSCAR BERGER, internationally-known caricaturist, in this four-page section.*

An Illustrated Gui

George Bernard

By OSCAR BERGER

1. *Baby George Bernard Shaw is born at 3 Upper Synge Street, Dublin, Ireland, on July 26, 1856.*



2. *Shaw, tired of working as an office boy and cashier in Dublin, goes to London in 1876 to join his mother and two sisters, and to find his métier.*

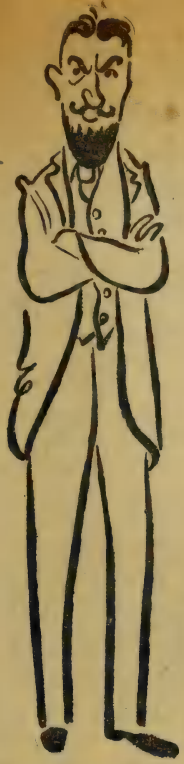
3. *He is 22 when he writes his first novel, "Immaturity," which was not printed until fifty years later.*

4. *G. B. S. joins the Fabian Society, is active as Socialist street-orator, lecturer, and pamphleteer (1884). He is reviewer for the* Pall-Mall Gazette *(1885), music critic for the London* Star, *drama critic for the* Saturday Review *(1888-1898).*

to

dhaw

1898 he marries
harlotte Frances
ownshend in Lon-
e writes "The Ad-
Bashville" (1900),
and Superman"
, "Major Barbara"
, "The Doctor's Di-
(1905).



6. He is famous now; the world takes notice. Prefaces to his plays bristle with Shaviana. His treatises on economics, biology, socialism, fine arts are masterpieces of a Genius (1901-(1915). He writes "Pygmalion" (1911), "St. Joan" (1922).

8. G. B. S. at 90: an institution, a legend.

7. Shaw visits Russia in 1931 and comes out a great admirer of the Soviet system.

(generally speaking, the most dramatic of his plays), which consists of a solid discussion of political theory lasting for more than an hour. The audience, I have noticed, listens without even shuffling its feet. The brilliant Hell scene in "Man and Superman," however, in which Shaw's philosophy is most fully worked out, lasts at least twice as long and can be played only to a highbrow audience.

A chaos of clear ideas? Personally I find some consistent strains of thought throughout the works of G. B. S. To me the most interesting is his attitude toward human history and progress. A historian of ideas is likely to see the "life force" as the working philosophy of rebels (and Shaw is first and foremost a Protestant) who have discarded conventional religion and could not accept the automatic progress believed in by nineteenth century materialists. It makes a useful distinction between the material world of mechanical forces, which we cannot alter, and the direction of human life, which we like to think is subject to our own will. Shaw's religion is a challenge to imagination and effort; he does not deny the possible regression of society, but he tells us that we can escape the doom which now seems so probable. The instruments of progress, in Shaw's view, are not ordinary men and woman, but the exceptional heroes and saints who, as he explains in his book on Wagner, are usually put to death by the rational people who want law and order. There is much resemblance here between Shaw and Carlyle. Shaw's heroes, however, are not conquerors like Frederick the Great, but heroes of imagination and intellect like St. Joan, Shelley, and, in his portrait, the matured Julius Caesar.

This emphasis on the Great Man fits in with the impersonal "emotional indifference" to ordinary men and women of which my correspondent complained. Like Carlyle, Shaw loathes the inefficiency and cruelty of the world and inveighs against the accepted conventions and the authorities who maintain them. Therefore, the early Shaw is the iconoclast loved by radicals. Not content with destruction, Shaw worked like any party hack for years as a Socialist lecturer and pamphleteer, and found, as the Webbs did, the consummation of his hopes in Soviet Russia. Hence he is loved by Socialists. But here we reach the point where inconsistency begins. For again like Carlyle, Shaw's skepticism about ordinary people's capacity to govern themselves has tended to make him a champion of authority. He even defended Mussolini and at one time thought we were foolish not to accept Hitler. Some of his later plays are diatribes against democratic institutions.

It would be easy to find pages of contradictions between Shaw, the rebel—declaring, for instance, that it was a sin for the educationist to mold the mind of any child—and Shaw, the champion of the authoritarian system of education in Russia; between Shaw holding that a Socialist state must shoot those who do not work, and Shaw saying, "Progress depends on our refusal to use brutal means even when they are efficacious." There is I think often an unresolved conflict between Shaw's impatience to put the world to rights, if necessary by autocratic means, and his temperamental and artistic love of freedom. But it must be remembered that at no time has Shaw ever been a liberal. He has always insisted that socialism and communism are one and the same thing, and though in practical politics he has been the most Fabian and pragmatic of political advisers, his theory has always been revolutionary.

Shaw once said of himself that "he would never be a really great author because just when he was about to achieve tragic heights, some absurd joke occurred to him and he could not resist the anti-climax." "I have got the tragedian and I have got the clown in me, and the clown trips me up in the most dreadful way." It is true; Shaw could never allow any of his characters, or himself, to get away with pretentiousness. No sooner do you think you see the moral that he would draw than he finds some real or absurd objection to it, and turns his tragedy into a comedy and sometimes, alack, even into a farce. Often, therefore, in his best plays—in "Major Barbara," for instance—you are left with the central problem brilliantly explained and quite unresolved. He must be fair to all his characters and avoid giving anyone the last word. If you think this impossible, notice how he rings the curtain down on some deflating incident which, perhaps, leaves his hero intellectual master but exposes him as humanly comic. This trick has made many people think that Shaw is only a jester, and he has done much in his private life to maintain this role. Once his lightest word became news, he was besieged by reporters. He did not fall for the usual device of the "star" and win his headlines with gush or slop. His method was to don the jester's colored stockings and make cracks about society and people which would set the world laughing, storming—or even thinking. For, when you sum it up, you see that Shaw in the last analysis is the great stimulator of thought, a moralist, constantly preoccupied with the problems of religion and social relations, using the weapon of satire to sweep out of the way the accumulated rubbish of false romance, bad arguments, and shoddy convention. Throughout, he has remained benevolent and puckish, preacher and jester, always personally beyond reproach.

The other day when I visited him at his home, he saw me off in the road and there, in a burst of high spirits, sang in a strong, clear voice (as he has done almost every day of his life in private) an operatic aria. "You see," he said, "even now my voice is no penny whistle." That, certainly, it never has been. It has been a voice not always, perhaps, in tune, but always potent to rouse men from lethargy, to entertain them, to make them think, and to make them want to think and act better.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

A Test for Democratic Socialism

ON July 12, when the Coal Industry Nationalization Bill received the royal assent, Britain's greatest natural resource became the property of all its people. This is incomparably the most far-reaching economic change yet undertaken by the Labor Government and its consequences will be watched anxiously by both the friends and foes of socialism. "Our future," Emanuel Shinwell, who piloted the bill through Parliament, told the recent Labor Party Conference, "depends on whether or not this audacious experiment succeeds."

Let us make no mistake about it, nationalization of the British mines is going to prove a stern test for democratic socialism. In taking over coal production the Labor Government has acquired, not a smooth-running industry but one that is run-down, inefficient, and disintegrated. Moreover it is an industry in which a very acute short-term crisis has, as a result of the war, been superimposed on a chronic crisis. The new National Coal Board, which will be the top management of the industry and responsible to Parliament, must overcome both crises and it will have to work fast if Britain's whole economy is not to be disrupted for lack of fuel.

I have not the space to give any detailed account of the long-term crisis; it is in any case a fairly familiar story. Ever since the last war the British coal industry has been deathly sick. Its symptoms have been falling output and rising costs, and constant labor unrest. None of the varied prescriptions offered by successive governments ever resulted in more than very temporary improvement. It broke down on a diet of rigorous competition but it proved equally unable to flourish on a regimen of cartelization. A committee of technical experts reporting to the last British government in March, 1945, stated flatly: "It is evident to us, as mining engineers, that they [the changes necessary for efficiency] cannot be satisfactorily carried through if the industry is organized as it is today. . . . An authority must be established which would have the duty of ensuring that the industry is merged into units of such sizes as would provide the maximum advantages of planned production." This report made it clear that no solution for coal was to be found in private enterprise in the strict sense. The choice facing the British people was between private monopoly and public ownership.

In his book, "New Deal for Coal," Harold Wilson, young British economist and Labor Member of Parliament, has written: "With an industry whose history and psychology are so bitter, there can be no guarantee of success under nationalization; there is only the certainty of failure without it." Nevertheless, that certainty will not serve as an excuse if the nationalized industry fails to produce more coal at lower costs and to offer much improved working conditions to the men who dig it. In working towards this goal the advantages of single ownership and centralized management should soon become apparent. The National Coal Board will be able to close down the least efficient pits and so conserve its limited labor supply. It will be able to connect, and work as a unit, adjacent pits which hitherto have been under different ownership. It will be able to speed up the mechanization of coal-getting. And in attempting such tasks, the Board will not be handicapped by lack of funds, for the Nationalization Bill provides for a capital expenditure of $600,000,000 on modernization during the next five years.

But fundamental reorganization will not show immediate results, and it will not, therefore, meet the short-term crisis which consists of a lag of output behind Britain's basic minimum consumption of coal. In the first five months of this year average weekly production amounted to 3,575,000 tons compared with 4,353,000 in 1938. In that pre-war year, however, there was widespread unemployment and many factories were idle, so that demand was smaller. Today the fuel needs of industry are being barely met by severe rationing of domestic consumers and the reduction of exports to a fraction of their prewar total.

Addressing the recent convention of the National Union of Mine Workers, Will Lawther, the union president, declared that the situation "contains the elements of national disaster." If his forecast of a possible deficiency in supply of 20,000,000 tons next year is borne out, his language is none too strong. For lack of fuel would bog down Britain's whole recovery program, including the export drive, and cause an unemployment crisis at the peak of reconversion.

Reduced production by fewer workers is the immediate cause of this situation. In April, 1946, there were 84,000 fewer miners at work than the weekly average in 1938 and the output per man-shift had fallen to 1.01 tons compared with 1.14 prewar. New recruits for the industry are, therefore, an urgent necessity, particularly as the average age of mineworkers is very high—one reason for the fall in productivity. But in the first quarter of this year only 2,962 juveniles entered the mines while 16,670 old men died or retired. The return of some 17,000 miners from the armed forces prevented an actual decline in the total working force but this, obviously, is a source of manpower that must come to an end with the completion of demobilization.

The problem, then, is to attract youngsters into an industry which, owing to its past history, has a well-earned reputation as one to avoid. Under nationalization, we may expect in time a great improvement in safety and working conditions, together with a system of training and continued education which will make mining a career open to talent. But until such hopes begin to be realized they are not much inducement to boys entering industry. Early adoption of a five-day week, which, it is believed, would increase rather than reduce output, might help recruiting and may be one of the first steps taken by the National Coal Board. Another possibility is the engagement of men from the Polish army-in-exile, which is being disbanded, and other displaced persons. This proposal is at present strongly opposed by British miners but if alternative methods of raising output fail, they might reluctantly agree to its adoption on a limited scale. After all they have a great stake in the success of nationalization, which has been their goal for forty years, and they cannot afford to allow the experiment to be damned by a coal famine in its first crucial years.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Disenchantment of the World

FROM MAX WEBER: ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGY. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press. $5.

BROADLY speaking, Max Weber is a much-needed corrective to those "realistic" thinkers who attribute all social weal and woe to ill-analyzed "economic factors" and tend to regard all ideas (but their own, of course) as merely "reflections" and justifications of class interests. Weber was just as tough-minded as they, without being doctrinaire or simplistic. A vast amount of evidence convinced him that in fact ideas define, and thus help to "determine," interests. Consequently, he could reject the view that man is absolutely helpless in the face of a rigid historical determinism.

In his more comprehensive purview, the various "spheres" of action—political, economic, "status," and religious—are interdependent. Each of these spheres, to be sure, must first be analyzed separately with reference to its own peculiar problems. Thus, religious systems always deal, in part, with the problem of the irrationality of the world—the problem of "undeserved suffering, unpunished injustice, and hopeless stupidity." But the particular set of religious assumptions that any group develops to give "meaning" to the world (and thus to "solve" the problem) will inevitably have a bearing on the economic and political spheres also. This is the general form of the thesis which is illustrated in "The Protestant Ethic." The controversy over that essay arose partly because many critics were not familiar with the rest of Weber's work. Gerth and Mills now provide us with some more of Weber's confirmation, particularly in "The Protestant Sects and Modern Capitalism," "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," and "The Social Psychology of the World Religions." ("Social Psychology" is a slightly ambiguous translation of *Wirtschaftsethik*, or "economic ethic.")

These fourteen essays are too broad in scope to be summed up in any neat formula; nevertheless, a persistent theme is the process of "rationalization"—the growth of "systematic coherence" in all phases of thought and social organization. This process has been carried to its greatest lengths in the Occident. Readers of "The Protestant Ethic" will remember that Weber lays great emphasis on the Calvinists' rejection of the sacraments and all other "superstition"—that is, on "the disenchantment of the world" in favor of rational techniques of mastery. A tremendous impetus to modern science was one of the consequences.

Another aspect of rationalization is analyzed in the famous essay on bureaucracy. As the editors say,

> Marx's emphasis upon the wage worker as being "separated" from the means of production becomes, in Weber's perspective, merely one special case of a universal trend. The modern soldier is equally "separated" from the means of violence, the scientist from the means of enquiry, and the civil servant from the means of administration. . . . The series as a whole exemplifies the comprehensive underlying trend of bureaucratization.

Moreover, the "separation" of the "worker" from the means of "production" is only one among many characteristics of bureaucracy, all tending toward greater predictability and efficiency in organization, regardless of the kind of work performed. Other characteristics, for example, are the strict definition, by general rules, of officials' respective spheres of authority and the separation of place of work from living quarters. "The Chinese Literati," which deals with the Imperial civil service, puts in relief the peculiar refinements of modern bureaucratic organization in government, business, and the Roman Catholic Church.

Whatever the subject he treats, whether the caste system or political parties, Weber uses scientific method and care throughout. He assigns precise meanings to words that are also used in ordinary discourse (e.g., "authority," "office," "sect"). He is able to compare data systematically from many times and places because his analysis proceeds in terms of abstract concepts. In fact, his procedure is more systematic than appears from this volume alone, for the more general parts of his sociological writing are not included. Having said this much, one should add that Weber's precision, in these essays, is not so technical as to discourage the intelligent non-specialist; and, above all, it by no means consists in that "painful elaboration of the obvious" with which sociologists are often, and sometimes justly, charged. For example, many of the essays besides "National Character and the Junkers" contain facts, too little known, that are essential to an understanding of "the problem of Germany."

The excellent introduction gives not only a clear account of Weber's life and personality but also some insight into the bearing of his personal relationships and his active political interests on the development of his theories.

The difficulty of Weber's German has prevented him from having as wide an influence in this country as he should. A few specialists, notably Talcott Parsons, have assimilated his conceptual scheme and even improved upon it; but his brilliant empirical studies, such as the ones collected here by Gerth and Mills, will be read for a long time to come. For minds of a scientific bent, it is hardly too much to say that Weber compensates for the disenchantment of the world.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

The Nature of Communist Crisis

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM. By Alexander Baykov. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

THIS, the fifth in the series of economic and social studies sponsored by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in London, is an excellent, straightforward account of the economic history of the Soviet Union from

1917 up to about 1940. The author modestly disclaims the intention of writing an economic history, claiming his book to be "only an historical introduction to the description of the present-day system." Nevertheless, in form the book is essentially an economic history, and within the limits of its space it does a good, well-proportioned job. The author's general attitude seems to be that of a sympathetic critic. He divides the period into four well-defined parts—the period of war communism, the New Economic Policy, the collectivization struggle, and the revival of the later thirties. Within each of these four periods he analyzes the condition of industry, agriculture, trade, labor, finance, and the general conditions of planning. The main theme of the book is to show the development of the planned economy in all it aspects.

As books on Russia go, this is a good, if not a brilliant performance, written with a solid factual basis from original sources. All serious students of the subject will find it valuable. Like all books on Russia, it leaves a great many questions unanswered: the reader who lives and moves in the atmosphere of the Western world finds it difficult to penetrate beyond the abstractions and organizations to the real people who presumably live underneath them. Every sober, factual book of this nature needs as its complement a rousing novel —something that would transport the reader in imagination into the minds of the manager, the commissar, the Gosplan official, the Stakhanovite, and the ordinary Joe or Ivan.

Dr. Baykov is concerned to present the facts rather than to attempt interpretations. The facts themselves, however, are of such interest that the reader can hardly avoid trying to draw some conclusions—or at least to ask some questions. Two questions in particular arise in the mind of the present reviewer. The first is to what extent the apparent cyclical movement of Soviet history is a true cycle. The four periods into which Soviet history, before 1941, can be divided follow a fairly clear cyclical pattern. We have first the period of war communism and great social disorganization (depression?) followed by the establishment of greater security of property under the N. E. P. and the subsequent revival. This in turn is followed by the collectivization "depression," leading to the famine of 1931-32. Following this again we find a slackening of strictly Communist fervor against the establishment of greater security of property, differential wage rates, economic incentives, with again a revival of production. It would be absurd to call this phenomenon a "business" cycle, but it is a real question whether patterns of a more or less cyclical nature do not tend to be established in any society from causes lying very deep in human psychology. In Russia the cycle is "political" rather than "economic" in a strict sense, but it follows a broad pattern not wholly unlike the cycles of the Western world. We make mistakes, we learn something from experience when the effects of our mistakes become apparent, and in part rectify them. Then comes a period in which the lessons of past experience do not apply, and we make more mistakes, which in turn we must painfully learn to rectify. By transforming a society from one in which economic motives are strongest to one dominated by political motives we do not necessarily do away with this cycle; we merely replace the mistakes of business by the mistakes of government.

The second question concerns the nature of the planned economy itself. Dr. Baykov distinguishes rightly between the "planned" and the "controlled" economy. In the one, the economic structure is regarded as monolithic: as Stalin himself says, "Our plans are not prognosis, guess-plans, but *instructions* which are *compulsory* for all managements and which determine the future course of development of our *entire* country." It is in this sense that the Soviet Union is the world's biggest business. It would be interesting, incidentally, to make a comparative study of the organizational problems and patterns of power relationships in a large corporation and in the Soviet Union: one suspects that striking similarities would emerge. The controlled economy, on the other hand, is one in which the state acts merely as a governor of the system, controlling it by affecting the environment in which the numberless decisions of individuals are made. The planned economy, that is to say, is a genus of which a totalitarian war economy, an army, or a patriarchal family is a species. It is a profound law of being, however, that monolithic structures cannot go beyond a certain size without danger: the interaction of many small individuals may be more successful that the internal operations of a leviathan. The Soviet Union, and perhaps even the United States, might do well to ponder the fate of the Brontosaurus.

KENNETH BOULDING

Henry A. Wallace

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REYNAL AND HITCHCOCK

The Atomic Bomb

THE ABSOLUTE WEAPON. By Frederick S. Dunn, Bernard Brodie, Arnold Wolfers, Percy E. Corbett, and William T. R. Fox. Edited by Bernard Brodie. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN THE ten months that have elapsed since the atomic bomb made its frightful debut at Hiroshima social scientists have been faced with a problem of terrifying complexity. Indeed, it is little wonder that, up to now, most of the proposals advanced for the control of this new monster either have been narrowly technical or have offered solutions which, though logically attractive, have required political action far beyond the capacity of the world at its present stage of social development.

Meanwhile the social scientist is perplexed by the fact that he is supposed to rush forth with a solution which takes account, among others, of the following probabilities: first, that an American monopoly of atomic weapons is manifestly temporary; second, that in view of the premium given to the aggressor by this ghastly weapon there is no safety for anyone in the general possession of atomic bombs by all great powers; third, that because of this tempting advantage offered to the violator there is no safety in a policy of voluntary restriction through international treaties; and, finally, that the creation of a world state is not now practicable and may not even be desirable. Since he cannot take refuge in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas or find comfort in the latest best-seller on world government, he has been obliged patiently to explore what possibilities for a solution exist within the framework outlined above. Thousands of men, billions of dollars, and years of preliminary effort were required to split the atom; yet the social scientist is supposed to evolve a satisfactory system of control on some bright day before tea time.

But sound work is being done, and the best evidence of it is this latest volume published by the members of the Yale Institute of International Studies. Avoiding panaceas and catchwords, the five collaborating scholars have prepared a serious analysis of the problem, studying the probable effects of the bomb upon the existing structure of international politics and exploring the practicable approaches to a solution. Their conclusions—to this reviewer, at least—seem sound, and the book deserves the widest possible reading by thoughtful men of good-will. Its greatest merit probably lies in the fact that it will be bitterly denounced by extremists of all categories.

The book begins with an introductory essay by Professor Dunn on the possibility that the world's treaty structure can safely be subjected to the strain of carrying an atomic-energy agreement. His conclusions, understandably enough, are skeptical. Bernard Brodie, the editor of the volume, then examines the effect of the bomb on military policy and the art of war. His list of basic postulates concerning the bomb and its effect does much to clear the murky atmosphere of public discussion, so beclouded by a disintegrating policy of official secrecy. Professor Wolfers follows with a brilliant essay on the implications of the bomb for United States–Soviet relations. Professor Corbett skilfully applies the same technique of analysis to the effects of the bomb upon international organization. The concluding essay by Professor Fox on the control problem strikes this reviewer as the sharpest and most lucid writing on the subject which he has seen.

In any book of political analysis the conclusions are bound to be much too subtle for brief and accurate summarizing. The authors point out that the bomb gives us little or no diplomatic purchase in political negotiations with the Soviet Union. They dispose effectively of the notion that the possession of the bomb by many countries might lessen its threat value to the world. They are equally sure that moonbeam-chasing after a world state at the present time is both futile and harmful. Consequently they reach the conclusion—which cannot be too often reiterated—that the answer to the problem of the bomb is not to be found in the discovery of some ingenious device, such as an elaborately conceived inspection system, but in the development of general political understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since this is less of an answer than the basis for an answer, the authors do give a nod of approval to the Lilienthal report as the most promising proposal to date. They also suggest that the nations should agree to a policy of instantaneous retaliation against any state making illegal use of the bomb.

But in general, as this brief analysis indicates, the book is less concerned with specific proposals than with an investigation of the limitations and conditions which will affect the decision-makers. This illumination of the nature of the problem which confronts the statesmen is the major task of the social scientist. The Yale authors have discharged their share of responsibility.

GRAYSON KIRK

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The Strategy of Kenneth Burke

A GRAMMAR OF MOTIVES. By Kenneth Burke. Prentice-Hall Inc. $5.

KENNETH BURKE'S "A Grammar of Motives" is the first work of a trilogy, to be followed by "Rhetoric of Motives" and "Symbolic of Motives." The series may be regarded as a detailed mining of the territory staked out in the earlier "Permanence and Change." It is the same Burke with the same quest and the same strategy, as baffling, as inconclusive, as penetrating, as rewarding as ever, working on the largest and most important job of criticism that is being done among us.

The quest is substantiality and the strategy is the criticism of linguistic resources. Substantiality not in the abstract, but in the concrete human sense of having an identity, standing for something, being oriented by a goal, answering Shakespeare's "What is your substance?" "Peer Gynt" is searchingly analyzed as a "character in search of his identity"; "A Grammar of Motives" is engaged in the same search. In this sense Burke is after a way of life for himself and modern man. But he differs from the easy prophets who know the answer by a recognition of the arduousness of the task, and in the linguistic means which he employs. His resources are those of the critic; he sometimes seems to believe that salvation can be obtained by semantics.

"A Grammar of Motives" forces us to assume a succession of points of view from which human motivation has been described, and then dissolves each perspective by showing its partiality in terms of other perspectives. We find ourselves engaged in a dramatic dialectic in which philosophers, political theorists, economists, poets, theologians, and psychologists all have their say, and each mode of saying is shown to need correction by each other mode. The book is experienced as a vast dialogue. The participant reader goes through a complex psychological process in which his initial value-perspective toward human nature is confronted by the multitude of attitudes which other persons have held. One is challenged to find himself by taking the role of others.

Does Burke by this strategy reveal his substance or lead the reader to find his own? Fairness would require that we wait for acts two and three of the critical drama. Yet some preliminary, and perhaps premature, comments are insistent. Burke's hope is surely that in the process of assuming a multiplicity of perspectives toward man something "substantial" will result. Whether this is so is not so clear. In "Permanence and Change" Burke believed that a knowledge of man's biological nature would reveal what is constant in human history, and that communism offered the value-orientation by which contemporary man could attain an ethical identity. In "A Grammar of Motives" Burke does not continue these suggestions; he remains primarily at the level of critic, more detached, more ironic, more uncertain. There are valuable hints that the new self (and the new society) can find its unity only in the dynamic interrelationship of its diversities—that a federated self and a federated society is the answer to the problem of substance and change. But this position is not worked through, and the concluding pages extol a "neo-Stoic" attitude, a rather tame ending for a dramatic inquiry into man conceived as a dramatic animal. We emerge, indeed, with a heightened sense of our linguistic resources, but with no clear indication as to how they are to be employed.

This result is what we should expect. For the work of the critic is not that of the scientist or the philosopher or the prophet. Burke's brilliant exploration of our modes of expression is made in terms of one mode of expression, that of criticism. It cannot give us the full story of our linguistic resources, nor can an analysis of man through his language provide us with a full account of human motives. Burke snaps at science in all his writings, but his literary version of motive and language greatly needs supplementation by the work of psychologists and linguists. His own special orientation to substantiality causes him to ignore important treatments by contemporary philosophers of the problem of substance. And his preoccupation with modes of expression is not the focus from which either poetry or prophecy emerges.

The critic, however, has his own important task, and Burke is performing that task admirably. "A Grammar of Motives" is a significant book. It will be read by those who take seriously the role of words in human life, and by those who are earnestly concerned with the fateful problem of what man is to make of man.

CHARLES MORRIS

BRIEFER COMMENT

Old Age: Some Remarks from Russia

IN READING "The Prolongation of Life" by Dr. Alexander A. Bogomolets (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $1.50), the reviewer has asked himself three questions which he deems pertinent: (a) precisely what is this "anti-reticular cytotoxic serum" which "prolongs life"? (b) what "test experiments"—on animals, for example—have been performed? (c) what is the experimental evidence for its benefits to man?

Answers to these questions, however, cannot be found in this book. The author fills his pages with discussions dealing with various theories connected with the aging process, interesting in themselves, and of value as an introduction to Bogomolets' researches, but that is all. The Director of the Kiev Institute of Experimental Biology (Bogomolets' official title) may be the great scientist that he is advertised to be, but the evidence for such a claim is not given in this book.

BENJAMIN HARROW

The Maze of Marriage

WHOEVER DOES NOT BELIEVE that law is the occult science of the legal profession will welcome the "Legal Almanac Series" (Oceana Publications). In the first number Richard V. Mackay, in non-technical language, outlines concisely the state laws governing marriage and divorce. Charts comparing the various statutes disclose the amazing diversity of the forty-eight matrimonial laws in the United States, a diversity which hardly contributes to the unity of the American way of life.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

ANNIVERSARY

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE category of "primitive" is not large enough to contain the phenomenon of a talent such as that of Henri Rousseau ("le Douanier"). Unlike any other latter-day primitive, he painted monumental pictures and he helped determine the course of art. If the picture "Storm in the Jungle," with its cunning and almost facile play of tones within a limited range, and its surface enriched by streaks of glaze representing rain, is really and truly by Rousseau and was actually painted in 1891, then he did not even begin as a primitive. The superb *plein-air* handling of color in such a painting as "Landscape, Pointoise" and the placing of the darks and lights in "Medieval Castle" and "Evening Carnival" likewise vouch for his learnedness as a painter.

Why, then, did Rousseau usually stiffen and simplify his art into something more characteristically primitive, so that while gaining pattern and decorativeness he lost the subtler modulations? He was far from the knowingness that would have led some one to become a primitive deliberately. The case is puzzling. Perhaps if we had more information about Rousseau's personality in the years before the *avant-garde* got to know him, it would be less puzzling. As it is, we can only venture hypotheses.

It seeems certain that Rousseau did not paint as a primitive simply because he was isolated, or lacked training, or was without dexterity of hand and eye. Whether or not he was always the psychotic he appears to have been in his old age, he seems to have been at least simple-minded, a *naïf*, from the first (and it is told that he used to "see ghosts"). It was perhaps his simplicity, translated into an aberration of the eye, that saved him from realizing in his own work the dead academic finish he admired so much in Gérôme's and Bouguereau's. In my opinion it was almost certainly the growing derangement of his mind that in later years freed him so completely from the conventions of nineteenth century art and made it possible for him to attack his vision so directly and conform to it so exactly in his execution. It is this directness that is primitive.

Rousseau in his derangement, which made him paint as if six hundred years of Western art had never been, joined the company of two other more or less deranged artists, who painted precisely as if to refute those six hundred years. Cézanne too was a little balmy, not to mention Van Gogh. (And there was also a lesser painter in America, Eilshemius, whose unbalanced mind permitted him a boldness he might have turned to better advantage for modern art had he lived in France and become well acquainted with Impressionism.) Thus those who maintain that modern art was started by mental cases would seem to be right. But they are only partly right, in a way they do not intend—a way that does not at all compromise modern art.

Just as Rimbaud had to give birth to modern poetry by deliberately cultivating the "derangement" of his senses, so those who made the leap from impressionism to that which came after could find the courage to leave the practical reality of the bourgeois world (impressionism having already arrived at that sort of reality after leaving official, ostensible reality) only when pushed by mental impulses so strong and so disconnected from the actual environment that they had to be those of psychotics. It took an extreme eccentric to shut his eyes with Cézanne's tenacity to the established examples before and around him and go on pursuing his "little" sensations with such fidelity to an ideal only he had glimpsed—yet which represented a reality more valid than that recognized by high and low in his time. Without his madness Van Gogh would, in the beginning, have seen only too clearly the distance between his own painting and the official variety he, like Rousseau and Thomas Eakins, admired so much; and had he seen that distance well enough, he would have been able to close it, to the detriment of his art.

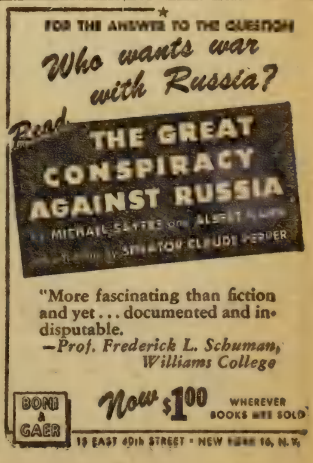
That which modern art asserts in principle—the superiority of the medium over whatever it figures: thus the inviolable flatness of the picture plane; the ineluctable shapedness of the canvas, panel, or paper; the palpability of oil pigment, the fluidity of water and ink—this expresses our society's growing impotence to organize experience in any other terms than those of the concrete sensation, immediate return, tangible datum. Modern art is now practiced by such relatively cold, hard heads as Matisse and Picasso, who produce it out of their sense of contemporary experience. But it needed mental cases to show them the way, to cut through to the ultimate truth of life as it is lived at present.

In this sense Rousseau deserves to rate as one of the founding fathers of modern art. It is not only—as R. H. Wilenski suggests—that he influenced Gauguin and, through him, Van Gogh. And it is not only that he painted some great pictures (and even so, we should be careful not to over-rate him, for his total work does not cover enough ground to rank him with the greatest painters). It is, even more, that his flat, direct, almost crass colors, contours, and modelling gave to many painters the first real impression they ever got of what life, reduced to solely empirical considerations and without the deception (but also protection) of faith in anything, looks like in art. Of course what we may also have in Rousseau is the very poetry of such elemental existence—but I doubt whether that poetry is the main thing.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

DISCUSSING a volume of Nietzsche's writings many years ago Shaw described how a philosopher could operate with spurious materials —how, "having pieced an illusory humanity and art out of the effects produced by his library on his imagination, [he can] build some silly systematization of his worthless ideas over the abyss of his own nescience." As I read this I reflected that with only a few modifications it would describe similar operations of the musicologists. Thus, of the article on chamber music that Professor Láng contributed to a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New Friends of Music booklet last year one might say that having pieced illusory nineteenth-century audiences, composers, and music out of the effects produced by his imagination on the facts, he built a systematization of his inventions over the abyss of suppressed truth.

To deal with the entire article would take an entire issue of *The Nation;* let it suffice, therefore, that for Professor Láng chamber music, in the nineteenth century, was reduced to "the private affair of a musical minority, a musical élite" which was "able to derive enjoyment from 'absolute' music"; while the public musical scene was dominated by the "Bengal light" orchestral sonorities of program music, the music with extramusical meaning that was "dictated" by the new concert-hall public "composed of the large mass of the middle classes" who "possessed the necessary general culture but whose musical capabilities could not rise to pure music." And let it suffice to say that actually chamber music and other nonprogrammatic instrumental music continued to be written throughout the century—by Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Dvorak, Fauré, among countless others—at the same time as program music and often even by the same composers; that it was performed at public concerts for members of the middle-class public; that Edwin Denby's observation—"to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing one has to be susceptible to poetic values and susceptible to dance values as well"—is true also of poetic suggestion through music; indeed that as cultivated a musical taste is required by the subtleties of melody, harmony, instrumentation, and form which convey the poetic suggestion of the Love Scene of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" as by the analogous subtleties of a Mozart string quintet; and what "dictated" the composition of music like "Romeo and Juliet" was the stimulation of the composers' musical imagination by poetry.

And now, as I mentioned last week, the falsifying schematization is being done with jazz. The Rudi Blesh article in the *Herald Tribune* began by describing the classic jazz of New Orleans: an improvised instrumental polyphony in which there was an equilibrium of African, Afro-American, and Western (European) elements, with the African predominant. Expansion to Chicago and New York brought change: "With its difficult balances held by delicate inner tensions and not yet firmly fixed into a stable form it was to be an easy prey everywhere outside New Orleans to the deforming and denaturalizing influences of popular Tin-Pan-Alley song and the nineteenth-century romantic harmonic tendency from which this song derives, however remotely." And change meant alteration of the equilibrium in the direction of Western "serious" music: "[The] classic instrumentation, one or two trumpets, clarinet, and trombone over a firm percussive-rhythmic section, so logical and essential to jazz polyphony, was expanded into the larger orchestra with two or three trumpets, a like number of trombones, and the ineffectual and inappropriate saxophones replacing the clarinet. The music changed, unobserved, but immediately; polyphony perforce dropped out and its improvisation with it; a new scheme was set up, a hybrid of harmonic-symphonic procedure, and improvisation lingering only in the solo which became a meaningless vehicle to display individual virtuosity." In the schematization, then, deviation from New Orleans jazz meant large-band "swing"; whereas in fact it meant also the jazz of Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and Savoy Ballroom Five, of the Chicagoans, and of any number of other small groups.

Besides recent reissues there is Victor's album (Set HJ-7; $5) of newly recorded performances by Bunk Johnson's Band—the living original New Orleans collective improvisation, which I have enjoyed, but without feeling impelled to throw out my Armstrong-Dodds "Wild Man Blues" and Teschmacher "I've Found a New Baby."

CONTRIBUTORS

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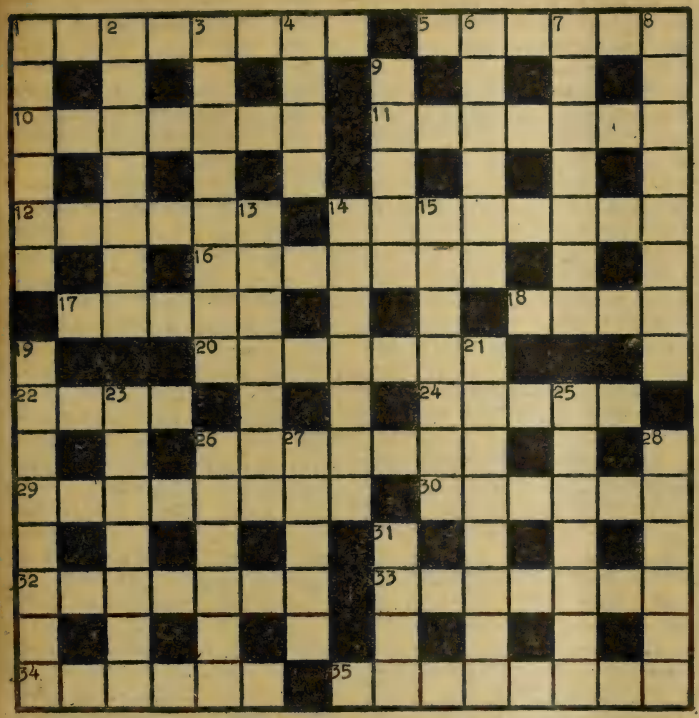
Crossword Puzzle No. 171

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 1-Down's feminine counterpart
5 Shut, it will keep out most of itself
10 One who obtrudes unfairly
11 As it happened
12 Take by compulsion
14 Your so-called double
16 Mix lover an opiate
17 Coal residue
18 Non-flowering plant
20 Corporation
22 Decays
24 Hams
26 A bee, for example
29 Rather hidebound in their business views, no doubt
30 Kidnap (slang)
32 Loiterer
33 Constructor
34 Most uncommon, this
35 Object of Love's wishful thinking

DOWN

1 Members of the Platelayers' Union?
2 Imputes (anag.)
3 Second string
4 The slave who would not obey Canute?
6 Is not Miss Cain
7 Death
8 Fool birds
9 Broken victuals
13 Having left a will
14 Defeated Harold at Senlac
15 Striking contests
19 He gets one down
21 Naval dance of peace and plenty
23 A pressing matter for the infantryman
25 No good Katherine's denying her action when this creature is about
26 Imparters of secret information
27 I read a Turkish decree
28 Split
31 Scottish town

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 170

ACROSS:—1 AGLOW; 6 JUDGE; 9 RISIBLE; 10 AMBLE; 11 TIMES; 12 THRONGS; 16 MENACE; 19 RAMSAY; 22 WHAT A GAME; 23 SPIN; 24 AJAX; 25 ISINGLASS; 26 BORN; 27 UPON; 28 GRENADIER; 31 TEASES; 33 EVELYN; 36 ASPERSE; 39 BROOD; 40 NEVER; 41 EXIGENT; 42 SPEAR; 43 SERVE.

DOWN:—1 ALARM; 2 LABAN; 3 WRETCH; 4 TSAR; 5 OBAN; 6 JETSAM; 7 DUMPS; 8 ESSAY; 13 HEAVINESS; 14 ORANGEADE; 15 GRANARIES; 17 EXPLODE; 18 AWNINGS; 20 MEASURE; 21 ANATOMY; 29 READER; 30 EVENTS; 31 TUBES; 32 AFORE; 34 LIVER; 35 NORSE; 37 PRIM; 38 REEK.

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The Shape of Things

THE SECOND PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE IN the memory of this generation has opened under omens which can hardly be called asupicious. Even the optimism of Mr. Byrnes will be severely tested by the road-blocks already thrown up in the way of a decent, durable settlement. But some favorable circumstances exist this time which were missing in 1919, and it would be reckless to ignore them. One is American unity. For all our heated discussions of international issues, for all our short-sighted attempts to doubly insure our national security by unilateral devices, we are at the same time committed irrevocably and almost unanimously to the principle of collective action to make and maintain the peace. Another is Soviet participation. One may deplore the tensions and misunderstandings that impede our relations with the Russians, but no sane person would willingly substitute the situation which existed at the last peace conference, when Russia, our recent ally, was not only absent in fact and spirit but was the victim of an ugly diplomatic and military offensive camouflaged as support for "democratic" opposition forces. The echo of that battle can still be heard: it must be silenced if possible by today's peacemakers. A third hopeful factor is the sharper awareness of the peoples of the world, their increased political maturity. The rise and fall of fascism, the pre-war mistakes of the democracies, educated a whole generation of Europeans. They suffer from few of the illusions that made the deceptions of 1919 so easy to perpetrate and so devastating in their after-effects. This time the people are watching; they are better organized; their common fight during the resistance has toughened them and given them self-confidence. They may be tired, but they are not indifferent or helpless, and the conference will do well to remember their existence as it debates boundaries, and adds up reparations.

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"LYNCHINGS," SAYS *LIFE* IN THE COURSE OF a rather complacent editorial about Southern progress in its current issue, "have declined almost to the vanishing point." But while the magazine was being distributed news came from Georgia of one of the most ghastly lynchings in history. A young Negro, out on bail on a charge of wounding his employer, another colored farmhand, and the wives of the two men, were seized and shot by a large gang of whites—the women, apparently, solely because an assassin thought one of them had recognized him. This was no hot-blooded, impulsive crime; it was cold, deliberate murder. "It looks like it was a rehearsed affair," said Major William F. Spence, Chief of the Georgia State Police, after his preliminary investigation. The old desire "to teach the niggers their place," stirred up by Gene Talmadge's inflammatory campaign for governor on the issue of "white supremacy," was, perhaps, the chief motive. Governor Arnall, who promptly offered large rewards for information about the murderers, has ordered Major Spence to stay on the job until they are arrested. Attorney General Clark has instructed the FBI to carry out an inquiry. Yet it is probable that this crime will go unpunished like so many others of the same kind. For lynching is a community crime, and the criminals are protected by the fears and prejudices of their fellow citizens. Major Spence has stated that, in the present case: "The best people [sic] in town won't talk about this; they have an idea who it is." He added that he was getting no cooperation from the local authorities. Once again bloody emphasis has been given to the need for Federal legislation against mob violence.

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TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN? THAT WAS THE tough question that President Truman had to answer when confronted by the revised price control bill. Another veto would have left prices and rents at the mercy of the free market, for it was certain that Congress could not be induced to pass any better bill. Yet to sign meant setting the OPA an almost impossible task in view of the restrictions with which Congress had circumscribed its authority. It meant, also, as David Lawrence candidly points out in his syndicated column, "helping the Republicans out of a hole"; for, as he explains, "had the measure been killed, the Republicans would have been gambling with the prospect that lack of controls would not produce stabilized prices . . . before the autumn Congressional elections. . . . As it is, the OPA remains and the country will infer that whatever prices prevail, they are the result of President Truman's policies." We do not think, however, that the President should be criticized for the decision he reluctantly reached. The message which accompanied his signature shows that he

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is under no illusions about the efficacy of the measure, although he rightly insists that it represents some improvement over the vetoed bill. It cannot, obviously, prevent a general advance in the price line during the next six months but it does offer the OPA some weapons with which to check the rate of that advance. Those weapons will be given a sharper edge if consumers retain the price consciousness they have shown in the past four weeks and refuse, individually and collectively, to submit to profiteering.

*

THE PRESIDENT ALSO PROPOSES TO GIVE renewed attention to anti-inflationary fiscal measures that will supplement price controls by bringing "spendable income more closely in balance with the supply of goods." He suggests further reductions in federal expenditure and, if inflation continues to threaten, "a more rigorous tax policy." As our readers know, we have never regarded a balanced budget as an end in itself, but that does not mean that we consider it an evil to be avoided under all circumstances. Clearly, at a time like the present, when we have nearly full employment and a large excess of purchasing power, a budget which was not merely balanced but overbalanced, would exert an important stabilizing influence. There are undoubtedly many possibilities for reducing expenditure in Washington, including expenditure on the armed forces; there is certainly scope for increased taxation, particularly on unearned incomes and speculative profits. But Congressmen—who, incidentally, have just raised their own salaries—while willing enough to talk about economy in principle have shown little enthusiasm about economy in practice. And instead of thinking about increasing taxes, they are all set to cut them during the next session. We fear that Mr. Truman is likely to get as little cooperation on the Hill for sound fiscal measures to combat inflation as he has received in the matter of price control.

*

A BILL PROVIDING FOR THE STOCKPILING OF strategic raw materials has been passed by Congress and signed by the President. While the political wisdom of such open preparation for the next war may be questioned, the military value of a reserve of metals, rubber, wool, and other commodities cannot be gainsaid. Moreover, its existence should obviate uneconomical scrambling for supplies in emergencies and tend to check the kind of depletion of scarce resources that we suffered in the war just ended. The inclusion in the bill of a "Buy American" clause serves to defeat these ends, for domestic production of many of the metals it is most important to stockpile is already inadequate in relation to normal demand. Hence the Joint Army-Navy Munitions Board in making purchases for the stockpile

will be forced to compete for supplies with industry with the result that prices will be increased and the mining of marginal ores, much better left as underground reserves, encouraged. Again, this insistence on self-sufficiency, which in effect gives American producers an advantage additional to the tariff, is at variance with the international economic policies of the United States. No wonder Mr. Truman signed this bill with reluctance, a reluctance only overcome by his belief that power to acquire stockpiles was of "overriding importance."

*

THE WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT HOUSING BILL was passed by the Senate several weeks ago, but action by the House has been held up because certain Republican members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, to which it was referred, have followed a course of deliberate obstruction. Their tactics seem to be inspired by the powerful real estate and building lobbies who always make their lavish presence felt in Washington when housing is under discussion. To them the bill is just a "communistic" measure even if Senator Taft is one of its sponsors. Actually the proposed legislation seeks to facilitate private as well as public housing and, at the same time, to consolidate federal housing activities. As the New York *Times* has pointed out, of the 12½ million houses which the program envisages, 11 million will be built by private enterprise with some federal aid in the form of loans and mortgage insurance. This bill has received the widest kind of non-partisan support in and out of Congress. It will be of immense assistance in stabilizing the whole construction industry, one of the main pillars of our economy. It can harm only those whose interest it is to maintain a housing famine in order to secure monopoly rents. The President has appealed to the Democratic leaders of the House to expedite action on this measure. We hope they will find means to circumvent the saboteurs and will refuse to allow adjournment until a vote has been taken.

*

JAMES CLEMENT DUNN IS TO BE OUR NEW Ambassador in Rome. We would have thought he would be more acceptable and more at home in Madrid, but we are pleased that he is not going there. He has given inestimable aid and comfort to Generalissimo Franco over the past ten years and we would not care to see him in a position to be of further service in that quarter. We are still more pleased to have him relieved as Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of European, Near-Eastern, Far-Eastern, and African Affairs—of the affairs of the world, in short, beyond the Americas. This grandiose title, even though broader than the job it covers, was fantastically inappropriate to the man whose greatest diplomatic triumph remains the decision that a Vice President's half-sister is entitled to precede a Speaker's wife to the dinner table. Dunn's unwarranted power was built on his generally conceded skill as a technician in the mapping out of international agreements and on the influential patronage of Cordell Hull, with whom he has for years been on terms of the most cordial, if incongruous, friendship. Narrow in his social views, addicted to the society of Europe's decaying aristocracy, and a consistent reflector of Vatican policy, Dunn waged a prolonged but successful fight to keep the embargo clamped down on the Spanish Republic until it suffocated. His subsequent record included the securing of loans for Franco and a stubborn defense of the Vichy regime. Secretary Byrnes is to be congratulated on Dunn's promotion," which we trust will not be fatal to the infant Italian Republic.

Time To Go Home

WHAT has happened in China during the last two weeks should convince Americans that we must decide what we are going to do there, and decide what it is that we have been doing there all along. Madame Sun Yat-Sen—who, as Evans Carlson has said, is better qualified to speak for China than any other person—has asked the United States to withdraw its forces from China and give neither arms nor money to what President Truman himself, last December, described as a "one-party government" that had to be reorganized on a representative basis before it would be aided by the United States.

Few Americans realize that this reorganization has never even begun; nor do many of them understand that, while General Marshall has been trying to move mountains and charm away abysses by the exercise of a lot of unimplemented persuasiveness, character, and good will, the United States has been wasting its whole-hearted military assistance, plus four billion dollars worth of supplies, on a totalitarian government which has given us in return a few promises which it neither means nor keeps. In some districts the Kuomintang has entirely disregarded the truce General Marshall got it to consent to, while in others it has used this truce as a breathing spell during which it could move in troops (in United States transports), pile up supplies (made in the United States), and prepare for that war of extermination against the Chinese Communists which—it has continued to state publicly—is both inevitable and desirable. The sale to speculators, by Chinese officials, of most of the UNRRA food shipments to China; the persistent offensive against the Chinese Communists, now beginning to assume the proportions of that full-scale civil

war our policy was supposed to avert; the steady rise to dominance of the most reactionary elements of the Kuomintang; the political murders of prominent liberals; the systematic obliteration of any remaining shred of democratic rights—all this has caused even *Time,* heretofore the Kuomintang's unctuous apologist, to deplore the corruption, inefficiency, and brutality of the present Chinese government.

The Kuomintang plainly believes that, no matter what it does, the United States must continue to support it, since we must choose between it and the Russian-supported Chinese Communists. It has done what it could to make this choice seem absolutely clear and absolutely necessary, by attempting to crush all the liberal elements between it and the extreme left—meanwhile pretending they do not exist—and by attempting to convince us that the Chinese Communists are bloody-handed totalitarians. (Qualified eye-witnesses have testified, with surprising unanimity, that compared to the Kuomintang the Chinese Communists are honest and democratic.)

The attitude of certain segments of our army and State Department seems to have convinced the Chinese government that the United States will support the blackest reactionary government in preference to any that could be called, by anybody, Red. The Kuomintang thoroughly understands—just as Madame Sun Yat-Sen, the Chinese liberals, the Chinese Communists, and great masses of the Chinese people understand—that there is no possibility that General Marshall alone can effect any real compromise in China, or transform the present one-party government into a democratic one. All of them realize that the longer American troops "guard railways," the longer American vessels bring in material, the nearer they are getting to what the Kuomintang has worked and waited for: the extermination of the Chinese Communists and the consolidation of China under a totalitarian government supplied with American munitions, with American loans, and with American-trained armies. We have reached the point where the best thing for us to do is to do nothing at all, to get out of China.

American newspapers are fond of remarking that during the war, while we had Uncle Joe where we wanted him, we should have forced him to make specific promises that he would not do whatever he happens to be doing right now. Few newspapers bother to say this about China; yet there we had an opportunity to obtain for the Chinese a democratic and unified government, and instead went on with the policy, or lack of policy, that has led to the present debacle. One wonders how much our policy has been disinterested but ineffective, how much an incoherent composite of the conflicting pressures inside our own government, and how much simply *bad,* a typical example of a government working (as governments so often do) at levels below either ideology, idealism, or common sense. Faced with countries like Greece or China—where reactionaries, Communists, liberals, agrarian democrats, and God knows what else are engaged in a confused struggle—the democracies are foolish enough to give the most reactionary elements an unwilling but thorough support because they can see nothing but one mesmerizing fact: that helping the left will be helping Russia. Actually American and British stupidity of this sort can do as much to help Russia as some of Russia's recent triumphs of indigenous stupidity have done to hinder it. If we want to make sure that the people of such countries have no alternative but reaction or Communism, this is the way to do it.

Russia and the Atom

SO SWEEPING was Mr. Gromyko's rejection of the modified Baruch plan for controlling the atom that congenital optimists profess to see in it a hope that he was merely breaking ground for protracted bargaining. Without sharing that inverted hopefulness, we find it hard to believe that Gromyko really meant some of the things he said. We are not so much appalled by the flat declaration that the proposal "cannot be accepted in any way by the Soviet Union, either as a whole or in separate parts"—that could be merely an inept invitation to further concessions—as by the fantastic tenor of Gromyko's objections.

The Soviet delegate takes exception to the American view that atomic matters are of "international and not of national importance." This view, he argues, is merely an American device for getting around the Charter provision which guarantees member states against interference by the United Nations in their internal affairs. The American proposals for giving the rights of control and inspection to a semi-independent Atomic Development Authority would therefore be a breach of the sovereignty of the member nations. And "the principle of sovereignty," he adds, "is one of the cornerstones on which the United Nations structure is built; if this were touched, the whole existence and future of the United Nations would be threatened." The atomic bomb is a nation's own business and the hope of the world lies in clinging to our ancient sovereignties! Colonel McCormick could not have put it better.

In place of this "dual organization," which would "undermine the Charter" by giving it a spine, the Russians propose a treaty to outlaw the manufacture and use of atomic bombs, just as the Kellogg treaty outlawed war altogether. Violations would be cited to the Security Council, which would then take action unless one of the five permanent member states—any one of which might be the accused power—chose to exercise its right of veto.

The Russians surely understand as well as anyone else that this is no plan at all. What, then, is their purpose in offering it and in taking so intransigent a position? We can only believe that what they are trying to tell the world is that, while they want atomic control as much as any other nation, they will not buy it at the expense of the veto. This is their crutch and they dare not throw it away until they are certain that they can walk without fear.

We can condemn that fear, we can call it pathological, and we can even show that it is in good part self-generated. But there is no sense in denying that the fear is there, and that in its presence the Russians would rather be free to make bombs in spite of the treaty, if they suspected that other nations were doing so, than to put their faith in a mechanism which they couldn't control and which might in some undefined way be used against them. This is the weakness of all mechanical approaches to peace—no gadget can take the place of trust.

Yet we cannot go along with those who glibly condemn the Baruch plan as "utopian" and propose instead that we come to a "genuine understanding" with the Russians before trying to construct our international machinery. Such an understanding, in the play of forces existing today, could only be one that rested on a basis of big-power politics, one that accepted the principle of security through expansion, and that ruthlessly brushed aside the claims of less-favored peoples.

Since we can neither in conscience concede to the Russians this kind of false security nor in good sense allow the beginnings of world collaboration to be abandoned with a holy washing of the hands, we have no recourse but to work patiently with them in the United Nations and at the peace table, demonstrating in every legitimate way that their security is as vital to the world as our own and extracting from them every last possible concession in the direction of international controls. It is ironic that the "Socialist Fatherland," clinging desperately to an anachronistic "sovereignty," should have to be pulled and hauled into a system of world collaboration, but this is not the first time that events have made fools of prophets.

The Battle of Palestine

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE partition plan for Palestine, as it was described in the New York *Times* last Friday, is almost too bad to be believed. The story was not carried in any other paper and the full text of the plan has not been published as I write, so it is possible that the *Times* correspondent, who evidently benefited by a news leak in the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, was misinformed as to the details. Indeed it seems almost incredible that the new committee, after weeks of labor, should have brought forth so vicious and provocative a mouse; far better to have adjourned without any decision. For the plan outlined in the *Times* invites immediate rejection by Jews as well as Arabs and is guaranteed to inflame the anger of both. It would divide the country into Zionist, Arab, and British districts with a British-controlled central government holding final and all-but-absolute power over the whole country. The Jewish and Arab areas would, says the *Times*, "have considerably less autonomy than was enjoyed by Britain's American colonies in the eighteenth century." The British would directly control defense, foreign relations, excise taxes, police, prisons, communications, customs, civil aviation, broadcasting, and antiquities for the whole country. They would run the Jewish port of Haifa. They would also, according to the summary, retain final authority over immigration, "but the provincial governments would have the right of appeal to the United Nations Trusteeship Council"—if and when.

> The provinces would have their own assemblies but the central government would appoint speakers without whose approval no bill could become law. The executive authority in the provinces would be vested in councils of ministers appointed by the British High Commissioner. He would have emergency power to supersede a provincial government in whole or in part.

The Jewish province under the plan would be a thin strip of territory zigzagging north and east and north again, from the coast below Jaffa to the Lebanese border. It would include about 1,500 square miles, a little more than half the area proposed in the Peel partition plan in 1936. To put the final touch on this constitutional monstrosity, the report is said to provide that the admission of 100,000 homeless Jews now in European camps, urged as an immediate step by the Committee of Inquiry,

THIS IS FREDA KIRCHWEY'S third article on Palestine and the Middle East following her recent tour of that area.

be made conditional on acceptance of the "federalization" scheme.

One can only hope the full text, which may have appeared before this comment does, will dispel the fears aroused by the preliminary report. For Palestine is in no state to survive much more stupid and ill-considered treatment; politically, its condition is already desperate. Even in June when I left there it was easy to predict steadily increasing trouble. In my first article, commenting on the British Foreign Minister's speech at Bournemouth, I wrote: "Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the [Anglo-American] inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine." The prognosis took no particular foresight, but events have borne it out more precisely and rapidly than I could have guessed then.

RAIDS SHOWED BRITISH INTENTIONS

First came the British raids on the Zionist organizations and the arrest of leading officials of the Jewish Agency, clearly announcing the intention of the government to create a situation which would rule out early application of the Inquiry report. Second, the bombing of the King David hotel. This stupid crime cannot be condoned on grounds of intolerable provocation, nor can the Irgun try to hide behind alleged "warnings" which are unprovable and have been flatly denied by the British. The bombing was calculated with nicety to hamstring the efforts of Zionist leaders, in Palestine and London, to crack the fatal circle of terror and reprisal. Just as the British drive on June 29 weakened the influence of the moderate leaders over their Jewish followers, so the Irgun bombing weakened their position vis-a-vis the British authorities. But it is impossible to doubt, none the less, that the first tragic error played an important part in bringing about the second. Palestinian Jews, seeing their leaders in jail and their defense organization threatened with suppression and the seizure of its weapons, undoubtedly moved closer to the position that counsels of moderation had failed and violence was inevitable. Terrorism began to take on the dangerous and attractive guise of justified reprisal.

Representatives of the Agency and other Jewish leaders have expressed unqualified condemnation of the bomb outrage. Whether they will officially cooperate in rounding up members of the terrorist organizations has not been decided as I write. But whatever they say or do, their efforts will be effective only in the degree to which their prestige is reestablished by action in London. They cannot be discredited by continued failure and still be expected to win their followers to a new trust in the virtues of restraint. They cannot say: "Look, we have got nowhere; but will you please lay down your arms and leave everything to us and the British?"

The latest White Paper was clearly intended to justify the British army's raid on the Jewish Agency and Haganah. The evidence it presents of acts of violence condoned and even supported by the Zionist officials and of limited cooperation between the Agency and terrorist groups would indicate, if proved valid, that the undeclared war in Palestine has partly closed the ranks of the Jewish "resistance forces."

The Jewish Agency has indignantly denied the authenticity of the incriminating telegrams published in the White Paper, and no one has a right to accept them on their face value. The mood of British officials as I encountered it in Palestine is one which would lead them to give ready credence to fabricated evidence of Zionist conspiracy. But, true or false, the document may well serve to justify British toughness in the mind of the general public. Unfortunately, it will at the same time blur the issue, for the common or strap-hanging reader will not make nice distinctions between Jewish violence that might at least have had some military purpose, and violence that had no reason other than sheer terror. The broader effect of the White Paper will be to discredit, along with the "dissidents," men who have tried to carry on the fight with as little bloodshed and general destruction as possible.

JEWISH LEADERS ARE MILITANT

Britain's strategy of repression and delay has turned every Jewish leader into a militant; even those known as "moderates" unanimously and openly back illegal efforts to circumvent the immigration restrictions and resist military measures. But if the British intend to offer concessions in Palestine—in other words, if the new proposals from London turn out to be more generous and realistic than the *Times'* story indicates—it would seem reckless to toss into disrepute the Jewish leaders still capable of compromise. Such men are not expendable. Nothing but their prompt rehabilitation will prevent power from slipping into the hands of the elements whose anger and intransigence they have attempted to offset. If that happens, the struggle in Palestine can only become more and more bloody and embittered.

For Jews are not Arabs, full of noisy threats but incapable of united, organized, sustained action. And the Jews of today are not the Jews of 1936 to 1939, so eager to prove their pacific and constructive intentions that they all but fell backward in their effort to avoid violence. Today the Jews trust no one but themselves. They are organized and prepared. They believe that they are fighting, not just for their families and their homeland as in the thirties, but for the survival of their people. The horror of the past six years is alive in every Jew in

Palestine whether he suffered it in his own person or through the bodies and minds of his fellow Jews in Europe. His feeling is inflamed by every sign of easy indifference, in Britain or elsewhere, to the fate of the remnant of refugees in Europe. It is reinforced by each boatload of survivors that slips into Haifa harbor.

THE SPECIAL QUALITY OF PALESTINE

The impact of Jewish Palestine strikes you in full force the moment you cross the Lebanese border. Perhaps that is the best way to meet it, for with Lebanon as a background, Palestine takes on a special quality; the contrast is startling. In "free" Lebanon, the Christian community lives in a state of constant apprehension and constraint. In British-ruled Palestine, the Jews are obviously a "free" people. I had expected to find courage and determination, even confidence, for it is out of these ingredients that the miracle of Jewish Palestine has been compounded. But I was surprised to find the Jews "free" in the full moral meaning of the word. Where Christians in Lebanon discuss in unhappy undertones their chance of survival, reduced to the thinnest sliver by the ousting of the French, Jews in Palestine talk openly, without restraint, in not-too-well-modulated voices, about the whole state of affairs in their occupied country. Their press is free as the wind, until it is censored or suspended; in Lebanon the press, with a few notable exceptions, is both timid and corrupt. The Lebanese Christians expect to be submerged in a Moslem flood if they are not rescued by some outside agency. The Jews walk the earth of Palestine as if they belonged there, not like refugees or immigrants. This phenomenon of Jewish freedom in one of the world's least free lands gives the visitor an impression of solidity and permanence which every other circumstance tries vainly to erase.

I talked to political leaders in Palestine—several of them now in prison—and to men and women in a dozen or more collective farms and cooperatives. I saw refugees from extermination camps serving their apprenticeship in the colonies. I saw Jews at work in factories owned by the labor organization. I visited the hospital and the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. I talked to the newspaper men and women of Jerusalem. The sum of these varied contacts produced a surprisingly homogenous impression upon me. And since this article cannot deal in details, I shall try to make a composite of the attitudes I find recorded in my notes.

First, the assumption that the survivors of Nazi terror would eventually surely get to Palestine. Not a single Jew even suggested that the immigration could be stopped. Legally or illegally, under protection or as smuggled goods, the DP's would come and the other would-be refugees would follow, and all Palestine Jews would help them.

A leader in Haifa asked me if no American shipowner could be found who would go into refugee-running on a big scale. He pointed out that we were not bound by Britain's restrictions, and marvelled that no American Jew had yet launched such an enterprise.

Every Jew openly defended illegal action to assist the refugees in landing and prevent their deportation if that should again be attempted.

Every institution, from the magnificent Hadassah hospital to individual homes in cooperative farms, was preparing to make room for the 100,000 or whatever number, smaller or greater, might arrive. New quarters were being built in collectives; new land acquired within the strangling limits of the White Paper restrictions. Plans for training and settling the future arrivals were rapidly taking shape, together with realistic preparations to provide for the physical and psychological rehabilitation of people who have been seriously damaged by the horrors they have lived through.

Second, the determination of Jewish Palestine to survive at whatever cost. I have said the Jews are now all militants. What this means in practice is that they are prepared to fight for the right to control their own institutions and decide their own destiny. I put it in these imprecise terms because Jews disagree about the exact political basis on which their future should rest. Most of them, of course, want a democratic state with a Jewish majority within Palestine's present boundaries. An earnest minority wants a bi-national state, equally balanced in population and political power between Jews and Arabs. Some Jews are quite prepared to accept a partition plan which would limit the Homeland to an area containing a Jewish majority or able to attain a majority when the 100,000 have been added. The suggestion of a democratic federated state embracing separate Jewish and Arab administrative areas would be regarded by many Jews as an unhappy but acceptable compromise. The proposal set forth in the *Times* would be rejected by both these groups.

NO SURRENDER OF BASIC RIGHTS

No Jew I talked to would agree that the community should surrender its basic right of self-government and self-defense. Training for defense is as nearly compulsory as social pressure can make it. Every young person gives a year's service to the community, and if he is needed for the defense forces, that is where he goes. No secret is made of the existence and activities of Haganah; the fact that it is outlawed under British regulations merely induces a moderate discretion in talking about it.

Jews are filled with bitter contempt for the government's condemnation of "illegal armed forces." For Haganah supplied the British army with thousands of able fighters. The chairman of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Bernard Joseph, told me that the recruiting drive of the Zionist organizations was limited only by British reluctance to accept Jewish soldiers in numbers so totally

disproportionate to the handful of Arabs who served. Haganah was, of course, fully recognized during the Arab raids in the late thirties. It was this force, then ill-equipped and poorly trained, that defended the scattered settlements while British troops concentrated on the maintenance of general order and the protection of pipe lines. Today Haganah has come to be looked upon not only as a defense organization to be held in readiness for possible future trouble with the Arabs, but as an Army of Liberation upon which the Jews will depend if negotiations fail and the British try to maintain the status quo by force of arms.

There are other things the Jews want.

They are passionately eager to reclaim the land; one of the reasons partition would be a hard concession to make is that it would endanger if not end the hope of putting into effect the Jordan Valley plan and other large-scale projects designed to open great desert areas for farming.

They want to raise the standard of living of the whole country and level up to their own the standard of the Arabs. This is partly altruistic; partly it is in order to make possible an economic and political stability which can only be reached if the Arab masses are somehow drawn into the twentieth century.

Some Jews, wiser than the majority, want to make common cause with other threatened minority groups in the Arab states—particularly with their neighbors, the Christians of Lebanon.

But the basic desires of the Jews I talked with are wrapped up in the first two attitudes I have described. Put together they were expressed briefly by one of the wisest Palestinian leaders. He said to me: "Under no circumstances will we give up. We will fight to open Palestine to all Jews who want to come. We will fight to maintain Jewish Palestine. We have no other choice. We cannot go on from here. This is the stopping place—the end of the road. We will stay here or die."

Washington Peep Show

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, July 28

A BUSTLING little man with a harassed look was the most important man in Washington last Thursday. Congressmen and correspondents treated him deferentially; secretaries sidled up to him coquettishly. He was the Captain of the Capitol Police, the man in charge of arrangements for the biggest hit show of the season—the well-advertised appearance of Congressman Andrew Jackson May before the Mead Committee of the Senate. The captain was the man to see to be sure of getting a seat in the large Senate caucus room.

Washington is not an early-rising city, but many officials, hangers-on, and reporters were setting their alarm clocks for 7:30 Friday morning. The hearing would start at 9 sharp. The queues would begin forming at 8:30. When Friday came the Captain was a crushed man. He said plaintively, "There aren't any crowds." Another Capitol aide wailed, "We've got everything all set, and the actor doesn't show up." Congressman May was ill abed, suffering from a heart attack.

Senator Mead is an optimist. He opened the hearing by standing up and calling out in a clear voice, "Is Representative Andrew J. May in the room?" A useless question as the Senator could see by looking over the one row of spectators. The Congressman's attorney, a nervous young man with tightly pressed lips, told the committee that his client had suffered a stroke; the strain of recent weeks had been too much for him.

The Mead committee needed the personal appearance of the big Congressman to bolster a very badly sagging play. The first act had been as fascinating as a peep show. Fabulous characters were introduced and whisked out again. The breath of scandal blew tantalizing bits onto the copy paper. It was very refreshing to a Washington tired of serious thinking about such controversial issues as atomic energy and price control.

Most amazing of all the characters was Murray "Wolf" Garrson, the big-time promoter of the munitions combine which drew government contracts totalling $78,049,101. He is no stranger to Washington. He was some kind of a confidential agent for the Department of Labor in the Hoover Administration, and described himself to impressed strangers as an Assistant Secretary of Labor. The Department of Labor files on Garrson are voluminous and contain accusations that he was an arms smuggler, an alien smuggler, an intimate of gangsters, and a shake-down racketeer himself. Investigations were made by the FBI, but each complaint wound up with the notation that nothing could be proved.

The investigation reports did say that Garrson was more aggressive than he needed to be, that he operated in an irregular way, and that his associates were strange and shadowy characters. But the Wolf was elusive. It

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was obvious that he had two qualities necessary to a successful promoter: he had all the brass in the world and the kind of overwhelming geniality that impresses politicians. When Senator Ferguson introduced the Garrson files into the hearing, he said sarcastically, "I understand that some people have had difficulty in finding out the character of Murray Garrson. There has been a woeful lack of interest on the part of certain representatives of the War Department in ascertaining the character and morality of people with whom they dealt." Such people, for instance, as Ben Fields, a friend of Garrson and an alumnus of the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary. Senator Mitchell charged that Fields approached him and tried to bribe him as a member of the Mead committee. Another former inmate of Lewisburg, Sam Beard, was also in the picture. Then there was May's liaison agent, dapper Joseph Freeman, Washington representative of the Garrson interests. Like his friend, the Congressman, Freeman is currently suffering from heart trouble.

The cast even included a comic character, Louis Sarelas, the young government clerk who was made office manager for the Washington office of the Garrson's at a salary higher than a Senator's. He testified eagerly that he was "a sensitive soul" and that what he really yearned for was a Hollywood contract as a singer. Feminine charm was injected into the hearings by the two very good looking young secretaries in the Washington office. Their testimony was damaging to May, and contained charges that May would call up the office asking abruptly about money. They also told of the Alice in Wonderland atmosphere of the office: thousand-dollar bills waved about, calls to Capitol Hill, whiskey for generals, no files.

Andy May was certainly a handy-andy for the company, if the testimony was correct. He was alleged to have "contacted" the War Department and secured contracts for the Garrsons, to have gotten Sarelas out of the army, and to have interceded with General Eisenhower when Murray Garrson's son was involved in a court martial. It is difficult to understand just when May had any time for legislating or the Pentagon brass moments for doing anything but looking after Andy's friends. Just what May got out of the job of being errand boy is not exactly clear. He was agent for the Cumberland Lumber Company, a mysterious organization which had $48,000 advanced to it by the Garrsons. According to the pretty stenographers in the Washington office of the Garrson outfit, the Congressman seemed to have money on his mind when he called. On one occasion a Mrs. Hall heard him ask, "What about the $3,000?"

And there the first act ended. The second act has been bumping along like a flat tire. Nothing has been proven. There is no evidence thus far that the Garrsons defrauded the government out of millions. What might have been a shocking and tragic scandal washed out when the War Department was not able to trace defective mortar shells to the Garrson companies. The Navy Department issued a press release announcing with an air of haughty respectability that its dealing with Messrs. Garrson had been honorable and aboveboard, and there had been no trouble. Thus the case against Congressman May is still inference. No one has testified of seeing any money pass from the Garrsons to May.

The final act is coming up within a few days. The committee still hopes to have Representative May on the stand. Lindsey Warren, the aggressive Comptroller-General, is going to testify, and he has promised to give important information to the committee. Senator Mead has obtained permission from the White House to examine the income-tax returns of those connected with the Garrson empire.

If it has not yet confirmed the existence of a major scandal, the committee has already shown several sad weaknesses in the legislative and administrative systems of the government. But since they are not sensational enough to compete with murders and Hollywood news, they have been generally overlooked. The record shows:

(1) It is comparatively easy for any promoter with enough brass to make a monkey out of Washington. Murray Garrson had Congressmen and generals step obediently to his tunes. He understood the weaknesses of Washington, the subservience of any government department to the mighty men on the hill who control policy, appropriations, and promotions. The army could no more tell Andrew J. May to go to hell than a private could thumb his nose at a general. The War Department was forced to depend on the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee to steer its bills through the House. It is no secret that at one time the Secretary of War asked President Roosevelt to appoint May to a vacant Federal judgeship to get rid of this domineering autocrat who demanded favors for his friends in return for his support. The contempt with which the Garrson people held those who did their bidding for them was indicated by the code word for May. It was a Yiddish word, "yeichel," which means "sucker."

(2) The independent General Accounting Office has no authority to investigate war contracts until after they are terminated, and then only if there is evidence of fraud. Since one of the few ways to determine fraud is to examine the records, the GAO was almost powerless to look into billions of dollars of war contracts to see if Uncle Sam was cheated. It was only after the Mead Committee hearings that the GAO undertook to examine the Garrson contracts.

(3) The ancient Congressional traditions of courtesy and immunity from attack permitted Chairman May, at a time when his integrity was under a shadow, to control the House debate on one of the most important bills ever presented to any Congress, the atomic-energy con-

trol bill. He was fighting vigorously and using the proxies of absent committee members to try and defeat civilian control of atomic energy. Yet no one rose in the House to question the propriety of having a man under suspicion of selling influence dominate debate on atomic energy control and head the House conferees.

Another case before the Mead committee involves West Coast politics. Representative John Coffee, Democrat, of Washington, is accused of accepting, through his former secretary, Paul Olson, a $2,500 check from a Washington state contractor. Senator Brewster, Maine Republican, has laid before the Mead committee this check together with letters from Coffee and Olson to the donor, Eivind Anderson.

Anderson is a contractor who shared in the construction of Fort Lewis, Washington, one of the largest army installations in the country. He made several trips to Washington when the contracts were being awarded and called on Congressmen. In 1941, after one of these trips, he sent the check to Olson. Coffee contends that the money represented a campaign contribution, and says that he did not declare it officially because it was received after the campaign. The two letters speak of the heavy financial burden on a Congressman in conducting campaigns.

The check and letters came to light five years later after a bitter primary fight for the mayoralty of Tacoma, Washington. In the non-partisan primary, two of the candidates were Olson and Anderson. Anderson was badly defeated, and Olson was out in front. After the primary, Anderson called on Mayor Harry Cain of Tacoma, who is now the Republican nominee of United States Senator, and turned over the check and two letters. Cain consulted the Department of Justice, which informed him if there was a criminal offense involved, the statute of limitations barred any action. He then made the letters and check public. They created a big stir in Tacoma, and Olson was defeated in the election.

The story has now been revived on the eve of the election campaigns. The Mead Committee is fully aware of the political implications and Senator Brewster has more or less withdrawn from active prosecution of the case.

British Labor's First Year

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, July 24

BEFORE me lies a letter sent me last week by a Socialist friend in Prague. He wrote: "Czech Socialists are watching with keen interest to see whether the British government goes through with its bread-rationing scheme. This is regarded here as a test case whose results will show how far Britain is determined to pursue the policies of orderly planning. The abandonment of bread rationing would be viewed here as tragic evidence that the Labor government is beginning to yield to extra-parliamentary pressure groups and is prepared to allow Britain's economy to be assimilated gradually to unfettered United States free enterprise."

My Prague friend has not been disappointed. There were certainly last-moment hesitations on the part of some members of the government. They feared the electoral effects of the intensive anti-rationing campaign worked up by the Tory press and urged that the Canadian promises of additional wheat exports to Britain should serve as an excuse for dropping an admittedly unpopular measure. Happily wiser counsels prevailed. Attlee, taking his courage in both hands, insisted that if bread rationing were dropped the government would be defenseless against the charge of a spineless surrender to the bakers' rebellion and would face a devastating loss of prestige.

The inherent weakness in the case for bread rationing lies, of course, in the fact that unless the present scale is reduced, there will be very little saving in bread consumption. Some abnormally large bread consumers, such as miners and agricultural workers who take their midday meal from home in the form of sandwiches, will probably have to make out with fewer loaves. But the average middle-class family's experience suggests that barely two-thirds of the allocated quota of coupons will be expended on bread, leaving an ample margin for cakes and confectionery flour at the normal rate of consumption.

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the government decided to impose such an unpopular scheme simply for the purpose of impressing America with the sincerity of Britain's professions of maximum austerity in the cause of other starving peoples. Food Minister John Strachey has insisted throughout that his primary motive in rationing is to insure against the possibility either of a poor British harvest or interruption—through labor disputes or the removal of OPA ceilings—in supplies of grain from America. If all goes well he undoubtedly hopes to end bread rationing before the winter, but

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meanwhile it is essential to have in force a flexible machinery to deal with unforeseen contingencies.

This argument is cogent but difficult to put across to Britain's war-weary housewives, harassed by the necessity of arithmetically working out bread budgets and clipping three different sets of coupons with variable loaf values from ration books.

As it was, the seemingly needless complexities of the proposed system, coupled with the government's inability to prove the absolute inevitability of a future wheat shortage, gave full opportunity to the less responsible elements of the opposition press. Bidding correspondents abroad to file stories depicting luxurious black-market meals and luxury-piled shelves in continental shops, they appealed to the public's basest emotions in an attempt to prove that the government was imposing one more unnecessary control for doctrinaire reasons. Simultaneously, so-called housewives' associations and organizations, some of whose promotors had previously been linked with anti-Semitic, anti-alien agitations, bombarded Parliament with letters and petitions against bread rationing. The culmination of this pressure was the threat by the Association of Master Bakers, representing forty per cent of all bakery employers, to refuse to cooperate in the rationing. The Master Bakers were confident of full support from the Tory Party in this revolt against Parliament. Actually, however, more responsible leaders of the Tory opposition realized that if they gave their blessing to a political strike by bakery employers, they would have a poor case against any future strike by organized labor for political reasons. The influential Yorkshire *Post* published a solemn warning against unconstitutional action, and in the final Parliamentary debate on rationing Churchill exhorted the bakers to obey the law.

Nevertheless, though the sale of rationed bread began on Monday in orderly fashion, with the public philosophically accepting the nuisance of coupon clipping, anti-rationing agitation provided the keynote for the opposition in three by-elections this week, at Bexley, Pontypool, and North Battersea. In each case the Tory candidate's appeal to the electorate was: "Last year Labor candidates promised you Socialist planning and prosperity. Did you think then that a year hence you would have less bread, less coal, less beer, less fun; that your petrol would still be rationed; and that you would still be subject to a host of war-time restrictions and shortages?" Backed by the mass circulation of the press combines, whose organization and influence the National Union of Journalists has now urged the government to investigate, this campaign attributing all grievances to the government might well have caused a sizable swing in votes.

This, however, has not been borne out by the results. In Pontypool, a Labor stronghold, the drop in the government majority from nineteen to fourteen thousand was due entirely to abstentions of Labor voters in a small poll denoting apathy. The Tory vote was identical to that of last summer. In Bexley, near London, a suburban constituency including a large proportion of lower middle-class electors susceptible to Beaverbrook-Rothermere propaganda, the government majority was reduced from eleven to two thousand, but this again reflected a five thousand drop in the Labor poll. Last summer, it was a three-cornered contest with the Liberal Party polling nearly six thousand votes, the majority of which have probably now been transferred to the Tories; hence, the combined anti-Labor poll was actually no larger than before, even though the Tory vote was greater. Finally, the Labor totals in North Battersea showed a drop of about three thousand votes, representing the loss of some lukewarm supporters. The opposition vote, however, remained static despite the platform circus that was put on by Tory ex-ministers during the closing stages of the campaign.

Taken together, these by-election results support the conclusion that there has been some swing toward the opposition of the unstable, floating vote which Labor gained last summer, but that the government's solid supporters are sufficiently satisfied with the record of the past year to withstand the anti-Labor press campaigns. My Czech friend, living in the capital of a country that is experiencing a remarkable economic and social renaissance under a left government, would probably find a lack of enthusiasm for the government's achievements reflected in the current drop of Labor polls. Admittedly there has been nothing sufficiently revolutionary in the government's program to justify rooting on the political campus. Nevertheless, the electors who voted Labor into power in 1945 appreciate the fact that in one year of office the government has put through an unparalleled program of social legislation, either already enacted or nearing the statute book. The Bank of England and the coal mines have been nationalized. Comprehensive measures establishing social insurance and state medical service will soon be law. After a slow start, municipal construction of houses to let at reasonable rents to working-class tenants is well under way. Demobilization has proceeded smoothly, if slowly, with frictional unemployment below three per cent. Chancellor Dalton has already found it possible to remit some taxes and promises further remissions next April. Finally, thanks to booming exports, Britain's balance of payments is in much better shape than seemed likely a year ago.

It is necessary, however, to note that this week's by-elections were fought on issues exclusively of domestic policy. The question is whether the present qualified endorsement of the government's policy will be reaffirmed one or two years hence when the consequences of Bevinism have begun to impinge more forcibly on the mind of the man in the street. Retrospective examina-

tion of twelve months of Labor's foreign policy leads to the regrettable conclusion that with remarkable consistency in every issue, Bevin, with the support of Cabinet right-wingers, is adopting a strategy which will ultimately result in Britain's becoming friendless, powerless, and morally bankrupt. His aims are not consciously evil. Sincerely anxious to preserve the living standards of British workers, he considers that this entails maintaining, first, the inviolability of Britain's control of Middle Eastern oil and the Mediterranean sea route; and secondly, maximum British trade with western Europe, whose purchasing power is vitally dependent on the economic rehabilitation of Germany. From this general proposition, with which the majority of Laborites here would agree, he argues that (1) in the Middle East Britain must counter Russian infiltration by seeking "reliable" Arab support; (2) the Mediterranean must be secured by having in Greece and Spain governments supposedly loyal because they are grateful for British backing; (3) western Germany, at least, must be saved from inclusion in the closed Russian economy by the revival of industry under the management of German elements desirous of trade with the West.

The lamentable results of this policy are already visible. For the sake of Middle Eastern oil Britain is acquiescing in the savage repression of all Greek and Egyptian progressives by semi-fascist regimes and is risking a disastrous and bloody war with the Palestine Jews. In Europe, having antagonized every Russian-inclined country by ineffective interference in the name of "democratic liberty," we are now drifting into enforced reliance in Germany on unpurged Nazis and managements of the big, still-undissolved industrial trusts. Everywhere, instead of seeking, as Socialists, friendship with the workers of all countries, we are wooing, appeasing, leaning on, the worst elements of reactionary landlordism and feudalism.

It is possible that this policy may yield short-term dividends. But the long-term consequences are seen by many Laborite M. P.'s as catastrophic. First, neither the German capitalists nor the feudal leaders of Greece and Arabia can be counted as staunch friends of Britain even if they are capable of resisting their own Russian-inspired working-class forces. Second, the success of Bevinism implies continued American support for British imperialism. But, it is commented here, this is unlikely to be forthcoming in relation to Palestine and is bound ultimately to be forfeited by impending Anglo-American commercial competition and, probably, the inevitable recourse by the British government to every escape clause in the recently concluded loan agreement and consequential trade pact. And last, the full fruits of Bevinist power politics will disintegrate the moral self-respect of the whole British Labor movement. On the present showing, the Foreign Secretary's epitaph is likely to be, "He destroyed Labor's soul and failed to save Britain's oil."

Mexico: Ballots Without Bullets

BY ANITA BRENNER

Mexico City, July 20

ON THE AFTERNOON of July 6, Mexico City pulled down its iron shutters, laid in a stock of food, and bolted its doors, prepared for elections next day. Women and children were warned off the streets and extra troops were moved in as the army got ready to take over. The president had given his word that this time (at last!) elections would be orderly, free, and fair; but among average, non-political people the customary attitude prevailed: "Me? Go out to vote? I'm a peaceable citizen!"

Late that night cordons of jeeps and armored trucks swung out along the deserted avenues. Platoons deployed quietly into the "delicate" spots and squads went to guard each polling-place.

Soon after sunrise the next morning, strings of buses marked *Servicio Especial* proceeded slowly toward union headquarters, one in each main zone, and there emptied, parked, and stayed parked. Some of the men who got off said that they had been called in for a mammoth Alemán victory parade that night, but that the army had forbidden all demonstrations and it had been cancelled. At Padilla's house correspondents were told that the buses were to take voters with phony credentials en bloc from district to district to roll up Alemán totals. At the munition workers' union, where there was a particularly large concentration, they explained that the bus-drivers' union was providing courtesy transportation service, because everything was so new and voters might have trouble finding their polling places.

The truth was that the bus-loads were shock-troops: ten thousand peasants and union men mobilized and held

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in readiness for—for what? Well, in the first place, there had never been an election that had not deteriorated, early in the day usually, into street fighting. Six years ago in the Ávila Camacho-Almazán contest the police had melted away, and Almazán, had he so chosen, might have stormed the National Palace with his crowds and perhaps taken the government. In the second place, Padilla had been talking quite frankly about impending inevitable violence. A few days before, he had told correspondents that though he was well satisfied with the new electoral law (which follows the outlines of normal democratic suffrage) and pleased that the army would guarantee its peaceful functioning, and though he trusted the President to keep his word that elections would be fair, nevertheless it seemed unlikely things would work out this way because Alemán had the entire government machinery behind him, and nothing but fraud could be expected of the same old gang. He insisted that the masses were filled with civic fervor and would not stand for it, and the country would very likely fall into "grave uneasiness and insecurity."

Caricature by Seligson

President Alemán

Some of us had tips, from other sources, of *putsch*-plots, which the government was evidently taking seriously. It was our impression—and pretty generally taken for granted—that Padilla had no intention of conceding an Alemán victory under any circumstances, and that he intended to fight, perhaps by the traditional method of setting up a rump Congress somewhere, by the other traditional method of an uprising, or perhaps by a sergeants' revolt with air-force support. He clearly expected United States sympathy and backing, and said in several interviews that he felt it necessary and proper for other American governments to intervene by refusing to recognize a regime established under suspicion of force—the Wilsonian doctrine of "orderly process," which is dynamite in Mexico and not much cherished in any Latin American country.

The electoral line-up was:

Miguel Alemán. Backed by the government party and a coalition of other parties, including all the unions plus leading business men and intellectuals. His strength: a job of organization such as had never been seen before, and personal popularity. His weakness: endorsement by the "status quo" groups, as well as by prominent left-wingers.

Ezequiel Padilla. Backed by a curious combination of "outs," including many government employees, in a party called the Partido Democrático Mexicano, holding Tory opinions. His strength: leader of opposition feeling. His weakness: slipshod organization, too many semi-fascists in his train (including the discredited *Dorados*), and the widespread notion that he was the United States candidate.

General Augustín Castro. Backed mostly by personal followers. His strength: anti-government sentiment and personal popularity. His weakness: the impression that he was stooging for Alemán.

General Enrique Calderón. Also backed by personal friends. His strength: anti-government sentiment. His weakness: not much of a record in public life.

The other parties in the field, Accion Nacional and Fuerza Popular (official name of the Sinarquistas), are both strongly anti-government and strongly Catholic in make-up. However, Manuel Gomez Morín, Accion Nacional leader, follows the *Rerum Novarum*, social-reform line of Catholic thinking, while the Sinarquistas flatly repudiate the Mexican Revolution and all its works. Accion Nacional tried to launch a coalition-opposition candidate —somebody picked from among the old revolutionaries —but its choice, Luis Cabrera, declined. Both Accion Nacional and the Sinarquistas then shrewdly refrained from the presidential contest and threw all their strength into the Congressional elections.

The campaign developed into an Alemán- Padilla race, with the complex Congressional struggles much in the background. The presidential candidates ran sharply dissimilar campaigns. Alemán's mass meetings followed the fiesta pattern: girls, music, flowers. On the next day he would hold an industrial or economic forum, conducted much like a seminar, implying that his main interest would be to bring, through increased production, the cost of living down, the standard of living up.

Nearly everywhere, governors, deputies, old revolutionaries, unions, peasant leagues, and chambers of commerce were so solidly and confidently riding this bandwagon that the Alemán committee could afford to push, as it did, the electoral-reform law and every other method of guaranteeing democratic suffrage. Their machine was such that they had scarcely more need for violent means to victory than, say, the Democrats in Texas. They were obviously, because of the underlying national sullenness over inflation, shaping their strategy by the knowledge that their government would be more tenable, more stable, and much better able to perform on its large promises, if it came to power down a broad new highway of popular suffrage, under no dubious shadow of strong-arm stuff.

Padilla, on the other hand, campaigned like an apostle. His followers supplied overtones of martyrdom, crying out often that they were being threatened, persecuted, and hounded. They offered no specific evidence

of this, but their campaign *was* tough sledding because wherever Padilla went he had to buck union boycotts—no transportation, closed restaurants, failure of electric current, and so forth. His crowds, considerably smaller, were given no fiestas. They were keyed up to a sacrificial, defiant mood. The women wept and the men yelled in desperate fury. Above them the benign, faintly clerical figure of Padilla eloquently described their misery, emphasizing the graft and corruption that coined millions out of their hunger, warning them of the Red Menace, and accusing union leaders and government bigwigs as their exploiters. He offered "democracy" as the remedy for all this and invoked God.

Such crowds, whipped to an hysterical pitch on election day by an incident, might easily proceed (with clubs and a few tommyguns concealed in cars, and a banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe ahead) to—maybe more than riots, much more. Considering the dreadful gap between what most of Mexico earns and what it now costs to eat, Padilla might, after all, set off a blaze that had nothing to do with who should be president.

Some of us felt, when we started out early election morning, that perhaps the army ought to have lent us jeeps, or at least helmets and steel vests. We soon found that our press arm-bands allowed us free entry everywhere: past the mask-faced Indian soldiers into the polls, behind the official tables if we liked, to police headquarters, to the Red Cross, into the Electoral Vigilance Board. We moved around as we pleased all day, and between us—all the foreign press and a host of Mexican reporters—we covered the city pretty thoroughly, finding everywhere the same picture: long lines of citizens queued up to vote, waiting with extraordinarily cheerful patience and rather proud of the quiet Sunday manner in which Mexico was at last performing its civic duties.

The polling places were primitive affairs: long tables or counters, with watchers of every party around, and soldiers watching grimly for any sign of disturbance or coercion. Most voters marked their ballots quite in the open, so it was possible for any watcher, or any reporter, to tally. It was going as one might expect: in the richer districts, a close race, impossible to forecast totals; in the workers' districts, Alemán way ahead. We all noted a heavy split vote; Accion Nacional was getting Congressional votes on both Alemán and Padilla ballots, thus forecasting a brand new prospect in Mexican politics—real opposition in Congress.

By mid-afternoon the city began to look like any Sunday; boys and girls going to the movies, children out buying balloons. There was a queer look on many faces, a suppressed and skeptical delight. The voters' queues were still blocks long, perhaps longer now. The turn-out, patently, was much bigger than the electoral machinery could handle, so that many voters stood all day and some all night, and voting was still going on late next day. This was stretching the law, but, in view of the circumstances—and inasmuch as the opposition had charged that the slowness was a maneuver to blockade the polls with early-rising Alemanistas—it was doubtless the only safe and reasonable thing to do. Several of us went out of our way to track down reports of fraud and violence given out at Padilla headquarters. But at the addresses where we had been told Padilla watchers had been driven away, we found these gentlemen at their posts, wearily eating sandwiches.

Late that night three of us wedged past the crowd, the soldiers, and the piled-up boxes on which the soldiers were sitting, into the central board. We had been told that ballot boxes all over the city were being hijacked, with military and police connivance. We found about half the boxes in, and more coming steadily with armed escort and in custody of all watchers. Some were being opened and counted inside because, the counters told us, they had felt a little "unsafe" about performing this delicate operation at the polls. Complaints were coming into all party headquarters—including Alemán's—that in many zones military commanders had seized the boxes and locked them up under guard. Hijacked boxes turned out to be the principal complaint afterwards, and the courts may now have to listen to thousands of suits in order to find out where it was a case of military woodenheadedness, where it was over-enthusiastic rough stuff on the part of the local bosses, and where it was sheer mechanical confusion, due to the newness of the whole procedure.

The first national reports, on the following day, accurately forecast the final results: first, the astounding news, no violence; second, in the industrial centers, the same picture as in the capital—a close race, pointing to a heavy protest vote aimed, evidently, at the unions, or maybe specifically at Toledano and his group; third, in the rural districts—where the great majority of the vote was cast—a big Alemán lead, but in those where Sinarquistas are numerous, a heavy split vote, with probable Congressional representation for either Accion Nacional or the Sinarquistas themselves. The total count, arrived at over a week later, gives Alemán close to two million and Padilla about half a million, and so far shows three opposition winners in Congress. The count won't be official until September, when the Chamber of Deputies meets as an electoral college and, independently of the courts, attempts to unravel the districts and zones in dispute, perhaps increasing the opposition representation.

Meanwhile, all three of the leading opposition parties are charging fraud. Padilla claims wholesale fraud and calls for popular action; and though his predicted uprisings do not now seem likely, his followers are a latent, potent source of anti-Red, anti-union, anti-government violence. The other two oppositions carefully disassociate

themselves from the Padilla position. They are sticking to legal procedures, pushing only specific claims. They also repudiate rather vehemently the idea of action by a foreign government. "That," Accion Nacional's Gomez Morín told this correspondent, "is intervention. I personally would hate to be called upon to decide on the legality of an election, say, in some part of the United States. No, our way—teaching the people the meaning of law—is slower at the start but faster in the end. Next time. . . ."

Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

V. Los Alamos, New Mexico

ON A 7,000-foot mesa between deep canyons honeycombed with prehistoric cliff dwellings, in a land of ancient ways and ancient people, is the most important small town in America.

Here is the birthplace of a new world. Here have gathered not only the brains of this new world but its conscience—for only those who created it are able to comprehend it fully and understand their responsibility toward it. They have touched the lives of every one on earth.

In the autumn of 1942 Los Alamos was an exclusive ranch school. The next spring it was even more exclusive, for it was becoming the best-equipped nuclear-physics laboratory in the world and was scheduled to be the cradle of the atomic bomb.

To reach Los Alamos you descend from Santa Fe through hot, sandy land and cross the Rio Grande at the sleepy Spanish-American town of Espanola. The new blacktop road twists and winds past the brown adobe houses of the ancient Indian pueblo of Santa Clara, famous for black pottery and beautiful ceremonial dancing. The road runs parallel with the river, dipping sharply into dry stream beds and rising with equal sharpness on the far sides. To the east the cottonwood and Indian-tilled fields make a green strip along the river. Now you begin to climb on a shelf-road up the canyon wall to the Pajarito Plateau, a gently sloping mesa backed by the high, green Jemez Mountains.

At the guarded outer gate your passes are minutely examined and your car carefully checked. The piney perfume of piñon, the cedar-sweet juniper odor, and the spicy smell of sage dominate even after you enter the town. They have not succumbed to the new odors of gasoline, whirling volcanic dust, and sweating humanity.

Stretching over the mesa from the original congested center of the project—where dark-green, plainly-rectangular, four-apartment buildings huddle beam to beam with administration buildings and barracks—are the shopping center, theaters, fire station, and more housing units. The asphalt and gravel streets of Los Alamos plunge down crazy slopes, wind among the houses and the tall pines, intersect with no apparent design. Zooming jeeps, heavy trucks, and passenger cars fill the narrow roads. The immense car and truck pools, the jammed-together buildings, the whirling dust all give a first impression of bustle and confusion.

Los Alamos is a living monument to Franklin D. Roosevelt. No one but he could have shouldered the responsibility for the decision to set up this enormous organization and the two even larger plants at Hanford and Oak Ridge, that fed it with raw material.

Once the decision had been made, Major General Leslie R. Groves and the army did a herculean job of expediting the work and (possibly an even more difficult job) of keeping it secret. They were completely successful. The scientists lacked nothing they needed, and they got whatever they wanted fast. And the secrecy was maintained.

We had dinner with several members of the Association of Los Alamos Scientists. Dr. Willard Stout, a broad, quiet young physicist, told us of a fifteen-minute weekly radio program on Albuquerque's KOB, recorded for the use of other stations as well, on which he had spoken. ALAS also publishes a weekly newsletter, and one member is technical consultant on an atomic bomb film now being made in Hollywood. Afterwards we went to Dr. Stout's cubicle in one of the log school buildings, once a schoolboy's room, and talked. We mentioned that the town seemed completely unplanned.

"How could it be planned?" Dr. David Hawkins, the blond, curly-haired historian of the project, asked. "Even Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the director, had no idea at first how large it would be—he thought maybe 300 people would be enough. There are about 7,000 here now. It always grew much faster than anyone could anticipate. It doubled, tripled, quadrupled before anyone could figure out what was happening."

Stout and Lester Guttman, a brilliant little black-haired boy with owlish eyes who has been doing vital work at Los Alamos since the earliest days, told us how

every day more scientists, more technicians, more machinists were brought in. The army men found housing and set it up wherever they could—fast. In addition to the ten log-and-stone houses of the school (known now as "bathtub row" because there are only showers elsewhere) and the army-designed apartment houses, there are square hutments, round-roofed Quonset huts, TVA-type prefabricated houses, and some fifteen other kinds of living quarters, including barracks and a large variety of government and privately-owned trailers. The desperate urgency of the work, which for two years meant no day off but Christmas, gave no time for community planning.

The army built Los Alamos and, with the aid of the purely advisory town council, the army runs it. This town council, elected every six months, was most revealing to some of the scientific personnel who served on it.

"We were all individualists," Stout told us. "Most of us had lived in big cities where we didn't have to worry about traffic control or sewage disposal or sidewalks. Here we were thrown together in an isolated little community—mixed with two or three thousand GI's, hard-boiled machinists from Detroit and Chicago, and a lot of local Spanish-American labor. We had to figure out how to make the town function. It was a real microcosm, and in a small way it taught us all something about how the world solves its problems."

Stout and Guttman are both leaving Los Alamos soon for jobs at the University of Chicago. But they both feel strongly that the isolation of the atom-bomb town had formed permanent friendships and associations. They had to find everything within themselves. They had to be concerned with schools and church services. For recreation they produced plays as a little theatre group, and they sang as a choral society. When babies were born or mothers were ill, other women always helped out. They took care of each other's babies and bought each other's groceries. The women's auxiliary of ALAS does typing and letter-writing because the men are too busy. The spirit of cooperation is very strong.

The strict security measures, which successfully kept the great secret, called for monitored phone calls and censored mail. Yet within the necessary limits old settlers say the town is a democratic one. The army-run cafeterias, supermarket, beauty shop, barber shop, and two theatres are open to all and all stand in line. There are no exclusive shops or clubs. Signs on many buildings are in both English and Spanish.

"There was a democracy of obligation," Assistant Director E. J. Demson told us. "The workers felt the job they were doing was extremely important to their friends and relatives in uniform, even when they didn't know what it was. There was mutual respect between the top brains and the top skills. Scientists and machinists would sit on nail kegs and work out problems together. There were misfits and there were arguments, of course. We worked closely with the shop grievance committees."

The list of scientific workers includes almost every important name in nuclear physics—Oppenheimer, Fermi, and Bohr merely begin the roll. "For a long time," David Hawkins recalled, "no one was really sure the bomb would work. In fact, the scientists had a pool on the amount of energy that would result from the New Mexico test. Some of the guesses were zero."

Since the bomb has been proven, their first concern has been with the control of atomic power to maintain peace. Atomic research has done something more than open a fresh and broad frontier for science: it has brought scientists into world politics.

For these young men (the average age of Los Alamos scientists is less than thirty) are perfectly conscious of what they have brought about, they are more aware of it than anyone else. In long night sessions they have hashed it over and seen it as a new problem which must be solved by new means. Most of them believe that world government will come eventually, but that the bomb exists now, and some workable scheme of international control must be effected immediately. They regard the Acheson proposals for technical safeguards, ownership of raw-material sources and production plants by an international authority, and licensing of "denatured" material for "safe" activities only, as the most promising interim approach. In fact, the presence of Dr. Oppenheimer on the board of consultants which prepared the report upon which Acheson's proposals were founded suggests that these ideas may have originated in Los Alamos.

A complete revision of the world is not something even a nuclear physicist undertakes every day. And this artificial little town of Los Alamos, where more brains were assembled than have ever before worked in such close quarters on such a vital project, has bound these families together indissolubly. For the bomb was no one man's work—it was the work of the town. And these people can laugh together over the few Los Alamos prima donnas, they can think grimly about the endless, grinding days and nights without rest, they can recall the tense moments before the first test, and they can take satisfaction in the fact that their work together at Los Alamos helped bring a swifter end to the war and saved many American lives.

The little town on the Pajarito Plateau has time now to build permanent houses, to put in a more reliable water supply, to build a broader and shorter highway to Santa Fe. It will be a calmer and more settled place than the one these men knew. But it will always be the town that changed everything, the town that invented and fabricated the atomic bomb, the town that taught individualistic scientists to work together and to take an active part in the management of the world.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

King Cotton in a Balloon

TEN YEARS ago old King Cotton was sitting on a very shaky throne and his days as autocratic ruler of the South seemed to be numbered. But the war has restored his prestige, his revenues, and the confidence of his followers who, rejoicing in the return of a prosperity which they thought had gone forever, have embarked on a speculative spree with little thought of what tomorrow may bring.

Few commodities have risen more in price since the war started than cotton. It has never been subjected to ceilings, for every effort by OPA to fix the price was strenuously and successfully resisted by the powerful cotton bloc in Congress. Even attempts to check speculation in cotton by an order compelling traders to put up larger margins were bitterly opposed, although margin trading in securities has been banned altogether. So cotton prices soared from an average of 14 cents a pound in 1941 to almost 30 cents on June 28.

The lapse of OPA provided a fresh stimulus for, although that did not change the market status of cotton itself, it made possible increased prices for cotton goods and so encouraged manufacturers to bid up the price of the raw material. On July 19 the spot quotation touched 36 cents a pound, a 23-year high, and the friends of cotton started talking it up to 50 cents—a level not reached even in the 1920 inflation. Since then, however, some of this enthusiasm has evaporated, as a wave of selling struck the over-extended market, pulling prices back to 32.20 cents on July 27. Such swift fluctuations are characteristic of a boom period, and we have not yet seen the high-water mark.

The speculative pace has proved rather alarming to the manufacturing interests who fear they may become the targets of public wrath when they adjust their prices to the higher cost of raw cotton. "In the event that OPA is not revived," wrote the *Journal of Commerce* on July 16, "and the public is forced to pay what it may regard as excessive prices for its textiles, the blame for this will properly be handed to the raw cotton speculator." Actually there hasn't been much hesitation to adjust quotations on a wide range of cloths upwards during the past four weeks. A list on my desk shows that the most modest advance over OPA ceilings has been one of 9 per cent in denims, the greatest one of 18 to 25 per cent in cotton blankets. And there are numerous examples of increases ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. Now that OPA is reestablished cloth manufacturers and finishers are beginning to worry about possible roll-backs. They want the higher prices they have set confirmed and hint that if attempts are made to enforce lower ceilings goods will be withdrawn from the market. In the campaign against OPA the textile interests have been prominent from the first despite the fact that ceilings have not hindered them from making a brilliant profit record.

With or without OPA it seems to me that everyone connected with cotton, from the planter to the retailer, would, if far-sighted, do his utmost to dampen down the current boom. For if most of the short-term factors in the situation are bullish, the long-term prospects for this fiber are far from favorable. The current shortage on which the upward movement of prices has been based is local rather than universal. The 1945 United States cotton crop was small and this year's is not expected to be much larger. It will, in fact, be insufficient to meet the requirements of domestic spinners, not to mention a rising export demand. Thus stocks which have been reduced by 3½ million bales in the last year to 8,659,000, will be pulled down still further.

That is the cheerful side of the picture from the speculators' point of view but it is not the whole story. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of July 7 total world supplies of raw cotton on August 1, 1946, will stand at 48 million bales. This is equal to two years' supply at the current rate of consumption. True, the world has been starved of textiles for years and consumption may expand as war-damaged mills are restored and workers demobilized. But high prices bear hard on the Asiatic and African buyers of textiles, who make up an important part of the world market and, at the same time, they encourage the extension of cotton acreage in such countries as Brazil. A year hence the statistical situation may be far less favorable than now, even though American mills continue to devour material at their present record rate. And a sudden decline in the American appetite for textiles cannot be ruled out. Look what happened in 1920! At the beginning of that year wide print cloths, a typical product, sold at 21 cents a yard; at the end they were quoted at eight cents after reaching a high of 26 cents in between. The corresponding course of spot cotton prices was: Opening, 39.25 cents; high, 43.75; low, 14.50; close, 14.75. That summary ought to remind King Cotton that balloons can fall as well as rise.

In the past fifteen years, domestic prices for American cotton have been artificially sustained, but the result has been the loss of a large part of the foreign market to countries which could produce at lower costs. Now the home market is threatened by a competitor not susceptible to tariff treatment—synthetic fiber. Constant research is making rayon an increasingly flexible raw material and it is encroaching on the domain of cotton at many different points. On July 10, H. Gordon Smith, vice-president of the United States Rubber Company, told a meeting that at current prices rayon was more economical for tire cord than cotton. In fact, about fifty per cent of the tires being made are using rayon and the only reason the percentage is not larger is the inadequate supply of high-tenacity rayon yarn. But production is rapidly rising. In 1945 rayon output totalled 792 pounds and today an annual production rate of 850 million pounds, equivalent to 1.7 million bales of cotton, has been achieved.

If King Cotton is to meet successfully competition of this caliber, his courtiers had better stop worrying about how to keep prices up and do more hard thinking about getting costs down. The means by which this can be done are known: in parts of Texas mechanized plantations are already producing at six to seven cents a pound. But the general application of these means requires modernization of the whole social structure of the south.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Death of the Sheriff

"forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras?"

I

NOLI ME TANGERE

We park and stare. A full sky of the stars
Wheels from the pumpkin setting of the moon
And sparks the windows of the yellow farm
Where the red-flannelled madmen look through bars
At windmills thrashing snowflakes by an arm
Of the Atlantic. Soon
The undertaker who collects antiques
Will let his motor idle at the door
And set his pine-box on the parlor floor.
Our homicidal sheriff howled for weeks;

We kiss. The State had reasons: on the whole,
It acted out of kindness when it locked
Its servant in this place and had him watched
Until an ordered darkness left his soul
A *tabula rasa*; when the Angel knocked
The sheriff laid his notched
Revolver on the table for the guest.
Night draws us closer in its bearskin wrap
And our loved sightless smother feels the tap
Of the blind stars descending to the west

To lay the Devil in the pit our hands
Are draining like a windmill. Who'll atone
For the unsearchable quicksilver heart
Where spiders stare their eyes out at their own
Spitting and knotted likeness? We must start:
Our aunt, his mother, stands
Singing *O Rock of Ages*, as the light
Wanderers show a man with a white cane
Who comes to take the coffin in his wain,
The thirsty Dipper on the arc of night.

II

THE PORTRAIT

The whiskey circulates, until I smash
The candelabrum from the mantel-top,
And scorch Poseidon on the panel where
He forks the blocks of Troy into the air.
A chipmunk shucks the strychnine in a cup;
The popping pine-cones flash
Like shore-bait on his face in oils. My bile
Rises, and beads of perspiration swell
To flies and splash the *Parmachenie Belle*
That I am scraping with my uncle's file.

I try the barb upon a pencilled line
Of Vergil. Nothing underneath the sun
Has bettered, Uncle, since the scaffolds flamed
On butchered Troy until Aeneas shamed
White Helen on her hams by Vesta's shrine . . .
All that the Greeks have won
I'll cancel with a sidestroke of my sword;
Now I can let my father, wife and son
Banquet Apollo for Laomedon:
Helen will satiate the fire, my Lord.

I search the starlight . . . Helen will appear,
Pura per noctem in luce . . . I am chilled,
I drop the barbless fly into my purse
Beside his nickel shield. It is God's curse,
God's, that has purpled Lucifer with fear
And burning. God has willed;
I lift the window. Digging has begun,
The hill road sparkles, and the mourners' cars
Wheel with the whited sepulchres of stars
To light the worldly dead-march of the sun.

ROBERT LOWELL

Neo-Pagan in the Forties

THE CONDEMNED PLAYGROUND—ESSAYS: 1927-1944. Cyril Connolly. Macmillan. $2.75.

DURING his last chapel at Eton, Cyril Connolly did not bow his head at the creed, and the autobiographical "Enemies of Promise" reveals that during the leaving hymn he read, as usual, from his choice edition of Petronius Arbiter bound in black crushed levant. Connolly the Irish romantic, the neo-pagan, has remained a literary epicure with an exquisite taste for sophisticate Romans and the French. After Balliol he escaped into the hot south of France and there settled his debt with the nineteen-twenties by depositing residues of a "deepening passion for low life" in a "Mediterranean" novel, "The Rock Pool," with its character of the Pernod addict Naylor. Presently *Angst* set in—sloth, boredom, tears in the eyes in the morning—with those insistent frustrations lamented in "The Unquiet Grave" causing Connolly to feel that, like Virgil's Palinurus, he might resign the struggle, that he lacked the herd instinct, that there might be something vulgar in success. Besides, he was approaching forty. Yet he could still "concentrate on his vocabulary," arranging his opinions into classical simplicities. His vocation could still be Art.

Then the blitz ravaged Chelsea, the literary scene of the nineteen-thirties. Art itself seemed to be a condemned playground. In this retrospective collection of thirty-seven fragmentary reviews, parodies, and occasional pieces Connolly looks wistfully backward from 1944 to 1927 over his period of "ebullience, mediocrity, frivolity, and talent" and detects "the dawn of a social conscience" in himself about 1935 while he was reviewing a life of Lord Knebworth, whose abilities were perverted by the stupidity of the gov-

erning class. In the following year Connolly is reporting the situation in Barcelona, and by 1943 he is dreading that statism in the new Europe may continue to thwart Art.

In this collection the early criticisms of Joyce and Gide, and even those of Rimbaud and Mann written in the "decadent" thirties, are talented; the parodies on the novel are ebullient; and in the controversy over Housman's poetry Connolly comes off very well indeed. His taste for the French and Romans always sets him a cosmopolitan standard. But even under a concession of frivolity he did not need to exhume mannerisms like his journal for 1927, when he was "just twenty-four and dangerously happy" and "had a perfect moment as the boat moved out" for Dunkirk. Connolly, the critic as artist, is often at confessional. He once defined imagination as nostalgia for the past, and is so tolerant of Permanent Adolescence that his interpretations are occasionally second springs, returns upon Eton and salad days in the Midi, elegiac offerings to the Great God Peter Pan.

His facility in the *pensée*, his depressions, his raptures are, like Bunthorne's, a little yallery-greenery: "I am," he intimates while speaking of the "treacherous" air of Firbank's novels, "secretly a lyricist; the works to which I lose my heart are those that attempt, with a purity and a kind of dewy elegance, to portray the beauty of the moment, the gaiety and sadness, the fugitive distress of hedonism." This was written in 1936. With hedonist acumen he identifies "the strange, bitter-sweet intensity emerging from Sterne's most artificial sentences that forms his particular signature." Connolly admires the urbanity of Chesterfield and Pope, who serve as "the second line of defence of paganism" (Rochester, Horace, Catullus, Martial being the shock troops). Because he lacks the essential toughness of Pope or Chesterfield, he often appears *le dernier des délicats* lineal from the '90's—and from Housman. Paradoxically, one of his most lapidary essays exposes beneath the "classicism" of Housman's verse a cyrenaicism "hopelessly romantic and sentimental." At times Connolly himself looks oddly like a Shropshire lad among critics: "Only by giving the whole of myself to the moment can I make it give its best to me . . . Life has no moral, and the moral of art is that life is worth while without one." Thus he indulges what he calls his *envie* for Paris, the Midi, the blossoming Can-Can, the "arranged world" of Toulouse-Lautrec.

The blitz has imperfectly transformed the journalizing neo-pagan into the journalizing intellectual with a creed that "all occupations which do not serve the greatness of the intellect are so much waste of time." As intellectual, Connolly is fully aware of being "post-war, post-Freud, post-Einstein, post-twentieth century." He considers as impartially as Matthew Arnold how for a century English literature has been provincial and trivial compared with French. He had already seen that Baudelaire and Rimbaud, a "spiritual Dillinger," signified the failure of romanticism; now he admits the irresponsibility of genius in Joyce and Proust. Connolly understands that we have cracked up.

Yet he has not the suppressed tragic valuations of Scott Fitzgerald, for example—rather, a continuing uneasy sense that he is what he called Gide: a spiritual hybrid "haunted by a conviction of exile" wasting itself in sensationalism. The intellectual and artist remain for him "a kind of life-giving parasite," not "politically minded" even under a new social order. Connolly's view as critic and as editor of *Horizon* is that of "the right left people," unhappily "smart." He maintains that socialism will not do *because* materialism "does nothing for the spiritual life of humanity," and a few pages later that "the most sensible cure for materialism is a surfeit of it." His accounts of revolutions in Athens and Spain, although he presumes his attitude toward them so different, both have an irony that appears unconscious—an impersonal irony of reportage.

The irony regarding Connolly the intellectual is his incomprehension that revolution, or the possibility of revolution, has occurred. On a spring evening he walks through blitzed Chelsea with gentle regret that "here the life that has vanished . . . was of some consequence; here there existed a fine appreciation of books and pictures, and many quiet work-rooms for the people who made them. Here was one of the last strongholds of the cultivated *haute bourgeoisie*." For him, Art flourishes in these strongholds; not only the great official authors and epicures, but "the wild and exquisitely gifted young writers who come to an untimely end through passion." Sometimes among the cultivated *haute bourgeoisie* "at great garden parties, literary luncheons, or in the quiet of an exclusive gunroom, a laugh rings out. The sad, formal faces for a moment relax and a smaller group is formed within the larger. They are admirers of Dornford Yates who have found out each other." If this miscellany represents his development, it is evidently going to take more than revolution to exclude Mr. Connolly from the playground, from the pagan rock pool. WYLIE SYPHER

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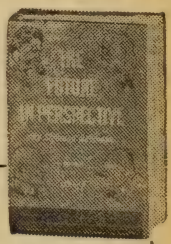

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Here Lies TNEC

THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER. By David Lynch. Columbia University Press. $5.50.

THIS is a friendly warning to those anxiously waiting for an up-to-date analytical study of the rise of big business before the war, its speeded growth during the war, and its alarming further gains in reconversion: David Lynch's studious book will tell them little about concentration of economic power. If the catchy title entices them to pay the price it will not gain them admission to a panorama of monopoly on the march. They will find, instead, that it is the price of admission to a monumental sepulcher wherein Mr. Lynch performs an artful autopsy on the Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC), a body political no less than economic, dead five years, its ambitious career largely unfulfilled.

The TNEC did start out as an investigation of monopolistic big business. It was created by Congress in 1938, mainly in response to President Roosevelt's monopoly message. Economic concentration was to be its main theme. But as the mountainous record of its hearings piled up to thirty-seven volumes, capped by forty-three special monographs, that theme somehow slipped out of focus. The accumulation of facts piled into its record proved too vast to be related into a significant sequence by the committee's decentralized staff. As the scope of its inquiry met no bounds, the committee's interest became diffused. And most important of all, perhaps, its purpose was confounded by the hybrid make-up of the committee itself, composed as it was of the members of the Senate, the House, and the executive agencies.

The useful service David Lynch has rendered in his summary and appraisal of TNEC will be cherished by many. His book is more than a ready guide to the unwieldy, and therefore neglected, five-foot shelf of significant statistics which TNEC culled mostly from previously published sources. The needed guide that he does provide is prefaced by a well-woven background of the committee's origins, the changing cast of its characters, and a sketch of the growing public recognition of the forces stifling competition in the upper and the nether strata of finance, industry, and trade. His study ends with a nostalgic postlude—an appraisal of TNEC's wasted opportunity.

TNEC was the biggest investigation ever undertaken by our government. It set out to study "concentration of economic power." Yet it never even attempted to find out what concentration was and how it should be measured. "The question whether concentration is inevitable, beneficial, and desirable from the standpoint of productive efficiency and the use of modern technology went quite unexplored," runs the Lynch indictment. "Little attention was given to its effect upon economic, social, and political life, and in particular upon the distribution of income, the mechanism of investment, the stratification of social classes, and the stability of democratic institutions." A few of TNEC's efforts did bring results: some monopoly prices were reduced, some patent restrictions removed. But the TNEC ended, Lynch concludes, "as it began—as a fruitless quest for a panacea." Averse to surgery, what its composite mind really sought was a home remedy which would cure all our economic ills and yet preserve a complete status quo in the organization of our economic society.

The Council of Economic Advisors under the (formerly Full) Employment Act of 1946 is about to be appointed. Whatever recommendations this council might formulate will be reshaped for adoption by another joint Congressional committee, not altogether unlike TNEC. The new post-war agency must not repeat the multiple failures of its pre-war precursor, forcefully brought out in Lynch's timely study. It must not be allowed to shy away from its real task of reaching the source of failure in the power-drive of our peacetime economic engine. It must not be permitted to content itself, as TNEC did, with designing better mousetraps for bigger monopolies.

BORIS SHISHKIN

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Dialectic of Love

THE UNEVEN QUALITY OF GENIUS, even very great genius, is already familiar to us from Dostoevski, whose support of Tsarism was both infantile and barbaric; and Kierkegaard, who was in actual life an intransigent and thoroughly blind reactionary, provides another illustration. Nevertheless, the doctrine expounded in his "Works of Love" (Princeton University Press, $3.75) could have formed the basis, as

Douglas Steere points out in an excellent introduction, of a much wiser and more Christian social philosophy. The task of Christian love, Kierkegaard holds, is to permeate the whole social body until the injustices and abuses of power wither away: thus Christianity helped abolish slavery from ancient society not by proclaiming revolution but by reconciling master with slave until the old relation, in its human aspect itself, became superseded and impossible. The trouble, however, with this view is that spirit must make use of body, and Christian love, if it forsakes the instrumentalities of politics, will sooner or later find itself pronouncing benediction over the putrefaction of what is. The committed Christian ought to put himself occasionally in the position of having to cut off a head—and in the name of Love itself.

A series of homilies on the various New Testament injunctions to "love thy neighbor as thyself," this is perhaps the most traditionally Christian of all Kierkegaard's books, and the reader who is looking for his distinctive philosophic and existential message will find little of it here. But page after page is incandescent with the author's habitual brilliance and passion of statement; Kierkegaard's strength is never in the range, structure, or development of his ideas, but in the intensity of experience and irony he is able to concentrate on isolated particular points; which is not only the quality of his literary genius, but the real secret of his philosophic message.

However, the injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself" has dialectical difficulties which Kierkegaard does not explore. He lays great weight upon the "as thyself," but fails to consider that my attitude toward myself can hardly be described simply as one of "love." I am chained to this self, it is the object of my care and anxieties, but also of my contempt, hatred, and impatience; and I doubt very much whether my neighbor would want to be saddled with all this complex burden of attitudes. I, for my part, would not care to carry the burden of his. Significantly, the Old Testament, in its Jewish wisdom, commands only to treat your neighbor justly and let him alone. Maybe that is enough.

WILLIAM BARRETT

The Works and Days of William Wilde

SIR WILLIAM WILDE seems to have been a brainy, homely, energetic little man, with a passion for exact science and an appetite for loose women. To the average layman, the doctor's latter pursuits are more interesting than his researches in otology, ophthalmology, and archaeology. T. G. Wilson's terse and sober biography ("Victorian Doctor," L. B. Fischer, $3.50) most properly puts the major emphasis on Dr. Wilde's professional career, without either looking down the nose at the scandals nor dismissing them as insignificant and irrelevant. He manages, by virtue of his sincerity and directness, to convince the reader that Sir William was an important figure in the history of Irish medicine, to say nothing of his avocational findings in Irish archaeology; but for all his earnestness and good will, most people will be inclined to remember his subject as the husband of "Speranza," the lover of God knows who all, and as the father of Oscar, than as the inventor of the Wilde aural snare.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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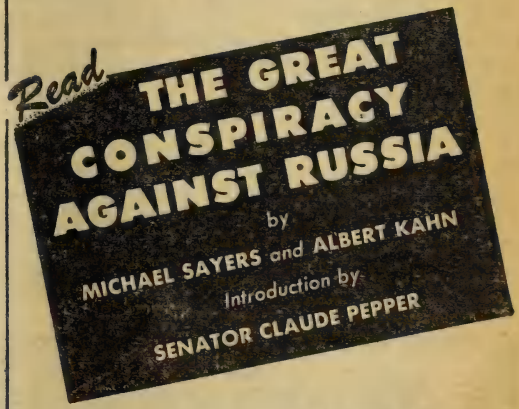

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N8

FICTION IN REVIEW

IN the writing career of Howard Fast we trace the unusually rapid decline of a pleasant fictional talent into dull political servitude. Of the five novels Mr. Fast has published in the last four years (the muse of propaganda is strangely lavish!), I have read all but one. They show his eye to have been ever more tightly shutting itself to the kind of truth with which fiction is properly concerned, his heart increasingly hardening under the strain of pumping such a steady stream of practical benevolences, until now with "The American: A Middle Western Legend" (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $3) all that remains of any original creative gift is some kind of crude energy of intention, a shallow but complex urge to pedagogic power. Mr. Fast has come of literary age in a period in which to be a radical or even a liberal is to feel no need to smile when one says patriotism. He concentrates upon the American past—it is the material of all his books—with a genealogist's zeal and a genealogist's ability to find what he seeks, and gloss over what he dislikes, in our national heritage.

"The American" is about John Peter Altgeld, one-time Governor of Illinois and leader of the National Democratic Party, famous for his pardon of the remaining victims of the Haymarket trials and for his opposition to Cleveland's use of Federal troops in the Pullman strike. Altgeld's career was a dramatic one, an excellent subject for an historical novel. He was a self-made man, after a boyhood of incredible hardships. He was a party politician who, near the zenith of power, had the courage to act according to conscience. The study of any change of heart, but especially in a person who would seem to have everything to gain by remaining unchanged, is always an interesting study for the novelist who is concerned with human realities and possibilities and not with myth-making. But Mr. Fast even calls his book "The American" rather than "*An* American," and subtitles it "A Middle Western Legend." He is all too obviously in the business, not of understanding, but of influencing. Altgeld is to be impressed upon us as the symbol of a militant liberalism, even at the cost of being lost to us as a man, and even though his liberalism was the crown rather than a continuing ideal of his life.

That Mr. Fast tells us as much as he does about Altgeld prior to the pardon of the accused anarchists might, I suppose, be chalked up to his credit as an historian. He does tell us, for instance, that as lawyer and judge Altgeld amassed a considerable private fortune, though he doesn't dwell on the financial methods that were employed; and he makes no attempt to disguise the nature of the process by which Altgeld achieved his political power. That is, although Mr. Fast doesn't try to explain, in novelistic terms, the conversion of a straight party man into an independent thinker but says, instead, that certain changes in people cannot be explained, he still gives us sufficient evidence that for a large part of his life Altgeld was not the champion of freedom and justice he later became.

In this connection, however, it is worth noting that since Altgeld's life was to culminate in a staunch defense of labor, Mr. Fast is able to contemplate all the long years of Altgeld's opportunistic self-advancement with a benign tolerance. It is the end that counts—that counts so fully, indeed, that it is presumed to lend a retroactive moral worth to whatever means were employed to arrive at it. There are actually two American biographies in "The American," that of Parsons, one of the condemned anarchists, as well as that of Altgeld: if our faith in Mr. Fast's chief hero needs sustenance as we await his moral rebirth, it can draw strength from his companion. The two figures are so closely interwoven, in fact, that their moral colors subtly begin to merge in our minds.

Mr. Fast, as an editor of the *New Masses*, announces himself committed to the Communist Party. The connection raises interesting speculations about "The American" as Communist Party line. I had thought that the slogan Communism is 20th Century Americanism was now outdated: yet Mr. Fast still seems to write by it. Then too I had thought that the day of capitalistic cooperation had quite given over to the day of revolutionary intransigence: Altgeld's political "realism," his playing ball with the economic barons and party bosses, would seem to me to unfit him for the heroic place Mr. Fast lets him fill. Finally, there is the confusion Mr. Fast permits among the various groups of the left—Communists, Socialists, Anarchists: one would think we were still living in a period of united front of all the democratic forces against fascism! Can Mr. Fast be trailing the line, can he even be guilty of a touch of Browderism? Or is Browderism perhaps no longer to be considered a guilt?

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Horizon

OUTSTANDING REVIEW
ON LITERATURE AND ART

Edited by

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Brilliant Critic

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

READING Roger Fry's "Vision and Design" not long ago, I was struck by a number of acute observations which seemed to me as true of other arts—and particularly of music—as of painting, and which, therefore, I hope Mr. Greenberg will not mind my referring to in this column.

In an essay called "The Artist's Vision" Fry describes how the artist operates; and though he is talking about the painter, the analogous operation of the composer is clear. "The artist's main business in life is carried on by means of . . . the creative vision. . . . It demands the most complete detachment from any of the meanings and implications of appearances. Almost any turn of the kaleidoscope of nature may set up in the artist this detached and impassioned vision, and, as he contemplates the particular field of vision, the (aesthetically) chaotic and accidental conjunction of forms and colors begins to crystallize into a harmony; and as this harmony becomes clear to the artist, his actual vision becomes distorted by the emphasis of the rhythm which has been set up within him. Certain relations or directions of lines become for him full of meaning; he apprehends them no longer casually . . . but passionately, and these lines begin to be so stressed and stand out so clearly from the rest that he sees them far more distinctly than he did at first. Similarly colors, which in nature have almost always a certain vagueness and elusiveness, become . . . definite and clear to him, owing to their now necessary relation to other colors. . . . In such a creative vision the objects as such tend to . . . lose their separate unities, and to take their places as so many bits in the whole mosaic of vision."

This lies behind the statement, in another essay, that "all art depends upon cutting off the practical responses to sensations of ordinary life, thereby setting free a pure and as it were disembodied functioning of the spirit." And it is, then, as "a creator of purely ideal and abstract works," that the artist is "the medium of inspiration and source of revelation . . . the articulate soul of mankind." These last phrases are from the essay "Art and Socialism," in which, having made clear what he means by the artist's work, Fry writes: "It is impossible that the artist should work for the plutocrat; he must work for himself, because it is only by so doing that he can perform the function for which he exists"; to which he then adds: "It is only by working for himself that he can work for mankind." Properly, then, "the Great State [the essay appeared in 1912 in a volume called 'The Great State'] aims at human freedom; essentially it is an organization for leisure – out of which art grows; it is only a purely bureaucratic Socialism that would attempt to control the aesthetic lives of men." And it is this bureaucratic socialism that he fears: "There is in truth . . . a gross and wanton waste under the present system. . . . But there is . . . a blind chance that the gift and the opportunity may coincide; that Shelley and Browning may have a competence, and Cézanne a farm-house he could retire to. Bureaucratic Socialism would, it seems, take away even this blind chance that mankind may benefit by its least appreciable, most elusive treasures, and would organize into a universal and all-embracing tyranny the already overweening and disastrous power of endowed official art."

Astounding that in 1912 Fry should prophesy those paintings of "Stalin Halting the Cowardly Flight of Trotsky from the Battlefield of Tzaritzin," "Stalin Demonstrating to the Leningrad Academy of Sciences that $E=mc^2$," "Stalin Receiving the Pleas of Churchill and Roosevelt for Assistance at Teheran," "Ivan the Terrible Gently Admonishing His Son for Cutting Off the Ears of His Pet Rabbit"—and their musical counterparts.

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT seems impertinent to discuss even briefly the excellence of Laurence Olivier's production of Shakespeare's "Henry V" without saying a few words, at least, about the author. If Shakespeare had been no more gifted with words than, say, I am, the depth and liveliness of his interest in people and predicaments, and his incredible hardness, practicality, and resource as a craftsman and maker of moods, rhythms, and points, could still have made him almost his actual equal as a playwright. I had never realized this so well until I saw this production, in which every nail in sight is so cleanly driven in with one blow; and I could watch the film for all that Shakespeare gave it in these terms alone, and for all that in these terms alone is done with what he gave, with great pleasure and gratitude. But then too, of course, there is the language, of a brilliance, vigor, and absoluteness that make the craftsmanship and sometimes the people and their grandest emotions seem almost as negligibly pragmatic as a libretto beside an opera score. Some people, using I wonder what kind of dry ice for comfort, like to insist that "Henry V" is relatively uninteresting Shakespeare. This uninteresting poetry is such that after hearing it, in this production, I find it as hard to judge fairly even the best writing since Shakespeare as it is to see the objects in a room after looking into the sun.

The one great glory of the film is this language. The greatest credit I can assign to those who made the film is that they have loved and served the language so well. I don't feel that much of the delivery is inspired; it is merely so good, so right, that the words, set loose in the graciously designed world of the screen, like so many uncaged birds, fully enjoy and take care of themselves. Neither of the grimmest Shakespearerian vices, ancient or modern, is indulged: that is to say, none of the text is read in that human, down-to-earth, poetry-is-only-hopped-up-prose manner which is doubtless only proper when a charter subscriber to *PM* reads the Lerner editorial to his shop-wise fellow traveler; nor is any of it intoned in the nobler manner, as if by a spoiled deacon celebrating the Black Mass down a section of sewer-pipe. Most of it is merely spoken by people who know and love poetry as poetry and have spent a lifetime learning how to speak it accordingly. Their voices, faces, and bodies are all in charge of a man who has selected them as shrewdly as a good orchestrator selects and blends his instruments; and he combines and directs them as a good conductor conducts an orchestral piece. It is, in fact, no surprise to learn that Mr. Olivier is fond of music; charming as it is to look at, the film is essentially less visual than musical.

I cannot compare it with many stage productions of Shakespeare; but so far as I can they were, by comparison, just so many slightly tired cultural summer-salads, now and then livened, thanks to an unkilled talent or an unkillable line, by an unexpected rose-petal or the sudden spasm of a rattlesnake: whereas this, down to the last fleeting bit of first-rate poetry in a minor character's mouth, was close to solid gold, almost

every word given its own and its largest contextual value. Of course nothing prevents this kind of casting and playing on the stage, except talent and, more seriously, the money to buy enough talent and enough time to use it rightly in; and how often do you see anything to equal it on the Shakespearian stage? The specific advantages of the screen are obvious, but no less important for that. Microphones make possible a much more delicate and immediate use of the voice; reactions, in closeup, can color the lines more subtly and richly than on the stage. Thus it is possible, for instance, to get all the considerable excellence there is out of an aging player like Nicholas Hannen, who seemed weak in most scenes when, on the stage, he had to try to fill and dilate the whole Century Theater with unhappy majesty; and the exquisiteness of Renée Asherson's reactions to Olivier's spate of gallantry, in the wooing scene, did as much as he did towards making that scene, by no means the most inspired as writing, the crown of the film. When so much can be done, through proper understanding of these simple advantages, to open the beauties of poetry as relatively extroverted as this play, it is equally hard to imagine and to wait for the explorations that could be made of subtler, deeper poems like "Hamlet," "Troilus and Cressida," or "The Tempest."

Speaking still of nothing except the skill with which the poetry is used in this film, I could go on far past the room I have. The sureness and seductive power of the pacing alone and its shifts and contrasts, in scene after scene, has seldom been equaled in a movie; the adjustments and relationships of tone are just as good. For just one example, the difference in tone between Olivier's almost schoolboyish "God-a-mercy" and his "Good old Knight," not long afterward, measures the King's growth in the time between with lovely strength, spaciousness, and cleanness; it earns, as craftsmanship, the triumph of bringing off the equivalent to an "impossibly" delayed false-rhyme; and psychologically or dramatically, it seems to me—though my guess may be far-fetched—it fully establishes the King's coming-of-age by raising honorable, brave, loyal, and dull old age (in Sir Thomas Erpingham) in the King's love and esteem to the level of any love he had ever felt for Falstaff.

Olivier does many other beautiful pieces of reading and playing. His blood-raising reply to the French Herald's ultimatum is not just that; it is a

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Here are some of the chapter headings you'll find in this book by Dr. Birkhead:

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frank, bright exploitation of the moment for English ears, amusedly and desperately honored as such, in a still gallant and friendly way, by both Herald and King. His Crispin's Day oration is not just a brilliant bugle-blat: it is the calculated yet self-exceeding improvisation, at once self-enjoying and selfless, of a young and sleepless leader, rising to a situation wholly dangerous and glamorous, and wholly new to him. Only one of the many beauties of the speech as he gives it is the way in which the King seems now to exploit his sincerity, now to be possessed by it, riding like an unexpectedly mounting wave the astounding size of his sudden proud awareness of the country morning, of his moment in history, of his responsibility and competence, of being full-bloodedly alive, and of being about to die.

This kind of branching, nervous interpretive intelligence, so contemporary in quality except that it always keeps the main lines of its drive and meaning clear, never spiraling or strangling in awareness, is vivid in every way during all parts of the film.

It is tantalizing to be able to mention so few of the dozens of large and hundreds of small excellences which Mr. Olivier and his associates have developed to sustain Shakespeare's poem. They have done somewhere near all that talent, cultivation, taste, knowledgeability, love of one's work—every excellence, in fact, short of genius—can be expected to do; and that, the picture testifies, is a very great deal. Lacking space for anything further I would like to suggest that it be watched for all that it does in playing a hundred kinds of charming adventurousness against the incalculably responsive sounding-boards of tradition: for that is still, and will always be, a process essential in most, though not all, of the best kinds of art, and I have never before seen so much done with it in a moving picture. I am not a Tory, a monarchist, a Catholic, a medievalist, an Englishman, or, despite all the good that it engenders, a lover of war; but the beauty and power of this traditional exercise was such that, watching it, I wished I was, thought I was, and was proud of it. I was persuaded, and in part still am, that every time and place has since been in decline, save one, in which one Englishman used language better than anyone has before or since, or ever shall; and that nearly the best that our time can say for itself is that some of us are still capable of paying homage to the fact.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Bilboes Defined

Dear Sirs: It is interesting, sad, and ironic that we have in our nation an individual who is desperately attempting to put us into bilboes. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi is actually living his name. Funk & Wagnall's definition of bilbo is "a fetter consisting of two sliding shackles attached to an iron bar."

The danger of "bilboism" is making itself apparent and we must, as active participants in the creating of a greater governing body, take steps to prevent such arrogance, vileness, and rank stupidity to continue. Otherwise, all of us will eventually suffer.

NICHOLAS MOCHARNIUK

New York, June 30

Action Needed on China

Dear Sirs: "Report from China" (*The Nation*, June 29, Letters to the Editors) confirmed my views regarding the unreliability, corruption, and undemocratic nature of the Chiang Kai-shek set in China. The Kuomintang is misusing both American relief supplies and military aid to oppress the Chinese masses, rather than using them in building a democratic, unified China.

These facts call for change in your editorial policy. The same issue which contained "Report from China" also calls for the passage of a bill by Congress authorizing American aid in modernizing the Chinese army. The argument in favor of this bill is that it calls for partial demobilization, and for the training of some Communist as well as Kuomintang divisions.

The hollowness of this argument should be clear. Just as UNRRA supplies intended for the whole Chinese people have been used for political ends, so American military aid will be used by the Kuomintang to foist a repressive military dictatorship over the Chinese people.

The greatest contribution America could make to the building of a democratic China would be the withdrawal of all armed forces from that country, and the distribution of relief on the basis of need, irrespective of political consideration.

The Nation, an old advocate of democracy in all parts of the world, should come out for the termination of American military intervention in China, instead of the present ambiguous policy of paying lip-service to democracy while in reality helping to suppress it.

STEPHEN VARGA

New York, N. Y., July 5

Toscanini Recordings

Dear Sirs: Reading an article recently by your superb music editor, Mr. Haggin, published in 1940, I find reference to a situation which is of grave significance to the cause of art today and in the future.

Mr. Haggin wrote "in view of the fact that His Master's Voice had recorded the majority of Schnabel's great performances of Beethoven's piano works, it was monstrous to conceive that the same had not taken place with the performances of Toscanini."

The preservation of the work of the greatest musician of the 20th century is a significant problem. It is tragic to conceive of the irreparable losses that have been caused by the failure to capture on record many of Toscanini's performances with the New York Philharmonic, while he was its conductor from 1926 to 1936 (although a few were released after his final year with that orchestra—such as the Wagnerian excerpts and Beethoven's Symphony No. 7). But of the great performance of *Romeo and Juliet* by Berlioz (at the opening of the 1942-43 season) we have no records, nor of the other performances made since 1936 by Toscanini with the Philadelphia Orchestra—a few recordings were indeed made in 1942 but have been withheld for "technical reasons."

But what of the performances with the NBC Symphony—have they been preserved by file recordings and how and when are these to become property of the musical public?

What we need is the formation of an organization to preserve the art of Toscanini, not only for this time, but for generations yet unborn, so that his contribution to music may be available to mankind, as Muck's, Mahler's, and many other performing artists' is not.

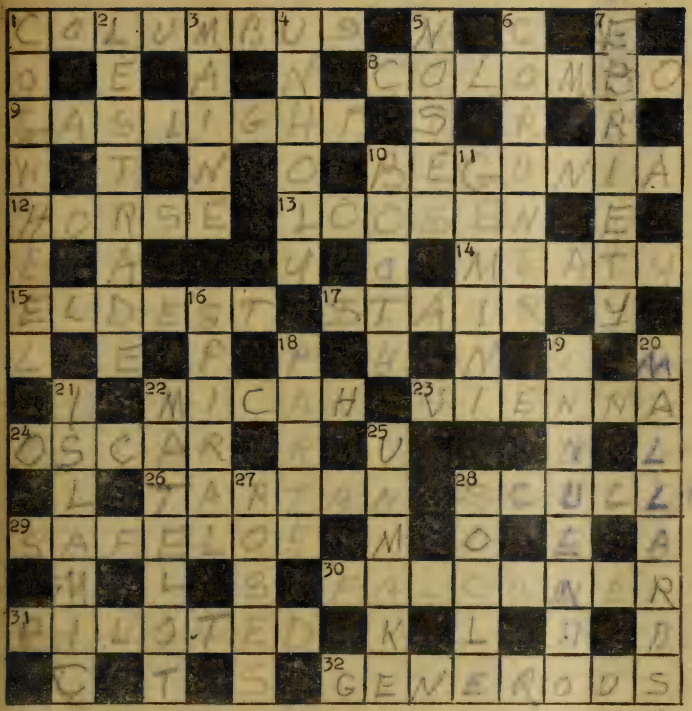
Time is short. What can be done?

FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 23

Crossword Puzzle No. 172

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Discovered America (or perhaps America discovered him, trying to sneak in?)
8 There's a cool mob in this foreign capital
9 Brilliantly effective in a mantle
10 Flower with an ego
12 Stable animal, though not always
13 Relax
14 Fleshy
15 First-born
17 Step on it
22 Mr. Clarke
23 Anne turns to Vi in another foreign capital
24 Cora's boy friend
26 Sailor with a sunburn like a Scot
28 Charon's oar?
29 It originally took brains to make this sausage
30 He set a bird to catch a bird
31 Steered
32 Bountiful

DOWN

1 Likely to be engaged in revolutionary activities
2 Detective in Sherlock Holmes' stories
3 State of the U. S.
4 Sinful
5 Men haven't got none, sang Quoodle
6 He presides at inquests
7 Beery it may be
10 Soccer prize?
11 The twins
16 Goes 'round in a circle yet never quite returns to its starting point
18 A single individual, or a group
19 O, you hike through the country all day long, and at an --------
20 Drakes
21 Simla rebuilt, I see
22 French sailor
25 Take to pieces
27 June's flowers
28 Close (anag.)

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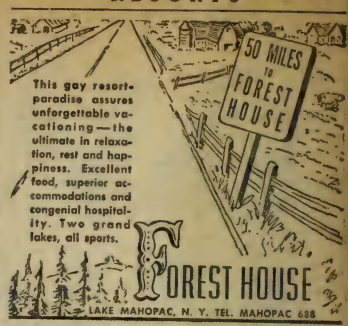

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The Shape of Things

THOUGH THE RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-NINTH Congress is far from spotless, its last action—approval by the Senate of the Morse resolution on the World Court—serves to remind us how much history it has made in the field of international relations. In the years between the wars United States adhesion to the World Court represented the irreducible minimum of the internationalists' program; they fought long and painful battles to secure it, but the isolationists were always successful in blocking it. Now by a vote of 60 to 2 the Senate has agreed that the United States shall accept compulsory jurisdiction of the Court of International Justice for disputes among nations over the interpretation of treaties, over any question of international law, over alleged breaches of international obligations, and over cases of claims for reparations to be made for such breaches. Even though two rather unfortunate reservations were included in the resolution—one of them might block efforts to refer different interpretations of the peace treaties to the Court—this vote gives emphatic proof of how far we have swung away from isolationism. And the seventy-ninth Congress has provided many other proofs. It ratified the Charter of the United Nations and indorsed American participation in the International Bank Fund. It agreed to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act on terms which gave the President greater latitude in reducing tariffs, and it approved the British loan, though only after an unedifying series of debates. All in all, it is a distinguished record which was made possible by the broad agreement on international policies which existed between conservatives and liberals in both parties. The dwindling band of die-hards provided a bitter opposition but they were fighting vainly against a tidal-wave of public opinion. In the next Congress they seem likely to be conspicuous by their absence.

*

BY CONTRAST THE DOMESTIC RECORD OF this Congress has been blotched by many sins both of commission and omission. In the second session, particularly, the coalition of Southern conservatives and Republicans seized practical control of both House and Senate and illustrated once again the tendency of our constitution to produce legislative stalemates. A large part of the program presented last January by the President has been blocked while he, in turn, by the use of his veto, has rendered ineffective the passage by Congress of several important bills. Actually of twenty-one measures requested by Mr. Truman only six have become law and some of these were badly mangled when they reached his desk. A notable example is the Full Employment bill which was sadly watered down and is likely to prove of but limited utility. On the other hand, thanks in large part to freshman Senator Brien MacMahon, the Atomic Control bill came through in pretty good shape, with civilian control assured and provision made for the prevention of patent abuses. Another useful piece of legislation, though not as useful as its sponsors, Senator La Follette and Representative Monroney, tried to make it, was the Congressional Reorganization bill which aims at increasing efficiency on Capitol Hill by decreasing the number of standing committees. It also provides new rules for the registration of lobbyists. Among the more important measures left in suspense are the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing bill, to which we referred last week, the Services Unification bill, the bill instituting a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, and the bill embodying the President's national health-insurance program. We hope that, in the months that remain before the election, the voters will study carefully the individual records of their own representatives with a view to insuring that the eightieth Congress will be better than the seventy-ninth.

*

THE REVERSAL BY THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM League of its previous decision to accept the British Cabinet Mission's constitutional plan adds a new boulder to India's rocky road to freedom. Since the decision involves a boycott by this powerful minority party of the Constitutional Assembly, the meeting of that body, scheduled for next month, may have to be postponed. The League's action was justified by the assertion that the "spirit of cooperation" necessary to carry the plan through was missing. In addition, it appears that the Moslems were deeply chagrined by the Viceroy's refusal to form an interim popular government after the Congress leaders voted against participation. As Shiva Rao pointed out in *The Nation*, they thought the Viceroy had definitely committed himself to the interim government scheme even though Congress rejected it. Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the members of the mission, has, however,

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since told the British House of Commons that the plan was for a coalition government and, therefore, conditional on the acceptance of both major parties. Wherever the truth in this somewhat confused situation may lie, it is obvious that the Moslem League feels that it was out-maneuvered and is seeking a more advantageous bargaining position. Under these circumstances, the demands for "revolutionary action" heard at its Bombay convention need not be taken too literally. Mohammed Ali Jinnah is obviously anxious to hedge his threats. He told the convention: "Never have we done anything except by constitutional methods. Today we bid good-bye to them." But in a subsequent press conference he was careful to explain that the convention's resolutions were not intended as a declaration of war against anybody. That the Moslem League will try to gain its ends by armed uprising is, indeed, most improbable; that it will exploit its very considerable nuisance value to the utmost, is certain.

*

THE SENATE, PROMPTED BY SENATOR HART, has struck out all references to the social sciences in its revised version of the National Science Foundation bill. This action is a disturbing and ironic symbol of our legislators' confusion about both the physical and the social sciences. Few truisms are more familiar than the statement that all our troubles are caused by the fact that we can control matter but not man, that the social sciences have lagged a hundred years behind technology; yet Congress proposes to subsidize technological research only, and thus increase the gap as much as it can. The Senate's action is all the more inexplicable in the light of the exception record of war-time "operational research" projects, in which mixed teams of mathematicians and economists, physicists and psychologists, combined their discipline for assaults on problems in their entirety, with conspicuously successful results. Certainly the foundation for any science of civilization must be sought, as Waldemar Kaempffert has pointed out in a recent pamphlet ("Should Government Support Science?" Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 119), in a combination of the natural and social sciences. It is to be hoped that the Senate will reconsider its unfortunate action.

*

HEARING THAT GERTRUDE STEIN IS DEAD is like hearing that Paul Bunyan has been eaten by his ox Babe. Certainly she is not really dead: legends never die, and Miss Stein had made herself into an American legend more lasting than anything Barnum himself ever created. She sat in Paris as the Pythoness used to sit at Delphi: everybody in the world, from Picasso to a sergeant of marines, came asking for a sign, and went away happy with some oracular utterance which he could finger as if it were a Chinese puzzle. (If you believe in yourself hard enough, the world will beat a path to your

door—especially if you live in Paris.) An obstinate and homely shrewdness ran through everything Gertrude Stein said, and glittered at random throughout her writings, which seemed to the average reader an unusually idiosyncratic and concrete nonsense, the sort of massive whimsy a stomach would think up if it could ever stop digesting. But in our secular, commercial, and merciless age she came somehow to stand for Wisdom, which doesn't sell itself in the streets, but gives itself away at home, in cypher. Who else ever became famous by writing his own biography, or influenced dozens of writers by treating words, so far as it is possible to do so, as objects without meaning? Who else would say that a friend's one-man show was "rather epoch-making"; or would gravely decide that the Americans are today the oldest nation on earth, since they entered the twentieth century ten years before anybody else did? The world will be a duller place without her; her sins harmed no one; at this moment she is sitting in the Elysian Fields talking to Samuel Johnson, the only man who could ever be her match.

*

IT IS NO DISPARAGEMENT OF THE MEAD committee to suggest that the fish it has so far netted are distinguished by their smell rather than their size. The Garrson "empire," about which we have heard so much, was not in the major league of war contractors; its government orders totalled less than $100,000,000 while those of some of the really big fellows ran into billions. Possibly these leviathans swallowed no more public money than was their exact due, and never used shady methods of influencing public servants. Certainly the temptation to do so was diminished in their case by the predeliction of the War and Navy Departments for giantism. Even so, there are reasons for believing that cost-padding was a fairly general practice among large contractors as well as small, and it is good to know that the Mead Committee plans to make a series of "spot-checks" in the aluminum, automotive, aircraft, and shipbuilding industries to determine how much success Congress achieved in its professed effort "to take the profit out of war." According to Controller-General Lindsay C. Warren, who gave evidence before the committee last week, Congress stultified itself when it excluded the General Accounting Office from any part in contract termination proceedings. In this it followed the advice of Bernard Baruch who suggested that, except in cases of obvious fraud, contract settlements should not be audited by the Controller-General. Mr. Baruch's point was that we had to choose between the risk of overpayment and intolerable delay in reconversion. Perhaps so, but the procedure laid down by Congress was calculated to assist the concealment of fraud and to encourage collusion between contractors and government officials. Mr. Warren has asked for authority to recheck settlements and Congress should see that he gets it.

THE REVOLT IN BOLIVIA HAS DONE MORE than replace a bloody fascist tyranny with a regime pledged to democratic processes and economic reforms. It has succeeded in upsetting several other dictatorial apple carts and, in the process, has changed the balance of power in South America. The first sharp reaction was in Paraguay where President Moriñigo, faced with mounting political tension, has reorganized his government to make room for representatives of various democratic parties. One of the continent's most ruthless autocrats, Moriñigo was certainly spurred to action by the ugly picture of his fellow dictator across the border hanging head-downward from a lamppost. The new set-up in Paraguay is not yet completed; but Moriñigo promises to retire as soon as he makes certain that the ordinary Paraguayan has something to say about his own affairs; a praiseworthy if astonishing condition. But the most important aspect of events in both Paraguay and Bolivia is their effect on the policies of the government of Argentina. These two countries were Perón's most faithful satellites, the nucleus of his carefully planned anti-United States bloc. Today, with the bloc visibly crumbling under his feet, Perón is preparing a new line. He has announced that hemispheric cooperation is the thing. He promises that should another world war break out, Argentina would fight on the side of the United States. For all these encouraging sentiments we doubtless have Bolivia partly to thank, although it is also well to keep in mind Argentina's traditional fear of Russian influence in South America, as well as its desire to qualify for United States military aid when the long-delayed conference on hemisphere defense finally convenes at Rio.

*

IN THE TEXAS AND TENNESSEE PRIMARIES some sturdy reactionaries have once more got there "fustest with the mostest," and the scattered liberals are looking forward as bravely as they can to the next election. That Santa Claus in very good disguise, Boss Crump, has again pulled from the inexhaustible ballot boxes of Shelby County the gift which Tennesseans have been receiving as long as most of them can remember—Senator Kenneth D. McKellar. The other Crump candidates met with an equally expected success. However, the grass roots revolt at Athens, described elsewhere in this issue, may prove ominous of a dim future for old-style boss rule in Tennessee. In Texas an honest and intelligent liberal, Homer Rainey, ran a bad second after a campaign in which his rivals brought to bear sectional feeling, racial prejudice, accusations of immorality, and opposition to free enterprise, and everything else but the kitchen stove; as Rainey, a former university president, Baptist minister, and professional ball player, remarked: "They even said I was a bad pitcher." The economic basis necessary for the success of liberals hardly seems to exist in Texas, and their defeat is as little remarked

on as was the nomination of Senator Connally. In Alabama the Democratic whip of the House Representatives, John J. Sparkman, supported by the C. I. O.-P. A. C., won such a sweeping victory that he nearly made a runoff unnecessary. There are, therefore, some drops of Southern comfort to be squeezed out of the past week's primaries.

After UNRRA, What?

INCREDIBLE as it may seem, a responsible member of the United States government is said to believe that the impending liquidation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration means simply the end of "the gravy train." This, according to a Washington report in the New York *Times*, is the considered view of William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, who nevertheless has been retained as the American representative at the farewell meeting of the UNRRA Council, which began August 5 in Geneva.

A statement subsequently issued in Washington on Mr. Clayton's behalf informs us that he is opposed to any country's going hungry as long as there is food in the world. Let us hope that this more humane view reflects his true sentiments. Nevertheless he has not challenged the disclosure that the United States, along with Great Britain and Canada, has already decided that the worst of the post-war starvation period was over, and that countries now receiving UNRRA food will hereafter have to buy their own. UNRRA is to be disbanded on schedule, in Europe on December 31, in China on March 31.

In view of the mutual ill-feeling that prevails in the world, it is useless to raise objections to the liquidation of UNRRA. The date of its demise was fixed a year ago, at the London meeting of its Council, and Mr. Clayton served notice at its Atlantic City meeting last spring that the United States would not furnish any more money. The United States has supplied nearly three-fourths of the $3,900,000,000 that UNRRA will have spent since its establishment in November, 1943, and appropriations have been obtained from Congress with more and more difficulty. It may well be that discontinuance of UNRRA is the only practical policy.

What is intolerable, however, is the bland assumption by Mr. Clayton, and by the British and Canadian officials who took part in the Washington conference, that the worst is over, and that various agencies of the United Nations can now take over UNRRA's work. This conclusion has apparently been reached without even the most cursory examination of the situation. On the subject of relief supplies—UNRRA expects to have shipped more than 14,000,000 tons by the end of September—we have to choose between the views of the Washington conferees, and a report by UNRRA to the member nations which says that at least $750,000,000 worth of food, not to mention clothing, will have to be sent to Europe to take care of minimum needs between January 1 and the 1947 harvest. Mr. Clayton may know better, but he is taking a risk, and millions of people, who have been saved until now by UNRRA supplies, may perish if he is mistaken. It will be too late for Mr. Clayton to change his mind after January 1; the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations has no funds or means to get any.

There is no uncertainty, however, about the effect of the liquidation of UNRRA on the 850,000 refugees and displaced persons of Europe now dependent on it. The International Refugee Organization, which has been established under the vague sponsorship of the United Nations, is not even supposed to do anything about them unless they are fortunate enough to be chosen for permanent resettlement overseas. If the Palestine controversy is not settled, there will be very few of these. As for the rest, no help at all, unless the Inter-Governmental Committee, which is already responsible for several hundred thousand pre-1939 unfortunates, can expand its membership and its financial support. (The United States and Britain at present are the sole members of the I. G. C., with Britain bearing most if not all the expense.)

Other United Nations agencies are supposed to take over other UNRRA duties. But the World Health Congress cannot send out nurses and doctors to replace those that UNRRA already has in Greece. The International Bank of Reconstruction, which is supposed to finance the rebuilding of war-ravaged regions, has made plain what it thinks of UNRRA, or any recommendations by the United Nations sub-commission on devastated areas, by refusing even to send a representative to the final UNRRA Council meeting. It is obvious, therefore, that if things are allowed to rock along until the conclusion of United Nations General Assembly, which does not meet until September 23, we will suddenly wake up to find that UNRRA has vanished, and that there is not even the semblance of an effective United Nations agency to take its place. Above all, there will be no money and no food, except for the food that Allied occupation armies are already supplying the refugee camps. Without UNRRA's trained personnel to administer the camps, however, even army rations are insufficient to pay the world's debt to these victims of fascism.

Fortunately, we may expect declarations from the Geneva meeting that will show the way to a United Nations that is still fumbling with organizational problems; with some luck, we may even hope that the grants of powers to the various agencies supposed to take over UNRRA's work can be broadened so that they can do effective work. The cardinal difficulty, however, is lack of money, and this is mainly the responsibility of the

United States, although we can certainly expect other nations which were not invaded to contribute. It is a responsibility that we hope President Truman will not shirk. And if Mr. Clayton's views on UNRRA were distorted by the *Times*, he has an opportunity at Geneva to make his repudiation sound convincing.

Palestine Partition

THE terms of the British partition for Palestine are evidently quite as unsatisfactory and dangerous as the early unofficial summaries indicated and its reception has been exactly as bad as Freda Kirchwey predicted in her comment last week. Jews and Arabs have rejected the plan even in advance of the final text, and the rumor that President Truman was prepared to agree to it roused a storm of disapproval, not only among Zionist groups in this country, but among Senators and Congressmen of both parties and interested individuals outside the government. As a result the President, who at first appeared merely irritated by the protests, summoned the Cabinet Committee to return from Paris and discuss the whole situation before he made a decision.

One of the most curious aspects of the partition plan is its bland disregard of the recommendations made in April by the Joint Committee of Inquiry—curious, because the Cabinet Committee was appointed and dispatched to Britain for the express purpose of working out methods of implementing those recommendations. The Joint Committee not only never suggested partition as a solution; it actually discussed the question on and off for several weeks, in the light of its own findings and the report of the Royal Commission of 1937, and in the end specifically stated that it was unable to recommend partition. When the inquiry began its work, a partition plan very similar to that now put forward was known to have been considered and dropped. The Joint Committee naturally supposed that its recommendations would supercede any such prior proposals; why, otherwise, should it have been called into being? It will be interesting to learn how the Committee feels about the new (or old) plan; so far its members have discreetly kept their mouths shut, at least in public.

But the latest proposal is not only a repudiation of the Anglo-American Committee; it also ignores the President's reiterated request for the immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 displaced Jews. Instead it makes their admission contingent upon Arab acceptance of a proposal which the Arabs have time and again flatly refused to consider. Assuming the possibility that they could be won over by dangling before their eyes the large sum of American money suggested in the report, and assuming that Congress could be induced to vote for the donation, the process of bringing about a reversal would be bound to be slow. Meanwhile Jewish refugees would wait in German camps while new thousands pressed in from Eastern Europe. The proposal also makes the admission of the 100,000 contingent upon Jewish acceptance. This will never be given to a scheme which deprives the Jews of the possibility of democratic self-government even within their own district and, by limiting their territory to a meager 1,500 square miles of densely populated land, sharply curtails the possibility of absorbing new immigrants.

It seems clear to us that President Truman should immedately hold a joint conference with the Grady committee, the group of advisors who accompanied it to Europe only to have their advice totally ignored, and the American members of the Committee of Inquiry. With that he should work out a plan of Anglo-American cooperation which adopts as its unalterable basis the recommendations of the Joint Inquiry and the commitments of the Balfour declaration, endorsed over and over by Congress, the major parties, and the President himself. We should not refuse to share responsibility for Palestine —though we have a right to scrutinize with care and skepticism demands for military intervention. But responsibility implies approval. We have no obligation whatsoever to accept even partial responsibility for a scheme which goes back on all our professed purposes and sets up an even tighter form of crown-colony rule in Palestine.

The Issues at Paris

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE conference in Paris is, of course, not a peace conference at all. It is a conference to try to get agreement among the nations that joined in defeating the Axis as to the terms of peace they will hereafter enforce upon the vanquished. The treaties are more important as a test of the relations existing among the Allies than as a set of conditions to be met by Hitler's junior partners in crime. If the conference is able to mitigate the tensions which have tightened to the snapping point between the Soviet Union and the West and between the great powers and the small it will have justified itself no matter what decisions are reached about boundary lines in Venetia Guilia or Bulgarian raparations. It is more important that Russia and the United States should agree about Trieste than that Yugoslavia or Italy should keep or lose it. And the same holds true for all the terms laid down in all the draft treaties under negotiation.

This is not to say that the terms have no intrinsic significance. That would be going too far. They are important for their direct effect on the countries concerned, and they are also important because they express the interests and ambitions and fears of the powers that

framed them, and so serve to tie the ex-enemy countries into the political network which those powers are weaving. To use again the simplest and handiest example before us: The problem of Trieste may in fact be best met by establishing a free territory under some form of international control. But the solution was not reached by looking at ethnic maps or by consulting the wishes of the population. It emerged as the only possible compromise between the desire of the Western powers to keep Russia away from the shores of the Adriatic and Russia's desire to be there. The arrangement finally agreed upon favors the Soviet ambition but does not permit it an unqualified victory.

So far the best one can say about the treaties as a whole, about the organization of the conference and its procedure, about the area of participation reserved for the smaller nations, is that they are the result of bargains, often hard-driven, among the Big Four. They represent the lowest common denominators of agreement among powers whose differences have come to outweigh, almost to obliterate, their mutual interests. This is not a prescription for achieving peace—either peace with our late enemies or peace among the late allies. If it promises any advantage at all, it is only that of bringing to an end one phase of the war and of showing the victor powers, small and large, where they stand in relation to one another before they begin the much more difficult attempt to reach an agreement about Germany.

What the pessimistic outlook in Paris really indicates is this: The war as a whole is not over. And since the war is not over, the nations gathered at Paris cannot be expected to make peace. The so-called peace conference is, inevitably, merely a new battlefield in the political war which was never ended. The military defeat of the Axis powers shifted the lines and blurred some of the issues; but the struggle goes on with no essential change.

It is convenient in the present phase of the fight to cast Russia in the role of totalitarian menace, and group Britain and ourselves and the lesser Western powers in the other camp—the camp of the defenders of democracy. But this alignment is a little too simple. For the political fight is only partly one between dictatorial and democratic political methods, between repression and freedom. It is that, but it is also a fight in which feudalism and capitalism, weakened under the crushing blows administered by a lost war and harsh military occupation, are struggling against revolution—against socialism in one form or another. The lines are not so sharply drawn as on the field of military battle. And Russia's brusque efforts to push outward its zone of influence or control—undoubtedly a drive that is itself compounded of power politics and revolutionary purpose—collides not only with the will of Britain and the United States to stop this expanding force before it engulfs the West and ends the economic system on which Western strength depends, but also with their desire to maintain individual and political freedom.

So confused, so difficult to follow, is this political war whose front is now the ornate Senate Chamber in the Luxembourg Palace! For even the summary I attempted above is misleading. It gives the impression that there are two fairly well-defined camps, but that, too, is not quite so. Although America is the leader of what I suppose we must call the anti-Russian camp, our representatives in Paris know they must carry on their diplomatic counter-offensive without forcing an open break or driving Moscow to extremes of suspicion and fear which will end all possibility of peaceful accommodation. Consequently their behavior is likely to be a discreet mixture of toughness and conciliation. Nor can they afford to precipitate a showdown in terms that will frighten or antagonize our democratic cohorts. For their ranks are not the solid democratic-capitalist divisions Washington might wish. On the contrary, the smaller countries, particularly those of Western Europe, are sharply divided within themselves, since this political war is a revolution and not only a national struggle. Most of them have powerful Communist parties; all have powerful Socialist parties; several, Britain among them, have Socialist governments. They are only partly in America's camp: their dominant hope may be for a Europe in which political democracy maintains its rule, but one dare not take it for granted that they will accept even this on American terms. Indeed, many powerful democratic elements firmly believe that their only chance of holding on to political freedom is by moving as fast as possible toward a Socialist economy. The heavy weight of America on the capitalist and reactionary side is losing us allies among these groups just as repression is losing Russia a large section of the popular support its revolutionary drive would otherwise surely have won.

These are the issues behind the deliberations in Paris, however remote they may seem from the particular points under discussion. They will be fought out there in the coming weeks, as they are being fought out everywhere in the world every day; they will play a part in every major decision and many lesser ones. And in the end they will have to be decided in their own terms; otherwise peace will not be made in Europe.

Del Vayo Reports from Moscow

For three weeks, J. Alvarez del Vayo, European Editor of The Nation, *has been in Moscow discussing the internal and world situation with Russian leaders. His first cabled article will appear in next week's issue of* The Nation. *Others will follow in early issues.*

Rebellion in Tennessee

BY JENNINGS PERRY

Nashville, August 4

IT WAS to have been a nice, quiet, machine-made election on August 1 in Tennessee—a state in which the people actually are fined for voting, and the votes of one-tenth of the adult population suffice to elect. Three hundred thousand dollars had been shaken out of the state and federal employees, the liquor dealers, the road contractors, the insurance brokers, to keep Boss Crump's aged flunkey, Kenneth D. McKellar, in the United States Senate for one more term. Every machine in the state, Democratic and Republican, had closed ranks, as usual, with the big Shelby County machine for the happy kill. And then, down in little McMinn County, in the southeast corner of the state, there was a terrific explosion.

What happened in McMinn, mainly at Athens, the county seat—a gracious, well-shaded valley town—was a popular revolt against tyranny which is already being described in Tennessee as "another Boston Tea Party." It was an armed revolt and entirely successful. It smashed to smithereens one of the most arrant political machines of the state and rattled the teeth of every boss in the vicious ring which, under the domination of Boss Crump of Memphis, has fixed an iron grip upon Tennessee.

The revolt was led by young men freshly back from the wars—Jim Buttram, 24, a grocer's son, ex-corporal twice wounded overseas; J. P. Kennedy, former lieutenant-commander in the navy; young ex-GI James Edward Vestal, two-time winner of the Purple Heart—men like that. The tyranny overthrown at Athens was that of Paul Cantrell, a state senator whose machine has been stealing elections in McMinn at pistol-point for a decade.

Early in the spring a number of veterans who, during the war, had been "thinking about things back home," formed an all-GI ticket to "rescue" the county offices from machine control. The ticket campaigned vigorously, received Republican and Democratic support. The veterans served notice that the polls would be watched.

The machine's answer was to deputize 300 thugs, some from out of the state, and put them in charge of the voting places on election day armed with pistols, shotguns, and blackjacks. This had been seen before in McMinn—and in Polk, the next county, where another Crump ally, Sheriff Burch C. Biggs, had bloodily put down all political opposition. The situation was loaded and primed. At three o'clock in the afternoon, with the GI ticket reportedly leading by a wide margin, the thugs made their play. Watchers for the GI ticket were beaten and driven from the polls; deputies, brandishing arms, seized the ballot boxes and hustled them to the jail. The veterans demanded that the votes be counted in public. A shot was fired from the jail. It was then that the outraged veterans went to arm themselves.

They fought the deputies with their bare fists and took their guns. The people of the town and of the countryside brought them shotguns and shells. They besieged the jail and poured their fire through its windows. Exactly twelve hours after the showdown began, the thirty deputies who formed the garrison came out, hands in the air. The ballot boxes were put under guard by the victors to await the honest, public count the veterans had vowed would be had.

This was the end of the battle of Athens—as true an "uprising of the people" as any history relates. Boss Cantrell, escaping from the embattled jail, fled into hiding. His chief allies, the sheriff and George Woods, speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives, also high-tailed it from the county and have not yet returned. Troops of the State Guard, started to the scene by Governor Jim McCord, were turned back when it was evident that the Cantrell machine, part of the ring supporting the Governor for renomination, was broken beyond retrieving. The militia cheered the word that they were not to attack the McMinn veterans.

There was little bloodshed at Athens—and the people of Tennessee, by and large, are filled with admiration for the young men who did not come home to be robbed of the rights they had been told they were fighting for. For over half a century Tennessee has not seen a free election: under the poll tax, the suffrage has been given up by the vast majority; as the electorate has withered away, the power of the machine has risen. The people of Tennessee now have been reminded that the ballot was originally won with the bullet and that when the ballot is lost, the people are without any means, save bullets, with which to win it back.

As to the impact of the Tennessee Tea Party in McMinn upon the political future of the state, these straws have been noted in the wind: Burch Biggs of Polk and other bosses of the state have ostentatiously washed their hands of the fallen Cantrell machine; and it was reported on Sunday that Senator McKellar presently will journey from Washington to Athens to ease the situation.

This much may be foreseen: if the veterans stand firm in their cause and example, the next elections in Tennessee will be different from the juggernaut cruise of the machines they have been since the early thirties.

JENNINGS PERRY, noted Southern liberal, is an editor of the Nashville Tennessean.

The Crusader from Down Under

BY ROBERT BENDINER

UNTIL six years ago Australia's role in world diplomacy was roughly comparable to the position of Switzerland in the world of naval affairs. Today it is impossible to pick up a paper without spotting some such headline as "Aussies Hit Britain on Franco," "Australian Delegate Cautions Gromyko," or "Australian Offers Plan for U. N. Atom Pact." A country whose foreign policy until 1940 consisted solely of faith in Singapore and the British Navy has established its autonomy in foreign relations, formulated a coherent policy, laid the foundations of a diplomatic service, and become chief advocate in the United Nations for the Little Forty-Six *vis-a-vis* the Big Five. For all of which Australians can thank the nature of the war and the energy and vision of one man—Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, judge, diplomat, biographer, connoisseur of post-impressionist art, and authority on the science of cricket.

To appreciate the sensational nature of Evatt's career—the swiftness of his rise and the blend of vitality, idealism, and political sophistication that has marked his course—translate his progress into American terms. You will have to imagine a boy from a genteel but poverty-stricken family, product of a small coal town, in, say, the anthracite district of Pennsylvania. After a brilliant passage through the elementary and high schools of the community, he gains entrance to a leading university and proceeds to win top honors, not only in the law, which he has chosen to follow, but in literature, philosophy, and mathematics as well; at the same time he serves as president of the student organization and wins his letter in football. At the age of 23 he has his master's degree, opens a practice, and associates himself with the political left. At 31, now a Doctor of Laws, he goes before the Supreme Court to prevent the deportation of two labor leaders and acquires a national reputation. He is elected to the legislature of his state and five years later—at the age of 36—takes his place on the highest bench in the land. After ten years, with a brilliant record behind him and an illustrious career ahead, he grows restive, with his country at war, and (here the imagination is taxed severely) steps down from the Supreme Court to run for Congress. He is elected, and with the success of his party at the polls in the following year, he is a natural choice for membership in the Cabinet, drawing no less than a dual appointment—as Attorney General and Secretary of State.

Substitute New South Wales for Pennsylvania and identify the "political left" as the Australian Labor Party, and you have there the framework of Evatt's swift career down to 1945. But the framework only; the warmth and color of the man, the drives that motivate him, and the uses to which he turns his acquired power are the substance of the story.

THE UNPEDANTIC SCHOLAR

In Australia Herbert Evatt is thought of as a bookish man, an intellectual in politics. He is the learned justice who stepped down from the High Court to mix in the rough-and-tumble of the vote-catcher's art. He is one of the Empire's keenest authorities on constitutional law. He is the author of a biography of William A. Holman, one of the founders of the Labor Party, which is nothing less than a political history of Australia since 1890. He is the prime mover in a campaign to provide Australians with better libraries; he is a critic of modern art.

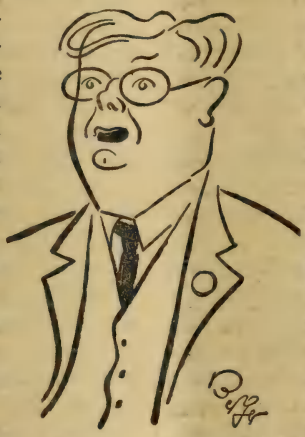
Yet these scholarly attributes by no means leap out at the interviewer. Dr. Evatt is an easy man to talk with. He is not without a touch of boyish vanity, perhaps, but there is no pompousness in him, no pose of the learned judge or the world statesman. And certainly there is nothing of the pedant in his readily tapped stream of Cockney-like vowels. "Naow you tike this bloody business todye," he will say by way of introducing some rather earthy remarks on an afternoon's session of the Security Council. His interests are wide and wonderfully varied, and they draw on a youthful eagerness uncommon in a man of 52. An hour's conversation with him is likely to range from the day's baseball scores, through the personality of the late Oliver Wendell Holmes, to the rank injustice that history and fable have done to William Bligh, villain of the *Bounty* but hero of one of Evatt's historical volumes. He is extremely fond of the United States, a prejudice undoubtedly enhanced by two major considerations: America's role in warding off the Japanese in the dark days when invasion looked certain, and an Iowa-born wife of charm and distinction. Mrs. Evatt, incidentally, accompanies her husband on nearly all his missions and during the war won a commendation from Prime Minister Curtin for "the part she has played in every phase of the [Evatt] Delegation's activities overseas."

Evatt's informality of speech—and dress—is an integral part of his personality, the reflection of a profound repudiation of formalism in all his thinking. It is a characteristic that runs through all his activity and gives it a consistent quality: as a jurist he is emphatically more concerned with justice than with precedent or the letter of the law; politically he considers himself a Socialist without dogma; diplomatically he shuns the striped-pants-and-protocol approach and goes directly to the essence of the matter at hand. For a man with a reputation as an intellectual he is thus curiously elastic, un-

anchored to any established body of thought. But in place of the arid rigidity that marks the truly professional intellectual there is in Evatt a more emotional and warmer drive—the urge not so much to justice itself, which can be cold and retributive, but rather to the eradiction of injustice. He is instinctively moved to take up the cause of the weak against the strong, the small against the great: he is everlastingly the champion of the wronged, whether the victim suffers from a whole system of social inequalities or merely, as in the case of Captain Bligh, a personal slander that has passed into history.

COUNSEL TO THE UNDERDOG

Referring me to a book by Doctor Evatt, a friend of his of long standing advised me to read it as "a key to Evatt's political and social character." Appropriately enough the title of the volume is "Injustice Within the Law," and is a legalistic and none too lively little study of the case of the "Martyrs of Tolpuddle." These were six British trade unionists who in 1834 were sentenced to seven years' transportation to Australia, which in those times and circumstances was almost certain to mean a lifetime in exile. Technically the men were charged with administering unlawful oaths, but it was perfectly and widely understood that this was merely a happy device for breaking up "the dangerous and alarming combinations," as the rising trade unions were described. It is characteristic of Evatt to turn his scholarship precisely to this case and just as characteristic for him to draw the conclusions he does. He scrupulously clears the prosecution of technical flaws and illegalities of any sort, and then points out that "There was no violence in the Dorchester Case save the extreme and horrible violence of the law itself." He recommends the case to lawyers today on the ground that "in one sense the case represented the very coronation of injustice, and yet there was no technical breach of the law."



Herbert Vere Evatt

Defender of constitutionalism as opposed to the unwritten law of England, Evatt nevertheless is far from a strict constructionist. Of our own Supreme Court justices of the recent past, he admires Stone for giving Congress a loose rein, and incidentally for his personal qualities, but his greater admiration is reserved for those giants of dissent who in one degree or another regarded the Court as a weapon of social justice: Holmes, Brandeis, Cardozo.

Evatt was hard put to tell me which of his own opinions seemed to him the most significant, but it was obvious that he got most pleasure out of the case of the Hungarian writer Egon Kisch, who, unwanted in Nazi-ridden Hungary for both racial and political reasons, sought refuge in Australia. Primarily to keep out Asiatics the Australians have long resorted to tricky immigration laws, one of which requires that every entrant must take dictation in some one European tongue arbitrarily selected by the immigration authorities. Not too keen about Kisch's politics, the official in charge refused him entry on the ground that the unfortunate Hungarian Jew was unable to take down a passage in Gaelic! Mr. Justice Evatt ruled out Gaelic as a European language within the meaning of the law and chalked up another triumph for the underdog.

Like his law, Evatt's politics is rooted in social justice, but he is unwilling to trade political freedom for economic. He is just as unwilling to trade present principles for future hopes. "Democratic procedures," he says, "are as important as democratic ends." He explains certain Russian behavior that he has encountered in his term as a delegate to the Security Council as an expression of the Communist inability to accept even the most temporary defeat in the give-and-take of the democratic process. "Ultimately, decisions have to be made by ballots or bullets," he says. "We believe in ballots. We may be beaten, but we can take a beating and try again, and we're always willing to take that chance."

Evatt's socialism, if it is socialism, is of the Fabian sort. "Meliorism" is his own word for it. "New Deal" would be ours. He is opposed to governing families, concentrated corporate wealth, and interference with civil liberties; and he favors the gradual socialism that comes by way of social legislation and public ownership of railroads, electric power, and major natural resources. This program hardly constitutes Marxism, and he doesn't pretend that it does. The greatest world figure of the generation, for him, is Franklin D. Roosevelt, and after him, Australia's late Prime Minister John Curtin, under whom Evatt took office and whom he regards as one of the greatest speakers of his time. Asquith, Wilson, and Hull are other stars in the Evatt galaxy. But with the possible exception of Curtin none is in a class with Roosevelt, whose loss, he believes, was a blow from which the world is still reeling.

INDEPENDENCE—WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Evatt's congenital indifference to precedent was in evidence two months after he took office as Minister of External Affairs. When the war had broken out in Europe two years earlier, the Menzies government had simply announced that since Britain had declared a state of hostilities with Germany, Australia was automatically at war. But when the Japanese struck in December, 1941, Evatt did things differently. Taking the initiative, though drawing his authority from Curtin, of course, he ordered

the Australian Minister in London to submit to King George declarations of war against Japan, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania. No British official took part in the matter, and it was explained to the Australian Parliament that this procedure was chosen in order "to make it clear that the King was acting exclusively on the advice of his Ministers in the Commonwealth."

The incident may not seem significant here, but it was rightly regarded as foreshadowing a new relationship within the Empire. The immediate sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* greatly accelerated the Labor government's drive toward autonomy in the prosecution of the war, and even before the fall of Singapore in February, 1942, Prime Minister Curtin was announcing to the world: "Australia looks to America free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom." The plan to get MacArthur out of the Philippines and place him in command of the southwest Pacific theater was proposed by the Australians directly to President Roosevelt, without any prior sanction in London. Evatt was sent to Washington to plead for immediate aid of all sorts and also for Australia's right to sit in the Pacific War Council on equal terms with Britain and the United States.

The British were shocked, but they were not the only ones. Australia's Tories, who prefer a share in the prestige of Empire to autonomy as a small power, have always looked upon the Labor Party as "nationalist." If Evatt is typical, the party's nationalism is mild indeed. It is anti-imperialist, of course, in the sense that it stands squarely opposed to exploitation anywhere in the Empire, and it is determined to steer an independent course within the United Nations. But despite the large Irish Catholic bloc in the Australian population—particularly in the Labor Party—there is no trace of the rabid anti-British feeling of our own Middle West and of parts of Canada. Evatt is fond of speaking of the British Commonwealth as a "family partnership," and over the BBC a few months ago he quoted an Australian poet to describe the attitude of the people of the Dominions:

> They came to show to all the world that
> kinship conquers space,
> And he who fights the British Isles must
> fight the British race.

Despite this bond, the keystone of Australia's first genuinely independent foreign policy is not the Commonwealth at all, but the United Nations. Evatt is almost passionately convinced that the U. N. offers the only hope for a fearful world. And he is equally convinced that to realize that hope the U. N. will have to be considerably overhauled. Bringing to San Francisco his feeling for justice, his brash approach to diplomacy, and his instinctive defense of the weak, it was inevitable that he would stand out from the first as the champion of the small nations. He will tell you at once that he does not look upon himself in this light at all and believes that he has been somewhat misunderstood on this point. He fully realizes that the power of the major states gives them added responsibility and that this in turn entitles them to a greater share of control than the smaller nations have a logical right to expect. But he is devoted to upholding the principles of the Charter, and, as he shrewdly points out, these principles are generally of more concern to the little states, which depend on them for security, than to the larger powers, which depend on them for rhetoric.

TILTING AT THE VETO

On two fronts Evatt has carried on a fight within the U. N. that has made him easily its most colorful figure (no intention here to damn with faint praise). At San Francisco he was one of the chief architects of the Economic and Social Council, designed to foster better living standards and as close an approach as possible to "full employment." He is Socialist enough to believe that "peace is not merely the absence of war," that "a permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic justice."

The Council was set up, but Evatt was to discover before long that the over-all pattern of the United Nations was to present a question that dwarfed the problems of any of its subordinate agencies. This was the question of the veto—the right of any one of the Big Five on the Security Council to overrule a decision of all the other members combined. Identified in the public mind as the champion of the anti-veto forces, Evatt has been variously portrayed as a St. George and a Don Quixote, but the fact is that he was not intransigently opposed to the principle at the start, nor is he so today.

What Evatt refuses to countenance is not the principle of unanimity itself, but what he regards as the abuse of the veto in practice. His feelings on the matter came to a boil in the Security Council over the handling of the Spanish question. Evatt has always been belligerently and vocally hostile toward the Franco regime. He fought for strong action in the Council, and came up with the best compromise attainable in view of the coolness of the American and British delegations, only to have Gromyko scornfully apply the veto, thus leaving Franco unbothered by any action whatever. With all the suave diplomacy of a magistrate in traffic court, Evatt addressed his Soviet colleague. "Because the thing doesn't go quite the way you like it," he advised, "don't brush aside the views of the majority."

Once resigned to the so-called "unanimity principle," Evatt is now convinced that it will have to go if the U. N. is to be made a workable instrument. "It is a travesty of democratic procedures," he told an international NBC audience shortly before his departure for the

Paris peace conference, "when any one nation can block the unanimous opinion of the remainder of a Council of eleven when it is endeavoring solely to conciliate and adjust international disputes and situations."

What started out to be merely a defense of a point of view is now taking on the proportions of a crusade. Evatt appears, not without reason, to feel that the smaller powers were foxed into an acceptance of the veto principle at San Francisco in the belief that it would be used with discretion. He is determined now that it will not be carried over into whatever international agency is established for the control of atomic energy. If he gains his point—and he is persuasive, persistent, and pugnacious in debate—a diplomatic triumph of historical proportions will have been won by a nation that didn't own a diplomat ten years ago. If he doesn't he will at least have proved that political wisdom, far from being a monopoly of Washington, London, and Moscow, is to be found in a much purer form in Canberra, population 14,000.

Men Against Unemployment

BY JOHN J. CORSON

Washington, August 2

THOSE who viewed the Full Employment Act as a fundamental plank in the Rooseveltian "economic bill of rights" are dismayed by the President's choice of men to serve on the Council of Economic Advisors. The names of none of the appointees—Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, Dean John Davidson Clark, or Leon H. Keyserling—figured in the speculation that took place during the six months the President required to make his selections. Their appointment comes as a surprise. That dismay and surprise is evoked by the fact that Nourse and Clark seemingly lack the daring, imagination, and willingness to experiment which the Council will need if it is to advise as to how the free enterprise system is to provide fuller employment in the future than in the past.

However, Messrs. Nourse and Clark are sound and experienced, if conventional. Together with Keyserling, they possess a variety of competences which effectively supplement one another, and may well fit the period in which the Council is to be established. Men such as Alvin Hansen, Leon Henderson, or Robert Nathan, more given to experimentation and less addicted to conventional approaches, would have difficulty adjusting to the psychological climate of the times.

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse is an economist who represents "respectable" economic thinking. Most of the twenty-three years he has spent at the Brookings Institute, and his earlier career as well, have been devoted to the study of agricultural economics. By numerous writings he has demonstrated a conservative predilection but also open-mindedness and fairness in appraising new ideas. His brand of economics is perhaps best revealed in his most recent book, "Price Making in a Democracy," published in 1944. There he presents a courageous analysis of the interrelationship of prices, wages, and profits in a free enterprise system, and worries aloud as to what is to be done about it. Even enlightened businessmen, he recognizes, seldom can look at their own affairs in terms of achieving the social objective of a high level of employment, production, and purchasing power. Their trade associations have more often been organs of restrictive practices than of flexible, farseeing economic policy. Perhaps, he reasons, the role of balance wheel in the economy might be played by such agencies as the United States Chamber of Commerce or the N. A. M. To meet his obligation of advising the President on business and government action to forestall unemployment and maintain a healthy economy, however, he will surely need a better answer than that.

Leon Keyserling, young (38) and well known in Washington, is schooled in the liberal traditions. He won his spurs while serving the doughty Robert Wagner as legislative assistant. Then (1933-37) he worked on the National Labor Relations Act and legislation creating the United States Housing Authority. Since 1938 he has served as general counsel for the successive federal housing agencies. In 1945 he won second prize in the Pabst Post-War Employment Award Contest with a brilliant essay, "The American Economic Goal." Yet Keyserling is a lawyer by trade, not an economist. His interest and competence lie in the development of governmental machinery which will produce concerted policies to lift production, employment, and the standard of living. He alone worked the miracle of joining the names of Senators Wagner, Ellender, and Taft on the much-discussed housing bill. Perhaps his deft touch will bring equally strange bedfellows together in the name of full employment.

John Davidson Clark, dean of the College of Business Administration at the University of Nebraska, is less

JOHN J. CORSON is director of research for the Washington, D. C., Post. *A veteran of ten years in the civil service, he was formerly director of the United States Employment Service.*

widely known by either bureaucrats or Congressmen than his colleagues. Congressional cloak-room gossip has it that when queried by Senators examining his qualifications for this post, he professed an inability to voice any judgment as to the values of the TVA as an institution. He explained, it is said, that he had not had an opportunity to compare its operating costs with analogous private businesses. Other Washingtonians have learned from Who's Who that at the age of forty-four, after a successful business career in oil, he studied economics at Johns Hopkins and embarked on a career of teaching. Senator O'Mahoney has known him, however, from the time he was city attorney of Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1907. This acquaintanceship apparently explains his emergence as one of the President's principal economic advisors.

There is not a political hack in the trio. Each is a capable professional man. Together they constitute what the President described, when announcing Dr. Nourse's appointment, as "a fact-finding agency." This choice of words offers an ironical comment on earlier promises that the Full Employment Act was "an historic Congressional declaration . . . of the Federal government's responsibility . . . to utilize all its resources for the purpose of maintaining employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work." Hence, observers suspect the Council may prove no more than a focussing point for the government's fiscal, monetary, labor, wage, and social-insurance policies as they affect employment, production, and purchasing power. It will collect reports from various governmental agencies, weigh the trend of events, and submit to the President appraisals of economic conditions, which he, in turn, will review with Secretary of the Treasury Snyder. There will be little forecasting of the economic tides and even less in the way of a program to insure that all public administrative and legislative policies "promote employment, production, and purchasing power."

In the immediate future, this may not be too serious. Little unemployment has accompanied reconversion. The fears of deflation which supported the advocates of the Full Employment Act throughout 1945 are for the time minimized. The problem in 1946-47 is that of boom control. That requires coordinated governmental economic policies if we are not to sow now the seeds of the next depression. Yet the Truman administration and, perhaps, the boom psychology of public opinion will not support an aggressive governmental effort to preserve full employment.

The best that can now be anticipated is that the Council will corral a competent and imaginative staff and establish within the federal structure its responsibility for coordinating governmental economic policies. Then, when the economic cycle has again run its course, some subsequent president may replace Messrs. Nourse and Clark with men who will constitute the kind of economic general staff which the federal government certainly requires if the system of free enterprise is to continue without subjecting our society to periodic blights of depression.

In the Wind

WHAT? NO DISCOUNT? *Bread and Butter,* Consumers Union's weekly, reprints the following letter to a Congressman from an irate citizen in Melrose, Mass., who had been comparing his June and July food bills: "Congressman Angier L. Goodwin, Debtor, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C. For the money you have picked from my pocket by your votes to sabotage price control as a ventriloquist dummy for the National Association of Manufacturers, balance due, July 1-20—$18.07. Please remit promptly. (Signed) A long suffering victim of Congressional misrepresentation."

BEDFELLOWS HALL: *The New Leader,* which calls itself "America's Leading Liberal-Labor Weekly," is featuring the European correspondence of William Henry Chamberlin. So is America's leading conservative-capitalist daily—the *Wall Street Journal.*

LONG ARM OF THE LAW! A New York *Sun* story about a police officer's malfeasance reads: "He was found five blocks off post, in uniform, when he should have been on duty, with his arms around a woman's neck. Two women, who remonstrated with him, said that he waved his nightstick at them and said, 'Get along, or I'll arrest you for interfering with an officer in the performance of his duty.' "

WHAT PRICE VISION! Philip W. Pillsbury, president of the Pillsbury Mills, makes this comment in his firm's annual report: "For American agriculture, we should already have planned—and should be planning now—what to do with the coming grain surplus." An admirable thought; perhaps something should be done, instead of letting the grain rot.

INSURANCE FOR A BEST SELLER. The New York *Times* comments: "With all the books pouring off the presses nowadays, a person whose time is not all his own would certainly miss out on some of the most absorbing ones, if it weren't for the anti-vice societies. The deuce of it is that other people also read the anti-vice news, and before a busy man can find time to get to the book store, there isn't a copy left."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Holland's Last Chance

BY ANDREW ROTH

The Hague

THE EYES of all Dutchmen are focused these days upon their former premier, Professor Willem Schermerhorn; for they see in him Holland's last chance to retain its link to the fabulously rich Indies without a long, bitter, and costly war. The new Catholic-Labor cabinet—formation of which was delayed five weeks by wrangling over Indonesia—has given him the special title of Commissioner-General for the East Indies and unprecedented power to reach a settlement with the Indonesian Republic.

There is no doubt that attachment to empire is much more widespread in Holland than in England. There are, of course, the extreme jingoes in the picturesquely-named organization "Indies in Danger—No Time to Lose" and among the young bloods who chant, "We'll meet on Sukarno's grave." But far more important is the fact that a very large proportion of the middle class feels a strong sentimental and economic desire to hold on to the Indies. Quite a few say frankly that Holland will be merely another Denmark if she loses the Indies, from which she derived about one-fifth of her income. The feeling of others can best be exemplified by the true story of a Dutch lawyer who, in his youth, went to Batavia to practice law. He was very successful, came to love the country, and built himself a beautiful home and swimming pool in the expectation that he would settle down there in his retirement. The Japanese came and he was interned; but during his entire internment he looked forward to returning to his fine Batavia home. When he was released at the war's end he hurried back, only to find armed Indonesians at the gate and President Sukarno disporting himself in the pool. The natural reaction in such circumstances is a determination to retake the possessions into which went so many years of effort.

The problem of Dutch-Indonesian relations is complicated, and, if he is to succeed, Professor Schermerhorn will have to overcome two Dutch habits which have dogged all past negotiations: first, to yield too little and too late; second, to regard the Indonesians through 1940 eyes—as amiable, attractive, but fundamentally inferior persons who cannot really be trusted to exploit their own riches efficiently.

In the past Dutch offers have never been able to catch up with the development of nationalist feeling. Most skilled observers agree that a generous and specific offer last summer would have offset Japanese sponsorship of the Indonesian Republic. But it was not until November that the Indonesians were offered a very junior partnership in the Dutch Empire, with some say in the internal affairs of the Indies, and even this belated offer was vague and full of loopholes.

On February 10—by which time the breadth and strength of nationalist feeling was painfully evident—the Dutch took another timid step. They promised the establishment of a Commonwealth of Indonesia within the Dutch Kingdom consisting of member countries enjoying different degrees of autonomy, the commonwealth to have a parliamentary body, guaranteed freedom of speech and worship, and legal and educational equality. After a transitional period (time unspecified) the commonwealth would be free to decide its own destinies.

But here again the details were so drawn that it was obvious the Indonesians would get the shadow of self-government without the substance. The constitution for the commonwealth was to be drawn by the Netherlands government "in consultation" with Indonesian groups selected by the Netherlands government. There was no indication of the extent of the franchise contemplated. The parliament would have had an Indonesian majority, but the cabinet would not have been responsible to it. Furthermore the chief executive was to have been a representative of the Dutch crown with special powers reserved to guarantee "fundamental rights, efficient administration, and sound financial management."

It was at this point that the British government stepped into the negotiations. They were concerned about Indonesia, not only because their troops were involved, but because they feared that a real breakdown and open warfare might touch off the nationalist powder-kegs in Malaya, Burma, and India. Feeling that the Dutch could not arrive at a satisfactory compromise unaided, London sent Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr (now Lord Inverchapel) to Batavia with Acting Governor H. J. Van Mook to assist him.

The conference had a good chance of success because Indonesian Premier Sutan Sjahrir felt it was better to come to terms with the comparatively weak Dutch "little brothers" than to have Indonesia taken before the UN with the likelihood that it would wind up under the economic domination of the infinitely stronger American "big brothers." Before formal conferences began in Batavia on March 13, Premier Sjahrir broadened his cabinet and secured sweeping powers to conduct nego-

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tiations. On March 27 he went as far as he could to meet the Dutch and agreed that the Indonesian Republic would take its place as a dominion or free state within the Indonesian Commonwealth contemplated by the Dutch. However, he did insist on certain guarantees which were, in fact, the minimum he could accept in view of the insistent demands of the young, fervent nationalists for "complete independence." These were: first, recognition of *de facto* Republican control of Java and Sumatra, with other Indonesian territories allowed after three years to vote on joining the Republic; and second, a treaty between the Netherlands and the Republic covering economic, military, and foreign affairs.

H. J. Van Mook

Lord Inverchapel declared that Sjahrir was "wise, cool, and reasonable" and made it clear he felt "the proposed solution was a very good one." Dr. Van Mook had not been authorized to recognize Republican control of Sumatra or agree to a treaty with the Republic but apparently felt that Sjahrir's terms were about as good as could be secured. "The points of view," he said on the eve of his departure from Batavia, "have now become close enough to justify consultations in the Hague with a view to bridging the remaining difficulties."

But it was impossible to sell the Batavia agreement to the Dutch cabinet. The Labor Party members, including Premier Schermerhorn and Minister of Overseas Territories Logemanns, favored conciliation but the Ministers of the Catholic Party and other conservatives would have nothing of it. Irate conservatives reviled Van Mook as "more Indonesian than Dutch," and in Parliament the spokesman for the Anti-Revolutionary Party shrilled "We cannot accept this republic—a made-in-Japan product of force, murder, and robbery."

The May elections which followed made a compromise seem all the more remote for they showed that Holland, virtually alone among the occupied countries of Europe, had scarcely moved leftward at all. The dominating influence of religion remained virtually untouched: the Catholic Party won thirty-two of the hundred seats in the lower chamber; the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party (which is still fighting the French Revolution), thirteen; and assorted other rightist-religious parties, sixteen. The Labor Party, which expected to make large inroads among middle-class liberals because it had abandoned Marxism for the Fabianism of the British Labor Party, succeeded in raising its number of seats from twenty-three to twenty-nine but lost part of its left wing to the Communists, who now have ten seats.

The elections were no mandate for a conciliatory policy because such a policy was supported only by the Labor Party, which favors Indonesian self-government within the Dutch kingdom, and by the Communists, who favor an alliance with an independent Indonesia. And together they received under forty per cent of the poll.

Since the elections, however, a number of factors have intervened to push the Dutch toward a more conciliatory policy, one being military weakness. Lieutenant General Sir Montague Stopford, British commander in Indonesia, has estimated it would take three army corps (roughly 150,000 men) and a year to retake Java from the Nationalists. The Dutch now have 36 inadequately armed and trained battalions (some 30,000 men) there, and another division in training here and due to be shipped in the fall. It is difficult to raise more because this is a small, war-battered country with a man-power shortage. Obviously the Dutch cannot retake the Indies unaided.

It is similarly obvious that Britain and America are anxious for the Dutch to pursue a more conciliatory policy. It is significant, of course, that Premier Beel visited London two weeks before his cabinet was formed. The British have been applying pressure by withdrawing their troops from the Indies before the Dutch can replace them. The United States has made it difficult for the Dutch to get shipping for military forces and equipment being sent to the Indies and has apparently made it clear that Holland will not be considered a good loan risk if it embarks on a colonial war. This Anglo-American pressure has softened up Dutch conservatives, who are very much afraid that the Indonesian question will be taken up by the UN and that the upshot will be expanded United States and British penetration.

Furthermore, Indonesian developments have demonstrated that prior failure to reach an agreement has strengthened nationalists who favor complete independence. The Indonesians are now asking virtually an alliance between two sovereign states and *de facto* control, not only of Java and Sumatra, but all other areas in the Indies voting to join them.

The Labor Party has utilized these pressures to secure acceptance of their policy. Just after the election the Catholics asked Labor to join a coalition cabinet, but Labor replied it would join only if its conciliatory Indonesian policy were accepted and applied by persons acceptable to it. The Catholics were unwilling to go it alone or align themselves with the rightists because they have a left wing which might split off under such conditions. Finally, after five weeks of wrangling, a cabinet was formed with J. R. Jonkman (Labor) as Minister of Overseas Territories. Even more important was the appointment of former Premier Schermerhorn as Com-

missioner-General to reach an agreement with the Indonesians. Professor Schermerhorn—who is widely admired in Holland and trusts, and is trusted by, Sjahrir—has told his friends that he accepted this assignment only on condition that he would have full powers to secure as good a treaty as he can, even if its terms are not as favorable as those brought back by Van Mook.

It is true, of course, that Premier Beel has declared that Holland would not go beyond the instructions sent Van Mook in March, which recognized Republican control only in Java and did not provide for a treaty. But well-informed circles here feel that this is merely a way of soothing the public. The state of public opinion in Holland today is such that if Schermerhorn grants the minimum terms of the Indonesian Republic—and thus avoids a costly and probably unsuccessful colonial war—he is sure to be attacked violently for having sold out the Dutch Empire to a group of worthless, Japanese-inspired brigands. But strange as it may seem, only by loosening the ties can the connections be preserved.

Of Peace and the Balkans

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

WHY our age should be called the atomic instead of the moronic age is not easy to explain. After all, the Dark Ages were not dark because the electric light had not yet been invented; the eighteenth century is not termed the Age of Enlightenment because of Benjamin Franklin's invention of the lightning conductor; and the nineteenth century is not called the Century of Liberalism because of the liberal profits that industrialism made possible. Today the rocket plane has antiquated the Diesel engine, the energy of the atom has been harnessed. But what mental or moral values, what human understanding or social systems of cooperation, has this "atomic" age created?

The Allies had up-to-date weapons with which they could win the war, but for lack of an ideology which will help to reconcile the ex-Allies they apparently are entirely unable to win the peace. Their haggling and stickling is due not so much to the clash of capitalist and Communist economies as it is to the power politics concealed behind their flimsy veil of obsolete arguments. There was unanimity in refusing to return the Pusterthal, with its German-speaking population, to Austria, because a strategic railway runs along the valley beside the highway which Caesar's legionaries built 2,000 years ago. To refer to a "strategic railway" in the age of the atom bomb, of rockets, and of airborne troops is as anachronistic as to resurrect Caesar's legions. All members of the Paris conference would be equally shocked if anyone dared to doubt that their efforts to establish peace are based on justice, or asserted that their methods are as antiquated as a force of lancers or musketeers would have been on D-Day in Normandy.

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It is illogical to expect a just peace from nations that demanded an "unconditional surrender" which included the unpublished provisos that served as loopholes for the House of Savoy and Admiral Horthy. Justice is the fair application of a rule; which rules or principles are the architects of peace supposed to apply? For many weeks the world was kept on tenterhooks because of Trieste and the Balkan treaties; yet these were minor questions on the fringe of the real problem. The facts were clear: Trieste, with an overwhelmingly Italian population, is a port that is essential to Yugoslavia, Austria, and Hungary. Internationalizing the city leaves the fundamental principles of the future treaties as obscure as ever.

Inexact as it is to speak of "Balkan treaties"—as neither Rumania nor Hungary is a part of the Balkan Peninsula—it is still less admissible to ignore the difference in the ethnic, economic, social, and political structures of the three satellite countries. Their national sensitiveness cannot be satisfied, yet obviously some means must be found to curb the recurrent feuds between these countries and their neighbors, if the peacemakers are preparing for peace and not for a future war.

Let us assume that the ethnic principle is paramount. Bulgarians insist that the majority of Macedonians are Bulgarians both "in speech and sympathy"; the Greeks claim that the Macedonian civilization is Greek; the Albanians say that the Macedonians are, racially, Albanian; and we are told by Hugh Seton-Watson that "the Macedonian problem is essentially an internal problem of Yugoslavia." Can it reasonably be assumed that the Bulgarian treaty is going to settle this controversial issue? Rumania claims Transylvania because the majority of the population is Rumanian, but refuses for strategic reasons to return a purely Magyar strip of territory adjacent to the frontier of Hungary. Is it not odd that, in preparing a peace treaty, the elimination of causes of friction should be overruled by considerations of the strategy of the next war? While the Rumanian and Hungarian

governments are on friendly terms, the chauvinistic spirit of both populations has by no means abated. In spite of the candid statement by the Hungarian premier that the readjustment of the frontiers is improbable, the ghost of revisionism is still very much alive.

Reports on the Paris Conference have made it plain that strategic, economic, and political considerations weighed heavily in the Big Four decisions. None of the Big Powers likes all the decisions by which "possible seeds of furture strife have been sown," and consoling references to the fair application of conflicting principles are frequent. This game is transparent enough, as the references are merely a cloak for power politics. To ease its conscience the American delegation has inserted a clause permitting future revision of treaties, overlooking the futility of Clemenceau's similar proviso in 1919.

If for the "Free Territory of Trieste" a UN-guaranteed internationalization seemed the only possible solution, a similar solution must be found for the difficulties which the so-called Balkan treaties offer. *Quod uni justum, alteri aequum*—what is just in one case should be fair in the other—was the axiom of Roman jurists. Sumner Welles called the Trieste decision disastrous because of the "bitter friction between Italians and Yugoslavs" that it provokes. Apparently he overlooks the bitterness that would have been provoked by recognition of either the Italian or Yugoslav claim.

No matter how carefully the frontiers of the contiguous ethnic areas are drawn, the new borderline will disappoint both the interested countries, and areas with mixed populations will remain in each. In any case, territorial adjustments should be made only in a friendly way, by mutual understanding; adjustments imposed by the Big Powers will be resented by one country or the other, regardless of the justice or fairness of the decision.

For the Danubian and the Balkan region there is no justice, no solution, except in an internationally controlled federation. This is certainly not a new suggestion. Louis Kossuth was the first to advocate it, and Palacky, Masaryk, and many others have followed suit. Some years ago the Soviet Union opposed a Southeast European Federation, lest it turn into a *cordon sanitaire*; and the federation of democratic countries with such reactionary ones as Rumania and Hungary seemed impracticable to the Russians. Since then the scenery has changed. Russia has recognized these two countries as truly democratic, and there is no reason why she should put more trust in any of her "independent" neighbors than in a federation whose members are as overwhelmingly Slavophile as the Bulgars are fanatically pro-Russian. The question asked by Professor Laski,* in a recent issue of *The Nation*, is perfectly justified. Such a federation, controlled by the U. N., would dispel the suspicion of the Western Powers that the Soviet Union might use her friendly neighbors as an iron curtain or even as a spearhead against the West. Another objection raised by Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson, that "no federation will succeed unless it insures minimum standards of good government and an educational system which fosters loyalty to itself," is no objection at all; without these prerequisites unfederated states cannot prosper either.

But the existence of a Danubian or a Southeast European Federation depends not only "on its treatment of the two vital problems of social change and relations with the Great Powers" but even more on the relations between the Great Powers themselves, who have to agree upon fundamental principles and get rid of their own distrust and suspicion before they can set forth terms for their ex-enemies. In view of the post-war revival of hectic chauvinism, it is unlikely that the Danubian or Balkan countries themselves could initiate this federation unless the Great Powers use *douce violence* to instigate the scheme. *Douce violence*, however, is always preferable to the forceful violence which would inevitably follow if, by a repetition of the blunders of 1919, these countries were delivered to the mutual jealousy of the ex-Allies.

Whether the Big Four can agree upon some kind of federation in one of Europe's storm-centers is a test of just how serious the Paris peace-making is. A federation need not be a political federation to begin with, as an economic federation guaranteed by the U. N. is likely to develop into some kind of political union. Neither the question of disputed territories nor the protection of national minorities can be solved in any other way. Though it may sound paradoxical to say so, small nations cannot preserve their independence without first sacrificing it. This is what Señor Araquistain meant by saying: "Many states of Central and Eastern Europe cannot be independent; some of them are so dependent upon the others that they have no freedom of determination. Thus they must federate." World War I disrupted three empires to satisfy the appetite of nationalism. Now these liberated nations have to be liberated once more; to save their national existence, they must be integrated.

If this Atomic Age is to produce more convincing intellectual results than the knowledge that the atom bomb can destroy vessels massed in a lagoon or that goats can remain alive where human beings would have been killed, it must show that splitting the atom does not imply the atomization of mankind. Vetoing, getting tough, pounding the table, and similar paraphernalia of sovereignty are no substitutes for a serious endeavor to establish peace with our ex-enemies and our ex-allies. Tocqueville's *patrie intellectuelle* is of greater value than that sovereignty which Jean Bodin contributed to political science. Sovereignty has become both progenitor and idol of nationalism, until today it resembles that primitive god of Greek mythology who devoured his own children.

* "Does he [Molotov] assume that a regional arrangement under the principles of the United Nations is evil, but that the organization of Russian satellite states in the east is good?" [Information Please, Mr. Molotov. *The Nation*, June 15]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

British Press Trusts

A FINE hullabaloo arose in Fleet Street recently when Herbert Morrison, No. 2 in the British Labor Government, indicated that a public inquiry into the newspaper industry was under consideration. The press lords sprang to their dictaphones yelling "the free press is in danger" and charged Morrison with tyranny. Beverley Baxter, Tory M. P. and "trained seal" employed by the Kemsley newspaper combine, asserted that, since all the salient facts about the press were already known, "an inquiry can only have as its purpose a threat to the continuation of its independence." A curious argument, although one that is familiar enough to students of the newspaper industry, British or American. The press which boasts that it exists for the enlightenment of the public hates to have the spotlight turned on its own activities.

As a matter of fact, the origin of the statement that caused such a furore was a demand, backed by a large part of the British press, for an investigation of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which is a government monopoly. Mr. Morrison, while refusing this demand on technical grounds, promised an inquiry before the Corporation's charter was again renewed and added blandly: "I think all good channels for the dissemination of opinion to the public would benefit by having their state of health inquired into by an independent body. We do not exclude the press from that consideration."

Whether a Royal Commission on the press, with authority to subpoena witnesses and documents, will really be appointed is still uncertain. There appears to be a division of opinion in the Cabinet about the wisdom of such a step but, it is said, the doubters are wavering, thanks to the disgraceful campaign of distortion that some newspapers indulged in following the government decision to institute bread-rationing. This didn't just take the form of editorial criticism; nobody would complain about that. The anger of Labor ministers was aroused when some papers, ignoring the dictum that "the news is sacred," devoted their front pages to selected reports designed to "prove" that there was no need of rationing or, if there was, it was because the government had created a grain shortage. Day after day, items to this effect were presented under inflammatory headlines together with stories purporting to show that, while Britain suffered, Europe was wallowing in plenty.

This performance pointed up the demand for a press inquiry which the National Union of Journalists had put forward at its annual conference in April. Its resolution suggested specifically that information should be sought on newspaper ownership and finance, on the effects of the growth of chain-publishing in relation to competition, on the influence of advertising and financial interests, and on methods of distorting and suppressing essential facts. The great value of such an investigation would be educational. It would allow the public a glimpse behind the "iron curtain" that protects so many editorial and publishing sanctums and enable it to see just what interests influence the making of the news. I can think of nothing more enlightening than the presentation at a public hearing of samples of the daily directives which editors of some of the mass-circulation British papers receive from their owners. When I was in London in 1944 I was told that one press lord had issued instructions to play up all black-market cases involving Jews. The existence of such orders is common gossip among newspaper men but there is no way of letting the public know the extent to which what they take as "pure news" is tainted at the source.

With regard to the ownership of the British press, the average newspaper reader knows that control of a large part of it is concentrated in the hands of a few men. But a thorough airing of the methods by which that control has been achieved and is now exercised would be of great public interest. For British newspaper finance is an intricate affair involving many holding and sub-holding companies. For example, the principal company in the Rothermere group is Associated Newspapers, Ltd., which owns the *Daily Mail*, London *Evening News*, and the *Sunday Dispatch*, and, through subsidiaries, owns or controls eight provincial evening papers and six provincial weeklies. A large part of the capital of this company is widely distributed among the public but a block sufficient to insure control is held by Daily Mail and General Trust, Ltd. The present Viscount Rothermere is chairman of both these companies but it is not known how much of the latter's capital he personally owns. It appears, however, to be sufficient to give him a decisive voice in the direction of the group.

Before 1937 another of the great British press empires was known as the Berry Group since it combined the interests of the two Berry brothers whose fortunes originated in South Wales coal and iron. In that year, however, the partnership was dissolved. The older of the two, who had been ennobled as Viscount Camrose, took over the stodgy, conservative *Daily Telegraph* and control of the *Financial Times*. The younger, Viscount Kemsley (his services to the Tory Party had also earned him a peerage), spread himself much wider. He now owns or controls, through a variety of companies, the London *Daily Sketch*, a morning tabloid, four "national" Sunday papers and two local ones, six provincial morning papers, seven evening, and six weeklies. The whole combine claims a circulation of over nine million copies and it is, perhaps, not surprising that Mr. Morrison has expressed himself as "especially unhappy about the Kemsley gramophone chain of more than twenty newspapers." In a reply Lord Kemsley defended "the principle of chain newspapers as Mr. Morrison would defend the existence of cooperative chain stores. By increased efficiency, increased buying power, and greater distributive power, they can give a greater service to the public."

The analogy Lord Kemsley chose is enlightening as well as alarming. His premise, obviously, is that newspaper production is a business like any other business and must be judged solely by business criteria. But while the public may well benefit from standardized brands of soap or cereal, standardized news and opinion is a menace to democracy. A newspaper monopoly which places "freedom of the press" at its masthead is sailing under false colors. Since knowledge must precede reform, public review of this monopoly would be invaluable.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Hope and Wisdom

THE OLD COUNTRY. By Sholom Aleichem. Translated by Julius and Frances Butwin. Crown Publishers. $3.

IF THE Gentile often fails to understand Jewish humor, it is because the Jewish joke rests upon knowledge he does not share and assumptions he is not prepared to recognize.

The line that divides Jew from Gentile also defines the moral complexities of our world. The acceptance or exclusion of the Jew—the precise area of acceptance and the precise area of exclusion—characterizes the moral structure of a society with particular sharpness, not because the Jew is a saint (or a sinner), and not simply because it is a bad action to exclude the Jew, but, in a more complicated fashion, because of the Jew's "omnipresence," and because everyone, friend or enemy, regards the Jew's existence as a moral rather than a practical issue. (That is why it matters so little whether the Jews "really" have power or "really" are cheats.)

The Jews have developed, during all those years in their half-world of history, one special competence: they know the nature of society. They know without thinking and without formulation; the knowledge is as habitual to them—and as necessary—as the mechanic's knowledge of his tools. Often enough they have misunderstood the incidental (but not unimportant) values of the larger world; often enough they have been duped by their own compulsion to hope; but in the back of their minds they have always known the basic facts. Marx was no surprise to them: how could they not have understood capitalism? Freud was no surprise to them: who knew better how the mind moves against itself? Even Hitler, the final horror, was not precisely unexpected: to the logical mind that cared about the problem one murdered Jew implied six million.

Their knowledge is not theirs exclusively, but they come to it earlier and more inevitably, having fewer illusions and fewer of the graces of security to shake off. They are not better than others, or worse, or wiser, or more intelligent. They are *older*.

Like old men, they are pessimists. Whatever the ultimate affirmations of the Jewish religious tradition (and the religion is significantly lacking in personal promises), individual Jews are strongly aware of the need to live in this world from day to day; and in this world, though never without hope, they expect the worst. Like old men, they can be sour or anxious or wise, depending on how they accommodate themselves to their knowledge of the possibilities. And they express themselves best in complex and ironical humor, that characteristic expression of mature pessimism, in which all the sad conclusions are assumed and nothing remains but to arrange them over and over again in new poetic configurations.

In America the Jewish joke means: I make believe I am a gentleman, but the joke is I am just a miserable Jew. And this means: the attempt was a bad idea and it is too late to do anything about it.

In the ghetto of eastern Europe—Sholom Aleichem's world—the joke was different.

The ghetto was dark and dreary and narrow, and it had its own vices—after all, no one really enjoyed it—but it had its own mind, too. There, where almost everyone was hungry and the smallest processes of survival demanded every day new prodigies of manipulation and exertion, the individual was protected from demoralization by the suffering community. Everyone was worth something, everyone could raise his voice in the synagogue or argue about the interpretation of the Talmud. Poverty was no shame and Jewishness was no shame.

There developed in the ghetto a special type of worldly wisdom, in which a pervasive pessimism existed side by side with persistent (and unreasonable) hope and a certain indulgent acceptance of misery and evil. With what seems almost equal tolerance the Jews accepted God's injustice and their neighbors' cruelty, having suffered exceptionally from both. (The Jews have jokes about Gentiles, but they have never produced anything like the Gentiles' jokes about Jews.) And they were sure of their own value, as they have not been since.

The ghetto was conscious of its idiosyncrasies and felt very strongly the tension of its relationship to the larger world, but it also had to take its position very seriously. The ironies and absurdities of ghetto experience could not become entirely clear until the ghetto itself began to break up. Sholom Aleichem was not a folk artist; he was an "enlightened" Jew who looked at the ghetto in terms of the larger world. His audience stretched from Ukrainia to New York—the whole length of the path of migration—precisely because he expressed the dilemma of the generations that felt the inadequacy of the ghetto and had to make a choice: the ghetto was wrong in every detail, but it was "essentially" right.

"No," Sholom Aleichem writes, "the Kasrilevkites have never heard of canals or water works or electricity or other such luxuries. But what does that matter? Everywhere people die the same death, and they are placed in the same earth, and are beaten down with the same spades. Thus my Rabbi, Reb Israel, used to say—when he was happiest, at a wedding or other celebration, after he had had a few glasses of wine and was ready to lift up the skirts of his long coat and dance a *kazatsky*. . . ."

In the end, this is what all great humor says: death makes us all ridiculous together, even Rothschild, so Reb Israel is not the most ridiculous because he stays in Kasrilevka and dances a *kazatsky* when there is a wedding or other celebration.

For Sholom Aleichem, the Jewish joke meant: I have to live like a miserable wretch, and I *am* a miserable wretch, but the joke is that I am also a king among men—a Jew. This means: considering the circumstances, I have not done badly.

"As we say on Yom Kippur," say Tevye the Dairyman,

"the Lord decides who will ride on horseback and who will crawl on foot. The main thing is—hope! A Jew must always hope, must never lose hope. And in the meantime, what if we waste away to a shadow? For that we are Jews—the Chosen People, the envy and admiration of the world."

ROBERT S. WARSHOW

Contemporary Constitutional Theory

THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWER IN THE UNITED STATES. By Carl Brent Swisher. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

A FEW years ago Professor Swisher published a general constitutional history of the United States called "American Constitutional Development." The academic critics of this volume, who otherwise found it excellent, noted the author's predilection for the contemporary period in American constitutional history which led him to treat rather scantily the early constitutional controversies. In the present work he does not appear as a repentant sinner. Invited to lecture at the University of Chicago, he chose as his subject the whirligig of contemporary constitutional theory. These lectures constitute the present volume which is really an expansion of the concluding chapters of the earlier one. Their primary purpose is to show how the Constitution has survived the stresses of the First and Second World War.

Professor Swisher is not one of those teachers of political science who ignores economic realities. He seems to be a liberal, left of center, and is aware of the economic aspects of state-federal relations, and of the real import of the issue of freedom of enterprise versus governmental control. He therefore refuses to join in the ululations of the N. A. M. and the A. B. A. He stresses the Supreme Court's recognition of the fact that the Constitution does not provide for the maintenance of a nice balance between the Federal government and the states. He even calls attention to the extra-constitutional existence of administrative areas.

Nevertheless it must not be supposed that Professor Swisher is a critic of the fundamental scheme of American government. He believes in the whole political philosophy of checks and balances and of the separation of powers. He observes with evident satisfaction that the Constitution drafted in the 1780's continues in the 1940's to serve as the Constitution of the most highly industrialized and powerful of the great nations of the world. He thus ignores the significance of those constitutional amendments which shifted the balance of political and economic power by broadening the electorate and by expanding the scope of Federal taxation. He is not even one of those who has toyed with the idea of grafting the British cabinet system upon the stock of the American constitution. Indeed, like almost all experts in political science, he defends and justifies the deliberate cultivation of inefficiency in government. This was perhaps a fine philosophy in the eighteenth century but the most pressing contemporary need is to reconcile efficiency in government with the preservation of political democracy. Professor Swisher does not contribute much, however, to the solution of this problem. One of his concluding chapters is indeed entitled "New Horizons for the Judiciary" but its moral turns

A literary event

CYRIL CONNOLLY'S

The Condemned Playground

The publication of *The Condemned Playground* will be considered by many critics as one of the most important events of the current publishing season. For Cyril Connolly is the brilliant editor of *Horizon,* the English literary magazine which has become the rallying point for everything that is young and vital in present-day English thought. Jacques Barzun opened a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article by saying, "The name of Cyril Connolly should be better known to American readers"—and *The Condemned Playground* undoubtedly will accomplish this purpose, for it contains 36 of Mr. Connolly's finest essays.

"This is an intelligent and amusing book, doubly welcome at a time when high thinking and low writing are the general rule."—

George Orwell, *London Observer*

CONTENTS

Introduction; The Position of Joyce; *Les Faux-Monnayeurs;* Distress of Plenty; New Swift Letters; Lord Chesterfield; Imitations of Horace; Illusions of Likeness; A. E. Housman: A Controversy; Thomas Mann; *Onus Vallis Visionis;* French and English Cultural Relations; Ninety Years of Novel-Reviewing; More About the Modern Novel; Defects of English Novels; Reviewers; Mr. Mossbross Takes the Class; Felicity; The Novel—Addict's Cupboard; Felicity Entertains; Told in Gath; Where Engels Fears to Tread; Year Nine; What Will He Do Next; An Unfortunate Visit; Ackermann's England; Spring Revolution; Barcelona; England Not My England; Conversations in Berlin; The Fate of an Elizabethan; A Tyrant of Taste; Psycho-Analysis; The Ant-Lion; "1843"; The Art of Being Good; Writers and Society, 1940-3.

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out to be that "the task of the judiciary . . . remains fundamentally what it has always been."

It must be apparent that there is considerable confusion of thought in Professor Swisher's book. At times he maintains such a stringent objectivity that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine his own position on many controversial issues. At other times, however, he betrays a surprising partisanship. Thus at one point he explains a decision of the Supreme Court limiting the late President Roosevelt's power of removal as due to a desire on the part of the Court to curb a President accused of yearning for dictatorship "whose administration was probably justly condemned for a lack of proper concern about the orderly processes of law." The decision in question is, however, perfectly explicable in terms of sound legal principles. Professor Swisher also notes without qualification that the report of the American Bar Association on the much advertised abuses in administrative agencies was "well substantiated in fact," and reveals a marked friendliness towards the doctrine of contempt of court as applied to the extra-forensic publication of editorial opinion.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

Poets

COLLECTED POEMS. By Henry Treece. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

LOUGH DERG AND OTHER POEMS. By Denis Devlin. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

ALONG about 1938 a small group of young English writers, under the literary influence of Dylan Thomas and the ideological influence of Herbert Read, started a movement called The New Apocalypse; at least they went through all the motions. There were manifestoes, anthologies, log-rolling. About 1943 the same group started another movement called Personalism; this was more of the same. "Apocalyptic writing," wrote J. F. Hendry, one of the group, "occurs when expression breaks through the structure of language to become more organic without thereby impairing language as a means of communication"; which is to say that when perfect authority and complete freedom coexist the world will be a very nice place. The whole group, in a rather touching, amateur way, took itself intensely seriously (they compared their critics to people "who would have attacked the courage of Christ, the visions of Joan, and the love of Abelard"). All the good in everything, from the Georgians to the Surrealists, was to be incorporated into their work, and the "modish mannerisms" of Auden's generation were firmly condescended to.

It must be because, of all the group, Treece took himself most seriously that Knopf decided to publish (but not to proof-read) a book of his poems; it is certainly not because he is a good poet, or even the best of the group: G. S. Fraser is a far better and much less pretentious writer. Treece has all the faults and almost none of the virtues of Thomas. There is in him the same tendency to surround a very simple idea with a fog of rich imagery which has no source save his own forced emotions. But he lacks almost completely Thomas' gift of phrase and entirely his great rhetorical vigor. He suffers, in addition, from a kind of pompous and naïve interest in himself which makes him believe that the universe is only a convenient device for allowing him to explain his feelings; nothing less than the stars ever listens to any observation he makes about himself: they even bent a sympathetic ear to his "silver scream" when he was a baby. The ideas in his poems are few and simple. He worries about his own soul, his special gift as a poet, and the fact that life is sometimes disappointing to sensitive people like himself. He can be astonishingly verbose over the simplest ideas on these subjects:

> Before my tails began, before the light
> Burst like a devil's howl behind my lids,
> Words flickered in my skull and tied my tongue;
> Twisting my garment's hem to gain a blessing, etc.

The irrelevance of the "wit" and imagery here is characteristic. There is no meaning in the puns on *tales* and *tongue-tied*: they are euphuistic in the worst sense; there is no point to the "devil's howl": anything loud would do as well to trick up the stock and mechanical use of the transferred epithet; and the idea that even at this stage he wanted words must surely be only a part of Treece's humorless delusion about himself, for there is little to support it in these 155 closely printed pages. An English critic has said that Treece's poetry reminds him of a man who, "being inarticulate . . . satisfies his craving to be noticed by snivelling fortissimo." This is about it.

Denis Devlin's poetry is quite another matter. Here is maturity, seriousness, and talent. The development between what he was writing in 1930, when he and Brian Coffey had a few of their poems printed, and what he writes now is remarkable. He has a gift of phrase and a fine ear:

> Courage kills its practitioners and we live,
> Nothing forgotten, nothing to forgive . . .
> One of the best the worst had never feared . . .
> Among them a bold, a billboard baggage . . .

He can manage equally well a number of styles. There is the wit and virtuosity of meter of "Bacchanal":

> Those that are not so sure that the Poor in Pogrom will not be Rather a Bore,
> Lips bitter-sweet, they Know by Culture, they know Human Nature can Grow no More;
> Those that are Game to Grin and Bear it, those that the Wear and Tear of, that hesitate . . .
> Those that My Country, that Let Us Pray, that Drop by the Way, those that are Late . . .

There is the gravity and eloquence of "On Mount Muckish":

> This hill could stage the end-play of a move
> Of tribes their lifelong by the sagas haunted . . .

There is the fine, subtle movement of "Meditation at Avila":

> Magnificence, this terse-lit, star-quartz universe,
> Woe, waste, and magnificence, my soul!
> Stand in the window. Fountain waters
> Bloom on invisible stems. Soul, my dear friend,
> Welcome as always . . .

Devlin shows some tendency to fall back on the slight and static descriptive piece, like "Boy Bathing," in which the style becomes somewhat elaborate and decorative; even such good poems as "Annapolis" and "Daphne Stillorgan"

seem to me to suffer a little from too much impression and too little conviction. Perhaps this is because, suspended between "the men of God" and "the priests of mankind," he finds it very difficult to write out of his whole mind. In any event, all the long poems here, and many of the short ones too, are as good as anything we have had in a long time. The danger for Devlin, I would guess, would be the occasionalness of his poetry. It is nine years since "Intercessions," yet seven of these poems—three of them long ones—are reprinted from that volume. However, poetry as good as this is worth waiting for. ARTHUR MIZENER

Light from the East

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST: AN INQUIRY CONCERNING WORLD UNDERSTANDING. By Professor F. S. C. Northrop. Macmillan. $6.

IN HIS new book "The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding" Professor F. S. C. Northrop takes his cue from the Herder-Hegel-Vico-Spengler tradition; but his book is both more and less than what the jacket calls "a significant achievement by an American in the philosophy of culture": more because its goal is harmony at all costs, and less because this goal, at the present time, must be dictated by interests outside of philosophy. The book tackles, on a variety of levels, a problem which many orientalists are beginning to consider the ultimate bugaboo, which will be here to hex us long after relatively minor troubles such as present differences with Russia have been resolved. Professor Northrop writes from a wholesomely pragmatic bias with more than pragmatic sympathies, and behind them is a faith in the moving power of philosophical first principles that makes recent studies of the "place" of philosophy in college curricula seem slightly absurd. In these times the book should be read for that reason alone.

Like a Fifth Avenue traffic signal, Professor Northrop's book is surmounted by a vision of grace and sheds light from several angles. But the light is not all the same color, and not all the vehicles that might legitimately reach the celestial traffic circle are allowed to get through. The critique of contemporary cultures—Mexican, Anglo-American, Marxist-Russian, Aristotelian-Catholic, Idealist-German, and Oriental—is excellent on the whole and would make a good college text in itself. His style is spare, direct, and occasionally put to dramatic uses, as befits such a study, but beyond the criticism a certain professional naïveté enters in. Unity, pursued through many devious abstractions, too often appears to be only the factitious unity of the classroom, as if the desire, with the aid of a few technical phrases, could accomplish the deed.

Professor Northrop commits the kind of sin that *Existenzphilosophie* came into the world to combat: making a problem in physics and epistemology out of cultural relations, instead of referring them immediately to the nexus of man-loving, man-hating, and man-exploiting.

Instead of teaching Americans to appreciate the aesthetic factor in the Oriental tradition, it would seem more practical to bring them to an appreciation of the moral factor in their own. He gives religion its place, but his own positivistic

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temper leads him to sympathize with similarly positivistic Eastern religions, and this blinds him to the essential point of religious difference between East and West. That difference lies not so much in the use of two complementary components of the human intellectual faculty, as Professor Northrop maintains, as in two irreconcilable views of the meaning of religious truth. Western theism cannot be exorcised by an enumeration of its abuses. We can abdicate our intolerance, but not our temperament. Within a reasonable theistic faith, intolerance should be no problem.

R. W. FLINT

BRIEFER COMMENT

I Remember, I Remember

GENE FOWLER'S surname is Devlan, and thereby hangs the tale that wags in and out of this story of his youthful days in the Rocky Mountain West, "A Solo in Tom-Toms" (Viking, $3).

Some months before Gene was born, his father, Charles Francis Devlan, after a row about a cup of coffee, stamped out of the Denver home of his mother-in-law and went up in the mountains to live the life of a hermit. Gene did not see Devlan again for thirty years. A good part of his boyhood was spent in looking for a substitute father in the persons of successive heroes he picked from among his Denver acquaintances, ranging from Buffalo Bill to Judge Ben B. Lindsey.

Fowler can always tell a good story; reading this book is like lining up before a Denver bar and listening to a first-rate reporter reminisce. It's loads of fun while it lasts, but you come away with an empty taste in your mouth.

Fowler presents what has become, since Lincoln Steffens, a rather conventional set of unconventional Western characters: the pioneering, dominating grandmother who took him in charge, the dominated grandfather who was always prospecting in them thar hills, the run-o'-the-mine oddities who drifted around Denver in the first years of this century.

For some reason, perhaps glandular, Fowler now prefers to present himself as an ancient of days for whom the hearse is just around the corner, and he tells of men, women, and events in the early 1900's as though they were part of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Surely even in the Rockies fifty-six years—Fowler's present age—is not the time of life when a man drags himself out into a sunlit square, there to mumble his gums over his youthful indiscretions. But there are times when Fowler comes dangerously near doing just that. Keep the old chin up, Gene; you are not really, as you were once described, "the last of the bison." According to the latest report of the Department of the Interior, the herd is increasing so fast that they are thinking of letting some hand-picked hunters loose on it. There are plenty of stories in your system, decrepit as you may take it to be.

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Six Million Murders

IN MARCH, 1943, THE FIRST CREMATORIUM was opened at Maidanek: "Prominent guests were present at the inauguration. . . . The program consisted of the gassing of 8,000 Cracow Jews. The guests, both officers and civilians, were extremely satisfied with the results, and the special peephole fitted into the door was in constant use. They were lavish in their praise of this newly established installation." This precious item, one of hundreds of gruesome details contained in "The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $5), is not an "atrocity story," but was taken verbatim from a United States War Refugee Board Report. Just because this volume is composed exclusively of incontestable, well-annotated facts and figures, supported by about 150 photostats, photographs, maps, and other visual aids, it ought to be studied by those naïve G. I.'s who have been shouting that Hitlerism can't have been so bad after all. This story of the cold-blooded murder of six million European Jews should also be read by the optimists who are not disturbed by "restricted" labels: the German plot that ended with gas chambers started with similar "innocent" signs of bias. So-called Christians who do not mind attacks on the Jewish religion may learn from this volume that the Nazis' vituperative assault on the Old Testament was followed by a "crusade" against the New Testament, "laden with the filth of Near Eastern Jewish and African life." Workers, finally, who may be ready to swallow anti-Semitism if it is served under a layer of pseudo-socialism are told here how a demagogue like Father Coughlin received the material for his un-American broadcasts directly from the Nazi World Service and often used it without any major alteration.

"The Black Book" was sponsored by four major Jewish groups—the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (U. S. S. R.), the National Council of the Jews of Palestine, and the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists. The anonymous editors begin their horrible tale with the Jew-baiting of the 1870's, and give a comprehensive survey of the vast madness that developed into homicidal mania in the past twelve years. The reader is warned that the danger of a repetition of these crimes, whether directed against the Jews or against another group, is not yet eliminated: "Let us remember that fascism will emerge from this war not only with all the bitterness of defeat but also with the sweet memory of the facility of mass murder." Of particular interest is Section Six, Resistance, which contains a great deal of almost unknown material on the courage displayed by the poorly equipped, often completely unarmed Jewish partisans in their fight against their

powerful enemy. The story of the Warsaw ghetto battle is of course well known, but there existed hundreds of heroic ghettos in Hitler's Festung Europa. ALFRED WERNER

A Liberal Philosopher

LIBERALISM as Professor Morris R. Cohen conceives it in "The Faith of a Liberal" (Holt, $3.75) is at once a philosophy of method and a philosophy of civilization. It is not immediately or exclusively a theory of politics as conventionally understood, although much of the illustrative material considered in the book is directed to this central area of human concern. The faith of a liberal is synonymous with faith in reason and the critical method of science. It is that method which lies at the base of and insures the conditions for the flowering of those humane values we identify with civilization. Its essence consists in the liberation of the mind from bondage to a restricted range of possibilities and to a too ready acceptance of inherited modes of thought, where these are defended by authority, tenacity, and appeals to self-evidence.

So conceived, liberalism takes on a logical hue, and it becomes instructive to compare Cohen's approach with that of our other great philosopher of liberalism, John Dewey. While both regard intelligence as crucial in the definition of liberalism, there is a significant contrast in the points they emphasize in analyzing that method. For Cohen the value of critical intelligence lies in its liberalizing of the imagination, its enrichment of our vision and understanding. For Dewey its value lies primarily in its use as a principle of protest and control, its service to social action in the liberation of individuals from oppressive conditions. Dewey takes his cue from the social arts and technologies, and stresses the role of experiment in the overt manipulation and redirection of affairs. Cohen takes as central the lessons taught by the mathematical and physical sciences—especially the development of non-Euclidean geometries—with respect to the importance of a critical examination of basic assumptions in the light of their possible alternatives.

It is this aspect of Cohen's views which comes out with characteristic brilliance and learning in the variety of topics treated in this volume: socialism, academic freedom, Zionism, law, literary criticism, the role of philosophy in education, religious institutions, and science itself. In a series of papers that are made up of short notes, reviews, and lengthy articles, Cohen displays the acumen and polemical verve for which he is well remembered as both teacher and writer.

MILTON K. MUNITZ

Escape to the Resistance

GEORGE MILLAR gave up a job as war correspondent in order to take a more active part in the war. He felt an irresistible urge to make this switch, an urge which his wife, perhaps correctly, characterized as "boy-scout." He himself made no effort to understand it; he merely acceded to his not uncommon wish to participate in a more lively way in the history of his own time. He lost nothing professionally, as it happens, for he turned his experiences into dense and masterful journalistic narrative. Of his first trials, chronologically, one may read in his more-recently published "Horned Pigeon" (Doubleday, $2.75); of his later, in "Waiting in the Night" (Doubleday, $2.75).

Lieutenant Millar was early captured on the Libyan desert, was passed from German to Italian hands through a series of prison camps, and escaped through a series of French Resistance hands over the Pyrennees into Spain and safety. Throughout these two long volumes, he indulges in little speculation, gives no evidence of a historical perspective, comes to no conclusions either of a political or philosophical nature; but surely he has written here, for any uses whatever, two very impressive and valuable source books. He is extremely observant and matter of fact, of a remarkable detachment and honesty; and these qualities, together with his gift for unequivocal description and his happy freedom from the encumbrance of stylistic self-consciousness, make these books something very special in themselves. It is true that any endlessly factual account tends to pall, but his encounters are on the whole so richly interesting, and the communication of experience is so immediate and sharp, that the excitement is almost unendurably cumulative.

When Millar decided after his return to England to join the Maquis, he did so to seek balm for a deep emotional wound—the shock of his wife's desertion—but there was a valid enough reason for going back to France in his own history as a recent refugee. "Waiting in the Night" covers his life with these fighting groups from the early summer of 1944 until the "liberation" of France. From the time he was parachuted onto a dark field near Dijon until he was flown back, Millar kept a nice eye on the ball, as he had previously, to such effect that it would seem possible for anyone who had never been to France to go to this area, map indelibly in mind, and seek out all the ways resourceful Millar went, all the people he knew and worked with there. And there are many one would want to know—for Millar has shown himself in these two books keen to the virtues of human beings. Without being profound, he is still very sensitive to the expression of character (though not altogether critical of his faculty, for his occasional injected epithets tend to be sentimentally inadequate, stock, and rather laughable—of the "decent fellow," "brave soul" variety) and of a just temper, so that the quality of his adventures comes through with more than a visual and tactile clarity, extraordinary as this alone is.

But these are accounts to read, not to describe, for the blow by blow description is well enough in Millar's hands. And much of significance that is general resides, implicit, in this wealth of the particular. GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

The Atom, Peaceful or Otherwise

UNLIKE SMYTH, whose classic report on atomic energy was confined to its use for "military purposes," Gamov, in his book—"Atomic Energy" (Macmillan, $3)—has no such limitations. It is a fairly technical report of the evolutionary elements leading up to the discovery and deliberate use of the energy within the atom, with an emphasis on possible ways of utilizing such energy for peaceful purposes. The book is a well written and authoritative exposition of the most dramatic discovery in the history of the experimental sciences. BENJAMIN HARROW

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ON page 230 of his autobiography, "Bad Boy of Music" (Doubleday, Doran, $3), George Antheil describes the way the project of his opera "Helen Retires" originated. At Capri, in the spring of 1929, he read in the Paris *Chicago Tribune* of John Erskine's visit to Paris:

> He [Erskine] had been interviewed there and had expressed his extreme interest in writing new opera librettos.
>
> In another item, just beneath, it stated that John Erskine was president of the mighty Juilliard Foundation, an institution for giving money to worthy musical projects—such as producing concert pianists en masse, concert violinists en gros, and concert singers by the bushel.
>
> *Also the Juilliard provided half of the money by which the mighty Metropolitan Opera Company subsisted!*
>
> This latter item caught my eye.

And so he wrote to Erskine suggesting an opera about Helen of Troy.

The book is full of such extraordinary incidents, the truth or untruth of which I am in no position to say anything about. But I can say that Antheil never read in that issue of the Paris *Chicago Tribune* an item about the Juilliard giving money to the Metropolitan; because in 1929 the Juilliard was not giving money to the Metropolitan. And I may suspect, therefore, that a lot of other incidents did not happen in the extraordinary way Antheil says they did. But his way makes entertaining reading; and the book should be read strictly for entertainment—for example, the entertainment of reading about the young carpenter who looked like "Bronislav Nijinsky" and sure enough turned out to have been in the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe.

Just as the book mingles truth with fantasy, so it mingles keen perception with things like the concluding discussion of Stokowski (who has played Antheil's music): that "very great man" who is "being constantly and unreasonably wounded by the world"; "one of the two greatest orchestral conductors in the world, from many points of view the greatest," who, "never satisfied with one accomplishment . . . had created, in succession, the Philadelphia Orchestra and the American Youth Orchestra, two of the finest orchestral units in the world . . . had lifted the technique of radio-broadcasting, movie-film, and wax recording from a lowly to a fine art," and "was even now in the process of forming a new orchestra—which . . . would, I felt, become even greater than his previous creations, provided that he did not leave the country before then." For "I hope I can stay here," says Stokowski, "but if I cannot, if unjust criticism continues, we may leave America." And, Antheil tells us, "I thought of one of our greatest men leaving our country—for what? For having dared so much, done so much for American music, for all music?"

When Edwin Denby began to write about the dance for the *Herald Tribune* I pointed out the value of his criticism: "Mr. Denby has an eye that sees; and looking at anything through this eye is an excitingly illuminating experience." Grace Robert, the author of "The Borzoi Book of Ballets (Knopf, $4.50), has no such eye. This is evident, first of all, in what she says about the ballets, which is not only unilluminating but often inaccurate (two examples are her incorrect

JUST OFF THE PRESS

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descriptions of the action of "Le Baiser de la fée" and "Billy the Kid"). It is evident also in her choice of ballets for discussion: she includes unimportant works that have not been given for years and are not likely to be seen again, but omits important works in the active repertory ("The Nutcracker," "Mozartiana," "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme"); she gives eight pages to the satire of "Gala Performance," and barely seven to an omnibus account of a number of Balanchine's works, in which "Concurrence" and "Cotillon" share a one-sentence reference. And it is most evident in her choice of photographs, which not only is tasteless but does not properly document the text.

The reviewers' statements about William Walton's score for "Henry V" led me to think he had produced something original; but the music, when I heard it, seemed to me to be the conventional type of film music for each situation, only done with Walton's technical expertness and fastidiousness.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Germany's Hope

Dear Sirs: Saul K. Padover in his article on the German Social Democrats (*The Nation*, June 29, 1946) states that:

1. The S. P. D. is as dependent on London as the German Communist party is on Moscow.
2. Its leaders are repudiating Marxist doctrines.
3. The party intends to transform itself into a bourgeois movement with a liberal outlook.
4. Schumacher believes in a non-Socialist democratic policy along conventional Western European lines.
5. German Social Democrats are, on the whole, good nationalists.

It would be interesting to know how the author arrived at these rather stupefying conclusions. Anyone who ever took the pains to interview leading Social Democrats or to read the party's public statements must come to directly opposite results, namely:

1. While the British Labor party has now at last understood that it must support the S. P. D., the German Social Democrats take great care in defending their political and moral independence. In the dependence of the S. P. D. on London and the Communists on Moscow there is not only a difference in degree, but in kind.
2. The S. P. D. refuses to make Marxism a catechism and admits that socialism may very well be founded on ethical principals, but Schumacher has repeatedly defended the basic truth of Marxism and has called it the most efficient of all modern sociological doctrines.
3. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the S. P. D. is, and intends to remain, a Socialist party. No responsible Social Democrat has ever said or written anything to justify Padover's assertion.
4. Schumacher not only does not believe in a non-Socialist democratic policy, but advocates socialism now with more insistence than any other German in a leading position.
5. German Social Democrats repudiate nationalism and advocate internationalism. Often they have denounced the new German nationalism from which the Communists try to profit.

For proof I invite you to study the resolutions of the S. P. D. party convention in Hanover, May 8-11, 1946, and the speech delivered by Schumacher. I really cannot understand why Padover conveys such an unsympathetic and untrue impression of the Social Democrats if he believes, as I do, that they form one of the few sectors of the population that are not poisoned with fascism and that they are the people on whom the Western powers must mainly rely if they wish to reconstruct Germany along democratic lines.

HERMAN EBELING

New York, N. Y., July 7

Gold Coast Item

Dear Sirs: In your issue of July 6 Andrew Roth writes: "In the Gold Coast [British West Africa] there will be a majority of natives in the legislature for the first time in Africa." Someone has deliberately substituted the word "legislature" here for legislative council. No British Crown Colony has a legislature; the right to make laws lies in the governor and above him in the Colonial Office in London. The governor usually has associated with him an executive and a legislative council, to whose advice he listens, but is under no legal compulsion to follow.

Members of the legislative council used to be entirely official or appointed by the governor. Lately on the Gold Coast, a majority of the council are elected, but the council still remains an advisory body and not a legislature.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

President of the Pan-African Congress

New York, N. Y., July 8

Oops! We Dropped One

Dear Sirs: I note with dismay that the solar system has now been reduced to eight planets. General Chisholm doesn't specify which one is gone, but I'll bet I know the villain who did away with it—the BOMB. I look forward to your next gala "one of our planets is missing" number, wherein General Chisholm will doubtless reveal the victim.

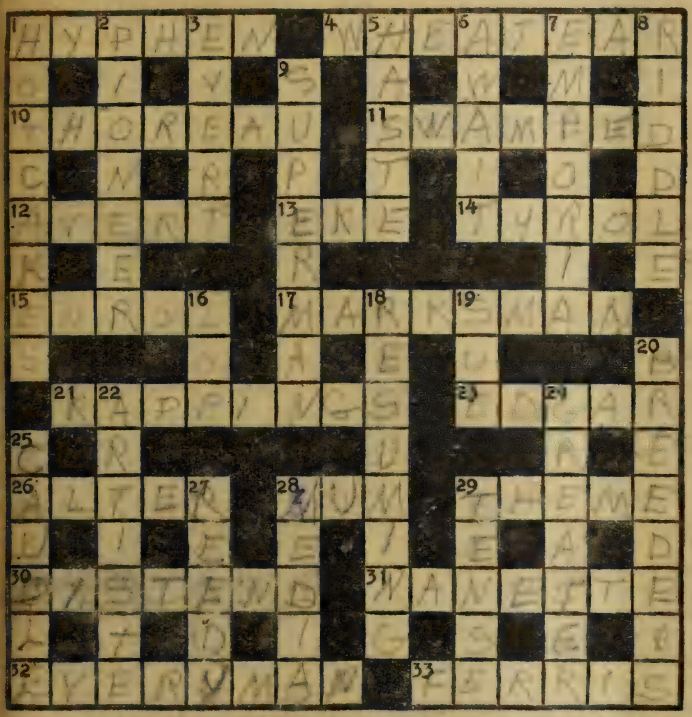
Seriously, if the kind of thinking exemplified by the General's article does not become general soon, the little family around old Sol may well be reduced to seven.

CHESTER G. MOORE

Annapolis, Md., July 20

Crossword Puzzle No. 173

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It joins one word to another. Or perhaps it separates them?
4 Farmers should not object to this bird in the harvest fields!
10 Literary result of a thunderstorm?
11 Inundated
12 Ward off
13 Likewise
14 Where the beginner makes a beginning in mountaineering, perhaps
15 Sign up
17 Best keep out of his sight
21 Spirited reproofs
23 He should make the grade
26 Reform and just escape the noose
28 Not speaking as a parent
29 What it is all about
30 Blow out
31 Fancy saying, "No! no!" to this play girl!
32 An unexceptionable fellow
33 Joy wheel

DOWN

1 Non-literary best sellers (3 and 5)
2 A go-ahead sort of chap
3 Turn inside out
5 Rashness
6 Watch for a carol singer
7 Shops in Kansas
8 A puzzling question
9 No mere male walker-on in the Shavian drama
16 Curtail
18 Carrying on
19 Make legal claim
20 They are good at beastly multiplication
22 She might stage a show at the Academy
24 "Allah is great, but juxtaposition is -------"
25 Famed for her curtain lectures
27 Musically weak
28 Advertising agencies, perhaps
29 Keyed up

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 172

ACROSS:—1 COLUMBUS; 8 COLOMBO; 9 GASLIGHT; 10 BEGONIA; 12 HORSE; 13 LOOSEN; 14 MEATY; 15 ELDEST; 17 STAIR; 22 MICAH; 23 VIENNA; 24 OSCAR; 26 TARTAN; 28 SCULL; 29 SAVELOY; 30 FALCONER; 31 PILOTED; 32 GENEROUS.

DOWN:—1 COGWHEEL; 2 LESTRADE; 3 MAINE; 4 UNHOLY; 5 NOSES; 6 CORONER; 7 EBRIETY; 10 BOOTY; 11 GEMINI; 16 SPIRAL; 18 PARTY; 19 INNUENDO; 20 MALLARDS; 21 ISLAMIC; 22 MATELOT; 25 UNMAKE; 27 ROSES; 28 SOCLE.

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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN IS STILL STRUGGLING toward a decision on Palestine as this issue goes to press. In the nature of things his reaction to the proposal for a "federation" tightly controlled by Britain will carry no finality. If he agrees in substance with the British proposal, the Attlee government will still have to use force to impose the plan on both Jews and Arabs, neither of which can accept a scheme that would effectively change Palestine from a mandate into the most autocratically governed crown colony in the empire. On the other hand, if the President rejects the proposal, as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry rejected it, the British appear grimly determined to proceed unilaterally with their solution. They have taken drastic steps to stop all further immigration, with an air and sea blockade laid down for the Palestinian coast, threats to board and search vessels of other nations suspected of carrying illegal immigrants, and a concentration camp set up in Cyprus for luckless fugitives caught in their net. The audacity of the British policy, in complete disregard of the findings of the Joint Committee, cannot be disassociated from the equally truculent position adopted last week with respect to Iran. In the words of a Foreign Office spokesman, Britain is ready to meet any threat to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in that country with "unilateral action" on the ground that "there may not be time to consult the U. N." and anyway "the Security Council has no troops." To point up these remarks—as cynical as any that have come out of Moscow—British troops have been rushed into Southern Iraq, near the Iranian border.

*

COMMERCIALISM IN THE AMERICAN PRESS has always been one of our favorite targets. So has the habitual distortion of news in the Hearst and McCormick-Patterson papers, and the occasional twisting of facts in more respectable journals. We intend to go on exposing such fakeries, and we welcome discussion of American mistakes, but not for a moment do we agree with Mr. Molotov that the defects of our own press preclude us from condemning the total absence in the Soviet Union of freedom of the printed word. There can be no comparison between a freedom abused and a freedom that does not exist. Mr. Molotov should, and probably does, know that even the most irresponsible section of our press must publish facts unpalatable to it or go out of business, while the vast majority of American papers constantly print news items that fail to confirm the prejudices of their owners. Let him read in Southern papers the full account of the recent Georgia lynchings; let him read in the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* every word uttered by him in his bitter exchange with Byrnes at Paris; let him read elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation* an admiring article on his own country such as no Soviet paper or magazine has ever carried on the United States. Then let him admit that until Byrnes publicly threw down the challenge, not one syllable of the American case in the current dispute over voting procedure at the peace conference ever found its way into a Soviet journal; let him admit that the historic Baruch Report, sweepingly condemned in the Russian press, has yet to be printed in a Soviet publication. What sense is there in the words of a Moscow broadcast that "the Soviet press considers the press to be free if it expresses the opinion of the people," as long as the people are denied the facts on which to base an opinion?

*

WHEN THE DEMOCRATS OF THE MISSOURI Fifth District, aided by a few thousand Republicans, denied a renomination to Representative Roger Slaughter, President Truman scored a notable personal victory and liberalism won a draw. The original choice of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, and of the district's liberals in general, was Jerome Walsh, former OPA attorney. The President had good reason to want the defeat of Slaughter, who had used his position on the powerful House Rules Committee to gut the Administrations's program, but he was dubious of the P. A. C. blessing on Walsh's head. Rather than risk an ideological campaign, he privately urged the Pendergast machine to pick another candidate and then publicly urged his nomination. The machine, as much indebted to the President as the President is indebted to it, picked Enos Axtell, an obscure assistant county prosecutor, and saw him through to victory. Local P. A. C. leaders appreciat-

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ing the Pendergast strength and agreed on the prime importance of Slaughter's forced retirement, had no choice but to go along. Axtell himself was none too happy over P. A. C. support, but the fact that he won indicates a mistaken estimate on his part and the President's. Had Truman favored Walsh to begin with, he would not only have rid Congress of a truculent reactionary, but he would at the same time have secured at least the nomination of a genuine progressive. Two other primaries of the week produced results of national interest. Senator Byrd will return to the Senate, as everyone expected, but he will go back irritated, if not chastened, by the first Senatorial contest Virginia has had in 24 years. The issue was state domination by the hitherto sacrosanct Byrd machine, which now stands condemned by something like 37 per cent of the Dominion's Democrats. In West Virginia, liberal Senator Harley M. Kilgore was the overwhelming choice for Democratic renomination despite the glowering silence of John L. Lewis.

*

ON AUGUST 6, 1946, THE SURVIVORS AT Hiroshima held a festival that commenced with a moment of silent prayer; everywhere in the rest of the world there was business as usual. The Air Force sent a flight of unmanned planes from Hawaii to California; next day it tested the B-36, a bomber with a range of 10,000 miles and a bomb capacity of thirty tons. The gratified General Richardson stated: "The atom bomb is a warhead. We fully expect some day to have larger guided missiles with atomic warheads." Admiral Blandy released the information that most of the ships at Bikini are "radioactive stoves" which would have burned to death everybody aboard, and which will remain dangerously radioactive for a year; he remarked, with professional ambivalence, that this radioactivity constitutes one of "the best—or worst—features of the bomb." It is now practicable to manufacture atomic bombs several hundred times as powerful as those used at Bikini; research in guided missiles has gone ahead so fast that Air Force experts say that, within five years, they will be able to send rockets anywhere on earth. Meanwhile attempts to prevent the use of the bomb limp around and around in a dizzy and nauseated circle; meanwhile the average newspaper reader, fooled by the front-page stories that accompanied the first half-strength, misdirected bomb at Bikini, has decided that the bomb may not be so bad after all. How different it all is from those absurd stories in which a Mad Scientist, opposed by everybody, is trying to destroy the earth from a secret laboratory in the middle of the Sahara. Today, the old lunatic would instead be working in a government laboratory established by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the approval of everybody except a few sentimentalists and impractical dreamers.

HARD ON THE HEELS OF THE PROMISE HE gave when signing the new OPA Act, President Truman has taken steps to attack inflation with fiscal weapons. He has issued peremptory orders to department heads to diminish contemplated expenditures by at least $2.2 billion and on his instructions Reconversion Director John R. Steelman has ordered a sixty-day moratorium on new federal construction commitments. In view of the fact that, despite an upward revision in revenue for the current year of $8 billion, a deficit of $1.9 billion is still expected, even after the proposed cuts, no apologies are needed for an effort to bring the budget nearer a balance. At the same time we hope economy will be practised in a discriminating manner. We cannot afford for instance to cut any expenditures which contribute to a solution of the housing problem; and there would certainly be no sense in rendering an agency like OPA more ineffective than it has already been made by Congress by starving it of funds. Actually the chief victims of the President's economy campaign will be the Army and Navy which between them account for no less than 44 per cent of the total budget outlay. "The Brass," as is only to be expected, is grumbling loudly about this and collecting figures to show that any reduction in their expenditure would be fatal to the national interest. On this point we hope the President will stand firm. Admittedly, we cannot reduce the cost of the services to the 1939 level or anything like it. But it is certain that large economies could be achieved if the Army and Navy reconverted from the "expense-no-object" frame of mind in which they fought the war. The lavish set-up of the Bikini experiments, for instance, cannot possibly be justified.

South Africa Challenged

A DISPUTE between two units of the British Commonwealth—India and the Union of South Africa—will present the United Nations Assembly, which meets on September 23, with one of its most testing issues. The cause of this dispute is a recently adopted South African law which in effect confines the Indian community of some 250,000 to a series of ghettoes by severely restricting their right to purchase and occupy property. After protests had proved fruitless, the Indian government withdrew its High Commissioner from South Africa and terminated the trade agreement between the two countries. Now since a situation has arisen which obviously "is likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations," it is asking the U. N. Assembly to act under articles ten and fourteen of the Charter.

There is little doubt that when this matter comes to the floor of the Assembly the South African representatives will claim that the problem is a purely domestic one and therefore excluded from review by the U. N. The South African government has frequently made it clear that it resents appeals by South African Indians to New Delhi and rejects the right of the Indian government to act as their champion. It insists that Indian settlers in South Africa are South African citizens with no right to protection by another country.

The glaring flaw in this argument is the very fact that has caused the dispute—the persistent refusal of the South African government to give citizenship rights to members of the Indian community, who suffer under a long list of disabilities. They are, for instance, restricted in movements from one part of South Africa to another; they are subjected in parts of the country to Jim Crow laws in public conveyances, restaurants, and so forth; they are barred from many occupations and from the Civil Service. And up to now they have been disenfranchised. The act which has caused the present trouble does, however, include provision for their representation in the Union Parliament. The 200,000 Indians in Natal Province in the future will be allowed the privilege of voting for three Europeans to represent them in the House of Assembly. Approximately the same number of Europeans in Natal elect seventeen representatives. No wonder the Indian community rejects this "concession" as a mockery and is determined to boycott elections.

Treatment of Indians in South Africa as third-class citizens contravenes many solemn obligations formerly undertaken by the Union of South Africa or its predecessors. In 1860, when the sugar planters of Natal were desperately seeking reliable workers, the Indian government of the day reluctantly consented to the emigration of indentured Indian laborers on condition that at the end of three years they would either be given passage home or allowed to settle in the country with the full rights and privileges of citizens. The Indians who entered the country from that time until 1913, when immigration was totally prohibited, turned Natal into a prosperous province. But the promises made to them were not kept. Year after year their rights were whittled down and new agreements were made only to be broken.

Thirty years ago one long campaign against anti-Indian legislation was led by Gandhi, then a resident of Natal, who there first developed and tested the strength of his technique of passive resistance. That technique is now being employed once again to defeat the ghetto act. Indian men and women are courting arrest, by camping on land which, under the law, they are forbidden to occupy. Up to the beginning of this month over 300 of them had been sentenced to terms at hard labor and many others to fines which they refuse to pay. The Indians know that they cannot afford to abandon this struggle; they know that they must stand firmly against further erosion of their human rights or lose even the few that remain to them.

Many of us will applaud their action but let us remember that we do so from within a glass house. For the issue that is being presented to the U. N. Assembly far transcends the boundaries of South Africa. That is not the only country which either by law or custom disregards the pledge of signatories to the United Nations Charter to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Peace Conference Tactics

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN THE first test of strength at Paris, Russia lost, and lost by more than the two-thirds vote it had demanded as necessary to validate any recommendation from the Peace Conference to the Council of Foreign Ministers. Molotov's defeat ended one of the most acrimonious disputes yet staged by the Eastern and Western allies, and many critics of Moscow strategy have argued that, since the outcome of the row was foregone, the row itself was a meaningless display of stubborn bad temper. But unfortunately it was more than that—and more serious.

Molotov's most obvious and primary purpose was to repeat in a new context the argument made over and over at San Francisco, an argument whose roots had been firmly planted in Yalta: namely, that the "unity" of the four major allied powers—or five, by courtesy and political necessity—must form the solid basis of peace. Just as certainly as the war would have been lost had the leading Allies fallen apart, so the peace will be lost if they do not assume full and united responsibility for defending it. Even the veto—which can so readily be employed to prevent common action—is defended by Russia as an instrument to enforce unanimity: the major powers must act together or not at all.

It was upon this premise that Molotov, in the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in early July, insisted first upon completing the draft treaties before the general conference was called, and second upon fixing its rules of procedure ahead of time. He lost on both counts. The treaties were drawn up but with some twenty-six disputed points which must now be debated, along with all the agreed sections, by the twenty-one nations; and the procedure for the conference was not dictated, although the Big Four in issuing the invitations "proposed" that a two-thirds vote be required for recommendations affecting the texts of the treaties. When the conference assembled and the smaller countries, led by Evatt of Australia, won the slightly qualified support of Britain and the United States for their majority-vote demand, Molotov charged his colleagues on the Foreign Ministers' council with ganging up on the Soviet Union in defiance of their previous agreement.

But if Russia's fight was more than a noisy quarrel, it was also more than the reiteration of an old argument. Rather, Molotov used the unity argument in an attempt to advance his country's position in the continuing battle for power between West and East. This battle is not a one-way affair. Because the debate centered on the question of a majority as against a two-thirds vote, it was easy for correspondents to interpret it as a showdown between Western democracy and Soviet dictatorship. But this overlooks the quite apparent fact that the Western powers knew they could control the decisions of the conference if a majority rule obtained, while the Russians knew they could usually prevent a two-thirds vote for measures they disapproved. This diagnosis was borne out by two of the chief contenders at Paris: Attacking the Russian position, the Australian Foreign Minister sharply asserted that if the two-thirds rule were followed "nothing contrary to Soviet desires could be adopted," while the Russian Foreign Minister retorted, somewhat later, that "the simple majority constitutes a very simple means of securing the adoption of all amendments directed against the Soviet Union." Both were dead right.

The struggle for advantage among the major powers was not concealed by either the filibustering of the Russians or by Mr. Byrnes's outraged denial that any "bloc" opposed to Russia's interests. The blocs are there; they can be dissolved only by a changed attitude on both sides. Of this there is so far absolutely no sign, but until it comes nothing useful can result from acting as though either side were defending any disinterested ideal.

What one can never dare forget in the fateful days to come is a point made by del Vayo in his first article from Moscow: Russia's foreign policy is animated both by power politics and revolutionary aims. These are potent motives; taken together they present a challenge which the Western powers have not effectively met. While the British and Americans have gone through the motions of supporting the rights of the smaller nations, they have failed to demonstrate any willingness to adjust actual policy to the social and political currents sweeping through the world today. By ignoring or attempting to divert these currents they have given the Soviet Union a dozen issues it will not hesitate to use to its own advantage.

The weeks just ahead will show whether the Western Allies understand what the situation demands. One of the most critical tests will come this week when the Italian treaty, and especially the issue of Trieste, is laid before the conference. All four great powers are committed to the establishment of a "free territory" to include Trieste and a small area around it. No arguments are likely to alter this arrangement, but the kind of administrative set-up to be created is still in dispute and

one can be certain that Russia will go as far as possible in support of Yugoslav demands for virtual control. If Britain and the United States are wise they will meet this attempt by advocating a genuine, unpacked international commission, on which Russia's interests are fully represented, as well as those of Italy and the Yugoslavs, and which will inspire confidence among anti-fascists in both countries. A form of internationalism that chiefly guaranteed the big investments of Italian and other capital in Trieste would stiffen the barrier between the big powers and intensify the deep-seated suspicions upon which Russian intransigence rests.

Please Omit Flowers

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, August 9

THE flag standards rising above both wings of the great grey building on Capitol Hill are bare; the gloomy halls of the Capitol are strangely silent; the wooden doors on the House and Senate chambers are folded shut and locked. No more angry noises rattle out into the corridors, for the Seventy-ninth Congress is dead, mourned by none.

The Congressmen and Senators have rushed out of Washington like men fleeing from a plague. The final hammer of the gavel was a release, a new freedom. Many members grew to hate the sight of the large restless chambers where they gathered to fight and worry over desperate problems.

This was the first Congress in twelve years to operate without strong guidance from the White House. The Congress in 1933, welcomed enthusiastically the program of Franklin Roosevelt, for it had none of its own to answer the rumble of discontent thundering on Washington. In the following years, there were motions of rebellion against White House "interference" with Congress; occasionally F.D.R.'s recommendations were ignored. But, on the whole, Congress was content to let the President plan legislation, organize its passage, and take the responsibility. This was true even of the Republicans and anti-New Dealers, despite their great shouts of rage at "dictation" from down the street.

Then three months after the Seventy-ninth Congress began, Franklin Roosevelt passed away and Congress was strictly on its own. His death had a strange effect on many of the Democratic leaders. Without the strong hand on their shoulders, missing the words of inspiration, they shrank to mere politicians. In the House, Speaker Sam Rayburn and Majority Leader McCormack looked dull and tired. Elderly little Congressman Sabath's splutters seemed more incoherent. In the Senate, many of the older New Dealers kept quiet and took little active part in the violent battles. Lister Hill, the majority whip, once hailed as a brilliant and forceful liberal from the South, sat meekly in his seat. Senator Fulbright, who had the reputation of being one of the most able and constructive men in Congress on foreign policy, was quiet. When he did speak, it was almost apologetically.

One Senator described for me what happened to him when Mr. Roosevelt died. He said, "When he was in the White House, I used to visit F.D.R. perhaps once or twice a month. He would encourage me and give me ideas. I don't think I realized how much I depended on him until he died. A few weeks later I went to the White House to talk things over with Harry Truman. He didn't know what I was talking about."

A few men have risen to true greatness in Congress since the death of President Roosevelt. One such is Senator Alben Barkley, the Democratic floor leader. All the burdens of getting some kind of Administration program through have fallen on this patient and infinitely tolerant man. When Congress came to the point of harsh name-calling, Barkley waited it out and then moved in to search for compromise. When the Senate was reluctant to pass a bill, Barkley held it in continuous session on into the night until it acted. He was on the floor explaining every major Administration bill. He led the fights. He outlined the strategy.

Another man who proved himself was Wayne Morse, the ruggedly independent Republican. At the start of the session he was shrugged off as just another maverick who would be tamed down. But Morse was not tamed down. He beat the Senate elders at their own game. He learned the Parliamentary tricks, and was able to secure passage of the World Court resolution despite the fact that both Connally and Vandenberg were against bringing it up. By himself he nearly forced a vote on the anti-poll-tax bill.

In this Seventy-ninth Congress there was almost a complete lack of party responsibility. Neither the Democrats nor Republicans tried to lay down a line and stick to it. They ducked the issues and did not hold caucuses on the big problems. Each little group went its own way. Except for the bills sent down from the White House with an OK on them, there was no Democratic

TRIS COFFIN is a Columbia Broadcasting System commentator. He writes a weekly Washington report for The Nation.

program. The Republicans had none and were divided among themselves. This split was revealed by Senator Wherry's vitriolic attack on Senator Taft during the debate on the OPA conference committee report. Wherry, representing the extreme right wing of the G.O.P., impugned the good faith of Taft in an attack so bitter that he was chastised by Senator Tobey, the New Hampshire Republican.

Wherry is the Old Guard, opposed to everything the Democrats favor, against any form of government controls, isolationists, and wildly anti-New Deal. Taft is the thoughtful, shrewd conservative who realizes the Old Guard has grown out of favor with the public, and the Republicans cannot win elections by being chronic "aginners" on every measure. He was willing to support the conference report on the OPA so that some of the public heat on the price-control issue could be taken away from the Republican Party. In the final vote on this issue, eleven Republican Senators voted with Taft and twenty-one voted with Wherry.

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It was in the foreign-policy field that Congress passed some of its most constructive legislation. An understanding on basic foreign policy had been worked out while Mr. Roosevelt was still alive. Leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties had agreed to a limited internationalism and thus much of the controversy had been eliminated by the time the bills reached the floor. The isolationists were never able to gain a majority in the Seventy-ninth Congress. The lineup was, for the internationalists, a very heavy Democratic majority plus eastern and west coast Republicans; for the isolationists, a thin smattering of Democrats and midwestern Republicans. The isolationists made a big noise, particularly in the House, but it did not gain them votes.

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Report from Moscow

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Moscow, August 5

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The first thing I met on this trip to Russia was the war. I do not refer to the material destruction; not having been in the Ukraine, White Russia, or the Caucasus—the three most devastated regions—I saw physical scars only in Leningrad. Of course, the destruction has been frightful. The figures speak for themselves: 70,000 towns and villages entirely razed; 1,700 towns partially destroyed; 6,000,000 homes and buildings demolished; 30,000 industrial plants bombed or stripped. I refer rather to the fact that although I knew Russia had made a great contribution to the war, until I came here I had no clear picture of the extent of its sacrifices. Not a single Russian family was left untouched. I asked about a painter who showed great promise in 1935 when still just a lad—"killed"; about two or three poets who were beginning to be talked about in those days—"killed";

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THIS is my sixth visit to Russia. I came here for the first time in 1922, when famine scourged the Ukraine; with the other members of the Nansen Mission I lived throughout my stay in a railroad carriage, for in the homes and inns the only hosts were typhus and death. I was last here in 1935; fifteen years of constructive effort had already given Russia the national quality which made me predict, on the day Germany attacked, that the Soviets would never be defeated. Thus, while this visit has been shorter than my previous ones, I had a basis for comparison and judgment. I could avoid the errors made by so many foreigners—of generalizing on the basis of unfavorable details or of using as criteria the standards and way of life of their own countries. And I was not likely to fall into that state of mystical rapture of the first-time visitor, so charmed by Russia and its people that he walks around in a dream, seeing everything in the same rosy glow that lights the Kremlin toward evening.

THIS IS THE FIRST of a series of articles by The Nation's *European Editor. Mr. del Vayo will send his next article on Moscow's foreign policy. The third will deal with the new Five Year Plan.*

The first thing I met on this trip to Russia was the war. I do not refer to the material destruction; not having been in the Ukraine, White Russia, or the Caucasus—the three most devastated regions—I saw physical scars only in Leningrad. Of course, the destruction has been frightful. The figures speak for themselves: 70,000 towns and villages entirely razed; 1,700 towns partially destroyed; 6,000,000 homes and buildings demolished; 30,000 industrial plants bombed or stripped. I refer rather to the fact that although I knew Russia had made a great contribution to the war, until I came here I had no clear picture of the extent of its sacrifices. Not a single Russian family was left untouched. I asked about a painter who showed great promise in 1935 when still just a lad—"killed"; about two or three poets who were beginning to be talked about in those days—"killed";

about an able functionary I had known—"killed." Whether the number of Russian dead is 7,000,000, as Stalin has publicly stated, or more, as some not-too-friendly foreign circles would like to believe, the losses were well distributed among all the Russian families. Russia gave the war what no other country gave—everything it had. Its effort was more total, more complete than Germany's. Unless this is established in one's mind, it is impossible to understand the present situation or comprehend the role that the Soviet Union will play in world affairs.

The Russian people feel they have fulfilled their duty almost beyond all conceivable limits. An accent of pride is heard in every personal story of those three and a half terrible years—pride multiplied millions of times to encompass such unity of a people in a war effort as was never seen before anywhere in the world.

Critics on the left are apt to resent this exaltation of national sentiment and conclude that Soviet imperialism has replaced the old internationalism. That is too simple an interpretation. A good part of Russian pride is rooted in the knowledge that the country which gave the world this extraordinary example of resistance and heroism is the country of socialism. One cannot make a clear distinction between ideology and the big-power concept. To interpret Russian policy exclusively in terms of power politics is sure to lead to false conclusions; to interpret it exclusively from the point of view of revolutionary ideology would be equally misleading. It is only by viewing the problem from both angles that one gets a just perspective.

On the other hand, not only the nation as a whole, but the Russian man and woman have risen in their own estimation. They have discovered what they are capable of; they remained united in the darkest hours, when it seemed that the German war machine, still almost intact, could not be stopped, when cold and hunger gripped the land. No Vichy casts its shadow on their post-war period, bringing divisive recriminations and resentments, and offering a rallying point for the fascist forces that have survived. The road is clear for the great task of reconstruction; the Russians do not have to begin by draining off the muck of collaboration, and this gives them an immense self-confidence.

Russia is strong—that is the fundamental conclusion I drew from this new visit to Moscow. It is a strength reflected not merely in figures (I have already gathered far more statistics about the accomplishments of the last eighteen months and the fourth Five Year Plan than I shall be able to use in this limited series of articles). One feels it when talking both to the leaders and to the average Soviet citizen. It is a strength which in its outward expression has none of that dull, brutish air that characterized the Third Reich's show of power; Russia's renowned artistic temperament lends that strength an élan which public demonstrations under Hitler never possessed.

When I reached Moscow, the theater season was already over; everyone told me it had been a particularly brilliant season with more than a hundred new plays in the twenty theaters of Moscow, including such hits as "Under the Chestnut Trees of Prague," by Constantine Simonov, and "The Creation of the World," by Nikolai Pagodin. But I was fortunate enough to arrive in time for the annual sports parade. It was magnificent. Thousands and thousands of boys and girls performing as if in each of them athlete, warrior, and artist had fused. In the dozens of different tableaux there was a sustained richness and purity of color. Here was the glory of the Russian ballet extended to the masses. (Today a ballerina like Galina Oulanova continues the tradition of Ekateria Geltzer whom I saw twenty years ago on my first visit.) It was extraordinary to see these thousands of young people one moment marching by in ordered ranks as if on a battlefield, the next moment breaking into gigantic ballet patterns expressing their joy in the victory of youth over death and devastation. The festival had an important relationship to Russia's strength: the boys and girls who took part come from the working class, just as the generals who routed the monocled German officers come from the working class, just as the new directors of industy who are now taking the place of those fallen in battle come from the working class. This is a capital fact too often forgotten: that after twenty-nine years the Soviet system still conserves its essential character.

Before I left for Russia I had a discussion in Paris with one of those leftists who used to be aggressively pro-Soviet and have now become irritatingly narrow, prejudiced critics of the U. S. S. R. He denied that Russia was a socialist state but conceded that it was a "workers' state." Very well, for the sake of argument let us leave it at that. This workers' state, which has emerged victorious from the ordeal of a world war—as in its infancy it weathered the ordeal of foreign intervention and later successfully concluded three Five Year Plans—today is entering the post-war period with the impetus provided by a rising class to whom "the future belongs."

Many people make the mistake of applying the same yardstick to the Soviet Union as to any other country. In 1941 foreign experts on Russian affairs were dead sure that Russia would be defeated before the end of the year. Some of them had spent considerable time in the Soviet Union, knew the language perfectly, and had an enviable stock of information about the country. They knew everything. But the one thing they had never grasped was the superhuman will the working class can

achieve when it is led politically with clarity and courage. The same thing is happening today. One foreign representative in Moscow gave me a long account of all the defects and objectionable features of the Soviet system from the point of view of the western democracies, beginning with salary inequalities and the lack of freedom in scientific discussions and ending with the prediction that the new Five Year Plan would fail because the Russians "are very tired." They are tired; but they believe that although great sacrifices still lie ahead, they have a future, while other nations face only sacrifices and an unending cycle of crises. The Russian tells himself, first, that there is no alternative but to make the Five Year Plan succeed, not only because it is the one way to make Russia stronger and protect it against another attack, but because it means an increase in the general well-being; second, that although Russia has a hard job before it, it has already passed the period of contradictions and internal conflicts in which the capitalist world is floundering. He believes that Russia's road goes *with* history, not against it.

After what they have been through, nothing frightens the Russians. A population increase of two million a year guarantees them the necessary labor reserves. As for raw materials and industrial potential, one foreign diplomat with whom I spoke, the representative of a Western European country who is neither sympathetic nor hostile but simply serious-minded and extremely well-informed, told me that Russia has not yet tapped a tenth of its resources. Being here, one feels that Russia and the United States are the only truly independent countries in the world. In a talk with a high Russian official I incidentally raised the question of an eventual loan from the United States. "Well," he said, "if there is a loan, fine. If not, we shall get along without it."

The people look healthy and in general better off than those of other countries which felt the real impact of the war. I am judging, of course, by Moscow, whose population has increased considerably during the war—there are now perhaps 6,000,000 Muscovites—giving the streets a lively air and offering a rich field for personal observation. This year's harvest will be larger than expected, despite a drought which for a time threatened to cut the yield drastically. Bread and potatoes, staples of the Russian diet, are abundant. The Moscow radio has just announced that bread, flour, and cereals will come off the ration list this fall. I know very well that in the devastated regions, especially in White Russia, the situation is still serious: 90,000 collective farms destroyed, 7,000,000 horses, 17,000,000 cattle, 40,000,000 hogs and sheep either stolen or destroyed by the Germans. At the end of the war conditions there were critical; since then they have improved tremendously, and each month new advances are registered. In any case, the rumors of a new famine in Russia are without foundation.

Politically, the Soviet regime is more firmly established than ever. Members of the foreign diplomatic corps who in the past spent their time trying to name the marshal most likely to bring off a coup have now abandoned their little game. Stalin's prestige is enormous; everyone in Russia recognizes his decisive role in the victory. If an election were held in the Soviet Union today, using American voting machines and eliminating any possibility of pressure on the electorate, Stalin would receive an overwhelming majority.

Equally unfounded are the stories of conflict between the army and the Communist Party reported from time to time in the foreign press. Both are part of the same body, firm pillars of the regime. Those who have a penchant for military coups d'état would be wasting their time here; they should go to Latin America. Nor does Stalin's state of health offer any comfort to those who since 1917 have been hoping for the worst. The day of the sports parade he was in the reviewing stand for six long hours and, football enthusiast that he is, stayed to see the last feature on the program, a match between the two leading Soviet teams. Stalin is already in his middle sixties, but he comes from Georgia, where the people are noted for their longevity. He has thrown himself into the battle of reconstruction with the same energy he displayed in the war.

Those who like to complicate the Russian issue and delight businessmen's clubs by lecturing on the enigma of the East and the mystery of the Russian soul should learn one simple fact: Russia wants peace. It wants peace passionately because the war interrupted the titanic effort of nearly thirty years, and because no country knows better than Russia what war on its soil means. I shall deal with various aspects of Soviet foreign policy in my next article, but I want to make this point clear at the outset: the Russian leaders want peace and the people want peace.

I can already hear the ironic comment: "But you are implying that there is such a thing as public opinion in Russia." Yes, there is. It does not express itself in the same way as in the western countries, but it exists and the Kremlin has many channels for sounding it. The war had a great influence on public opinion. Many Rus-

sians fought on foreign territory. Their contact with the outside did not change them, as some had hoped, into enemies of the regime. But it broadened their horizon. In contrast with previous visits, I was struck by the number of people who know foreign languages. English is the most widely spoken foreign language in Russia today; taxi-drivers are beginning to learn it.

The taxi-driver has almost completely replaced the *izvozchik*, the famous old Russian coachman. At the risk of being called a reactionary, I must say I miss the *izvozchik* very much. Perhaps there are still a few left in Moscow, but I was unable to discover them even though I traveled all over the city—without any feeling of restriction—just as I might wander about Paris. When I asked an old friend about the *izvozchik* he told me jokingly, "He was liquidated as a class." The old *izvozchik* does not fit into the tempo of today's Russia. Not only are automobiles increasing in number, but air lines are being extended throughout the country, even into the Arctic. Where formerly only explorers ventured, now thousands of Russian citizens live and work. The airplane with the red star on its fuselage links two hundred million men engaged in the most ambitious undertaking of all ages.

Paris Looks at Everyman's House

BY IDA TREAT

Paris, August 1

MICHEL thinks he would like to emigrate to America, so Raoul and I took him to the exhibition of American housing and town planning which showed at the Grand Palais. Raoul is just demobilized, but still in uniform—he has no civilian clothes. Michel is seventeen and still at school.

Both were eager to visit the exhibition. America's war record has given terrific prestige to American methods of production, and housing is everybody's problem these days. Raoul plans to get married if and when he can find a place to live. Why not a pre-fabricated house made-in-the-U.S.A.?

The exhibition was set out on a floor of bright yellow sand under the fire-blackened roof of the Grand Palais, rather like the intrusion of a colorful and intact New World in a gutted Europe. As we came in, a band was playing what the French still call *jazz hot*. With the music, the flags, and the crowds pouring through the turnstiles, there was a pleasant excitement in the air that suggested circus day.

I do not know quite what the crowd expected. Perhaps something on a scale with the flood of guns, tanks, jeeps, massed men and equipment that rolled into France two years ago. If so, I suspect that the first glimpse of the exhibition was disappointing.

Beyond the turnstiles opened a labyrinth of billboards: graphics and curves; stripes, circles, diagonals; patches of blue, black, red, and orange; schematic human figures and columns of print. This was the town-planning section.

IDA TREAT is an American writer who has lived in France for many years. She is the author of "The Anchored Heart."

"No doubt very interesting, if we could get near enough to make it out," Raoul said politely as the crowd pushed us forward. Raoul, like most Frenchmen, appreciates a neat graphic but is wary of over-elaborate simplifications. He suspects a catch. "The Germans are keen on this sort of thing," he remarked.

"Is this all there is to it?" asked Michel.

A GI elbowed past us, a Red Cross girl on his arm. "Nothing here for us," he said. "Just information and data."

We followed in his wake, towards other billboards with fewer graphics and more photographs. The crowd, too, preferred the photographs. The ranks ahead of us halted to take in views of timber-covered mountains, lake and forest, vast unfenced spaces. Farther on they were massed before air-photographs of Grand Central Parkway, Jones Beach, and Tennessee Valley farms. This was more in line with their idea of America. Vanport City before, during, after: "40,000 inhabitants, built in 120 days."

"It's stupendous," said Michel. He pointed to an excavator in a tumbled chaos of sand and rock, its operator comfortably seated, smoking a cigarette. "That's how they work over there."

A woman beside us was examining the photograph of the completed town.

"Ce n'est pas très joli," she said dubiously. "What do you suppose that it will look like twenty years from now?"

"In twenty years they will build another," countered Michel.

We pushed on to the next section—building materials. Foundations and floors, poured out of a mixer. Walls and partitions of pressed wood, plywood, cardboard, asbestos. Walls lined with paper and tinfoil, filled with a sandwich-like stuffing of cottony fiber. I thought of

the three-foot granite walls of Brittany; I could understand that to French eyes all this looked startlingly fragile.

The visitors lingered, interested, a little skeptical. Perhaps they were thinking of the slow seeping of winter rains. "Chemically treated, water- and fire-proof," we read.

"If bugs ever get into that cotton...," someone remarked.

"It isn't meant to last. It's for *now*," Michel insisted.

We stopped to puzzle out the "minimum comfort requirements—space, air, central heating, bath, refrigeration." As Raoul pointed out, many of our homes might qualify for the first two. As for the rest—. Dutifully we compared the relative merits of different heating systems. We were getting farther and farther away from familiar ground.

A few steps ahead, a solid mass—chiefly women—clung like bees along a wooden railing. We had to work our way in. Everyone was very quiet, gazing intently at the exhibit. The dream kitchen: white lacquer and chromium plate, with electric stove, kettle, stream-lined flat-iron and mixer, all complete. But these were not what held the attention of the crowd. They were looking at the open door of the frigidaire. At the things inside. Bottles of milk, slabs of cheese, a long pork roast in a thick layer of fat, *two* chickens—only wax, of course, but poignantly realistic. I came to in time to hear Michel explaining to his neighbors: "In America, every worker's house has a kitchen like that. You can see now why they think we're so backward."

We came at last to the high-spot of the exhibition, the four pre-fabricated houses. After the dream kitchen, the dream village—at least part of one—standing in a plot of bright new grass dotted with shrubs, rose-bushes, and even a blue Vosges hemlock.

Four miniature houses—one sliced across like an anatomical figure, or a doll-house with the front removed, to show the construction. As flawless and perfect as the doll-houses of my childhood, fresh from the box and smelling of new paint. We joined one of the endless queues waiting outside and walked through the roped-off hallways, stepping gingerly on the blue linoleum. We admired the quiet tones of the wallpaper, the discreetly colorful chintzes, the simple lines of the furniture. We admired everything, speaking in subdued voices. No one mentioned "fragility" or the desire so deeply rooted in French home-builders—to build for at least two generations. Like everyone there, we were obsessed by the present. For some that meant makeshift quarters in a crowded Paris hotel, and for others the dingy paint and cracked ceilings, the leaky pipes and drains that needed attention after six years' neglect, not to mention the walls splotched with mildew and the floors that had bulged and warped during a succession of fireless winters.

Wistfully envious, we took in every detail of the "cheap, mass-produced American home."

Coming out, we stopped to read a notice: "the average American devotes one-twentieth of his year's income to rent; the price of a house represents, on an average, two years' total income." Then we saw the prices: $2,500 (300,000 francs) for the smallest of the doll-houses, $5,750 (650,000 francs) for the one we preferred—the one with neat white clapboards and green shutters. Like the thoughtful groups around us, we calculated. Raoul, in his university job, will earn 7,500 francs a month. The retired colonel at his elbow received less than twice as much. Respectively 90,000 and 144,000 francs a year. (What a sum that would have been in the old days!) Multiply those figures by two: neither Raoul nor the colonel could qualify for the humblest of the pre-fabricated houses. Not to mention the young railroad employee whose family allowances brought his monthly salary to 5,000 francs. Or even the waiter who totaled 400 francs a day in tips—as much as the colonel's pension.

"To live like that, we'll have to go to America," Raoul said finally. But Raoul has no intention of emigrating.

The sobered crowd drifted towards the exits. We had to admit it: the luxury of this "minimum of comfort" was not for us. Like the lovely things in the shop-windows of this Paris of ours, where a couple of armchairs cost as much as a house in the provinces before the war, and where the average woman cannot afford a new dress or a nightgown or a pair of sheets to replace the torn and mended because practically every penny of the family income goes for food. Not for us. Only black-marketeers could buy one of the elegant doll-houses—though being black-marketeers they would doubtless prefer something more elaborate.

Probably the bare-legged, bare-headed girl in the dyed coat who walked out ahead of us was thinking just that. She looked dejected: 4,000 francs a month as *petite main* in a famous dress-shop of the Rue de la Paix. For her, the pre-fabricated house that represents two years of an average miner's wages must have seemed as far away as heaven. She scuffed through the bright sand of the American village, yellow as the fabulous gold of the New World, still so alluring to would-be emigrants. It clung to the wooden soles of her high wedge-shoes. We tracked it out into the street. Only it wasn't gold—just common sand.

Prairie Socialism

BY J. KING GORDON

I

Regina, August 7

SASKATCHEWAN'S harvest has begun. South from Regina the prairie stretches out flat to the horizon. Now it is golden, as far as the eye can see. Saskatchewan farmers will have a good crop this year, although the 90° to 100° heat in the last few weeks will lessen the yield. Within a short time the wheat will start moving eastward—in freight cars, in the holds of Great Lakes grain ships, in ocean-going vessels from Montreal, towards hungry Europe. Saskatchewan is Canada's greatest wheat province.

Today Saskatchewan is thinking about other things besides wheat. Two years ago last June a new provincial government came into power. It was the first socialist government in the history of Canada. In the elections the candidates of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) swept the polls, taking forty-seven out of the fifty-two regular seats. The government is headed by T. C. (Tommy) Douglas, a former Baptist minister who resigned his seat in the federal parliament to head the Saskatchewan CCF Party. In his two years as premier of the province he has shown remarkable gifts as an executive and an organizer. His cabinet is made up of men who share his convictions, solid men—farmers, teachers, labor leaders, a lawyer, two executives of the cooperative movement. And they have something to show for their two years in office. A conservative business man said to me, rather sadly: "If they just stand on their present record, they'll be in for twenty-five years."

Politics is in the air these hot August days. For the national convention of the CCF is meeting in Regina where thirteen years ago it was launched as a new Canadian party in the tradition of the great labor parties of the British Commonwealth. In 1933 the delegates from farmer, labor, and white-collar groups debated over fine shades of meaning in hammering out a fourteen-point manifesto. The manifesto has stood the test of time. It has saved the party from doctrinaire factionalism and from the temptations of political expediency. It has been restated in terms of immediate political objectives; it has been used as the broad basis of an educational program. Today with Canada facing the economic and social problems of the post-war period the Regina Manifesto is the one document providing a coordinated scheme of economic planning directed to the attainment of specific social objectives.

THIS IS THE FIRST of two articles on Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Party by J. KING GORDON, The Nation's managing editor. Next week he will write on the CCF as a national movement and report on the Regina convention.

The delegates to the 1946 convention have just begun their deliberations. The decisions reached may have important consequences for a party which, in the not-too-distant future, hopes to emulate the labor parties in Britain, Australia, and New Zealand and become the government of the nation. The solid achievements of the CCF government in Saskatchewan have done much to dispel the suspicion that the new party was a catch-all for starry-eyed theorists or dangerous radicals. And the delegates now in the city are going to have plenty of opportunity to see democratic socialism at work.

THE FIRST CCF GOVERNMENT

During two visits to this province in the last six months I have tried to find an answer to the question: "Why should Saskatchewan, the most agrarian of Canada's nine provinces, be the first to elect a socialist government?" I asked the Honorable Lachlan Fraser McIntosh, Minister of Cooperation and Cooperative Development. McIntosh, a native of North Dakota, is a quiet-spoken man who carries his Celtic ancestry in the rugged lines of his face as well as in his name. He said this:

"Saskatchewan farmers came gradually to the conclusion that they could handle their own affairs better than outsiders. We used to count on the big service organizations with headquarters in Eastern Canada to market our wheat, finance our farm operations, insure us against loss. Then we found that we were paying too high a toll. So we set up cooperative organizations. It's not a very long step from cooperatives to a government that applies the same principles in other spheres of activity."

There is something of the basic populist revolt in the CCF in Saskatchewan—a protest against the exploiting power of the big grain companies, the big mortgage companies, the manufacturers of the East, the high tariff men. This revolt is inherent in all western liberalism. What is new in the Saskatchewan CCF is the positive program of economic planning, the definite proposals for social security, the equal concern for the rights of labor and the rights of the farmer, the willingness to set up socialized industries so as to develop the province's resources in the interests of the people of the province.

PRAGMATIC SOCIALISM

Saskatchewan is still predominantly an agricultural province with wheat the main crop. I say "still" because the northern region—more than half the province—is a continuation of the rocky shield which in the provinces

to the East has yielded enormous wealth from mines, forests, and lakes. The government has set itself the task of opening up this new north but just now is concentrating on the problems of the agricultural section.

The Saskatchewan farmer is solidly wedded to the idea of the family farm. To that extent he is a free-enterprising individualist. But, in general, what the Saskatchewan farmer wants is to be assured of security on his land and a reasonable price for his product. The operation of the various cooperatives and the wheat pool has given him some control over marketing. Now the new CCF government has passed legislation giving him security on his land. A crop failure carries with it not only the impact of financial loss but the threat of losing one's holdings. The new legislation frees the farmer from the necessity of paying interest on his mortgage in a crop-failure year. Moreover, it gives him absolute protection against foreclosure of his home and the quarter-section of land on which it stands.

Most Saskatchewan farmers had a hunch they were being too heavily taxed by the big insurance companies. On investigation it was found that fire losses over the period of a year were less than one-third the premiums paid out to more than two hundred insurance companies, most of them with head offices in Eastern Canada. The government, therefore, decided to go into the insurance business up to the neck. It took over an office building in the center of Regina and is now writing everything but life insurance.

A PEOPLE'S HEALTH

Shortly after coming to power the government invited Dr. Henry Sigerist, of Johns Hopkins University, to make a study of Saskatchewan's health problems. The immediate outcome of his study and report was the creation of a Health Services Planning Commission to meet the most urgent health needs and work out a long-term program of health insurance.

The province stands in a progressive medical tradition. The municipal hospital and the salaried doctor are established institutions. In fact, at the time the CCF came into office fully one-third of the rural population was covered by some form of health insurance. For a number of years the province has had free treatment for all cases of tuberculosis.

The most immediate needs arise from lack of trained personnel and facilities for hospitalization and specialized care. If the minimum standard of one doctor to one thousand persons is accepted, Saskatchewan needs four hundred doctors right away. Moreover, there is a heavy urban concentration of the medical profession—45 per cent of the doctors are serving the 15 per cent of the population living in cities. The province's hospital accommodation needs to be expanded fully 25 per cent. Improved laboratories, more public health clinics are urgently wanted. The medical school in Saskatoon carries the student only to the end of his second year.

After receiving the Sigerist report, the government went ahead energetically with its program. At the end of two years this program is well advanced: Free medical care for the 25,000 who are in receipt of government pensions—the aged, the blind, mothers on allowances, and their dependent children. Free medical services for those with diseases where treatment is usually long and costly—cancer (including diagnostic treatment, hospitalization, X-ray, and surgery), mental illness, venereal diseases, tuberculosis (previously established). Special aid is extended to municipalities that have set up their own health programs, particularly those least able to afford the cost of maintenance.

Now the Health Commission is implementing an overall program of health insurance which will eventually cover everyone in the province. Emphasis is placed on local choice and initiative in the belief that centralized administration defeats the ends of socialized medicine. Fourteen health districts have been mapped out. But before a region is actually constituted, a local referendum is taken to discover if the people in the region are willing to get behind the program and assume the added obligations. Each region is divided into a number of districts, and each district into health units with a health center, public health headquarters, nursing home or small hospital. Medical institutions in the larger centers will provide specialized laboratory, diagnostic, and surgical facilities.

SOCIALIZED FISH

When you look at Joe Phelps, he reminds you of a Grant Wood painting of a prairie farmer. That's what he is—a prairie farmer, converted into the Minister of Natural Resources and Industrial Development. Joseph L. Phelps came West from Ontario when he was a boy of nine and started farming with his father. He became active in the cooperative movement and developed a reputation as a radical political thinker. He entered the Saskatchewan legislature as a CCF member in 1938 and was raised to cabinet rank when the present government came into power.

When Joe Phelps thinks about natural resources, he thinks primarily about the men and women whose livelihood is dependent upon their development. Here's a case in point. There is an enormous lake in northern Saskatchewan called Lac LaRonge. It is teeming with fish. The trouble in the past has been transportation and an insecure market. A big fish company would buy the fish to suit its own convenience; the fishermen fared miserably, were constantly in debt, and in the summer went on relief.

The first trip north Joe Phelps took when he was appointed to his job was a flight to Lac LaRonge. The plane landed in the lake and came ashore at the little settlement. The settlers were *Métis*—half Indian, half French—whose forefathers had lived on the western plains long before the railway opened the plains up to

the waves of immigrants from the East. The conversation, as told by Phelps, went something like this:

Métis: "I suppose you've come to talk about our relief money."

Phelps: "What relief?"

Métis: "Well, the last government gave us relief, and we'd like to know what this new CCF government is going to do for us."

Phelps: "Don't believe in relief. How about doing some work?"

Métis: "What kind of work is there to do here in summer?"

Phelps: "I want some wood cut—200 cords of it. I'll pay you five dollars a cord. There's a thousand dollars to start with. Then I want some timber cut."

Métis: "There's no timber around here."

Phelps: "Sure there is. I saw plenty when I was flying in. May have to go five or six miles to get it, but it's there."

Métis: "Well, what do you want timber for? You can't ship it out, and there's no mill."

Phelps: "I want it right here. And there's an old mill here that can be put into shape. Anyway, that's my worry. I want you to cut me 200,000 feet of timber and get it floated in to where the mill is."

Phelps said to me, "I don't know where I got the figure 200,000 but I wanted to show them that I meant business."

That was the way the fish-filleting plant and cold-storage locker got started at Lac LaRonge. The plant was built with lumber cut and sawed on the spot. The cold-storage locker meant that fish could be caught all year round. The fish was filleted, inspected, quick-frozen, packed in attractive waxed cartons, and stamped with the Saskatchewan government label. A regular transportation service was developed to take the fish out to the retail market. Result: a new industry operated by the province; security and regular employment for the fishermen of Lac LaRonge; good, reasonably priced fish for the people of Saskatchewan.

And Lac LaRonge is just the beginning. For the air-survey maps are blue with lakes, and thousands of tons of fish are waiting to be taken out every year.

FURS FROM THE TRAPPER

Furs are something else in Joe Phelps's special field of interest and for the same sort of reasons. For with the exception of migrant workers, I don't suppose that any class of American labor is subject to more exploitation than the fur trapper of the north. The romance of his calling is apt to conceal the fact that he is a virtual slave of the fur company that grubstakes him and takes his catch in payment on a debt from which he is seldom free. The Hudson's Bay Company and other big fur companies have for centuries regarded themselves as benevolent overlords of the wilderness territories in which they had their posts. Modern transportation has begun to break their monopoly over supplies. Now they are facing a government whose concern is for the lives and well being of the companies' "subjects."

Phelps shoved across the desk a letter he had just received from a missionary in one of the farthest north settlements. The letter asked if Phelps could help his parishioners get their furs out to a market where they would get a decent price. They were all in debt to the fur company and struggling along on the very edge of existence. And this season the skins were good and the market fur prices high.

To meet this situation the Saskatchewan government set up a Fur Marketing Service. It equipped a modern warehouse in Regina for the storage, grading, and cataloging of furs. Here regular auctions are held which are attended by buyers from all over the continent. A nominal service charge of 5 per cent is assessed: apart from that the full price paid goes to the trapper or fur rancher.

Now it is interesting that both these public enterprises, fish and furs, while representing direct government participation in the development of natural resources have aided rather than damaged small primary producers. The free-enterprising trappers are better off because the government has actually re-established, in its fur auction, the classic form of the free market so as to lessen the dictatorial power of the big fur companies.

The over-all policy on public enterprises is settled by an Economic Advisory and Planning Board which passes judgment on all proposed projects. It is now in the process of making an economic survey of the province and working out a ten-year plan of economic development. The key-man in the set-up is a six-foot-six Englishman, George Cadbury, of the famous Cadbury family that has traditionally combined business acumen with austere moral principles. A member of the British Labor Party of long standing, he served in Washington during the war on one of the British supply commissions. His job in Saskatchewan is two-fold. He heads the Advisory and Planning Board and acts as chief industrial executive on the board of directors of every government company. Besides developing the fish and fur services, the government has taken over the provincial lines of the Greyhound Bus company, acquired a woolen mill, a brick plant, and a shoe factory, set up a timber-marketing service and begun a survey of provincial resources. In its program for public power it has taken over one of the largest private power companies in the province and plans to speed the badly needed rural electrification.

PATTERN FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Space will not permit a description of Saskatchewan's program for the advancement of all forms of cooperatives. Today more than 250,000 persons—well over 25 per cent of the total population—are members of cooperatives.

The CCF is building a new society in Saskatchewan

not according to any doctrinaire socialist blueprint but in accordance with certain basic social principles applied to the communal problems of daily living. The program is non-mechanistic. It begins with the needs of the individual and derives its strength from the initiative and willing support of individuals. And, one might say, not the state but the individual is the end of the program. If you want to find totalitarian manifestations of socialism you will have to look elsewhere than on the western Canadian prairies.

MVA: Stalled But Not Stopped

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

St. Louis, August 8

ONE great boon which the Seventy-ninth Congress might have given the nation is the Missouri Valley Authority—a TVA-patterned assurance that the Big Muddy will be utilized for the enrichment of a region thirteen times as big as the Tennessee Valley, instead of contributing to its impoverishment. Work of a sort has been started on the river under divided auspices, but genuine hope lies only in the establishment of a single, integrated authority. Senator Murray of Montana and Representative John Cochran of St. Louis did introduce a bill for this purpose. But after a double-cross in committee, its supporters decided to wait for a more auspicious occasion. Will it take more floods, another emigration from the dust bowl, and further depletion of America's bread basket to bring to the valley President Roosevelt's dream of a plan "for the greatest benefit of its citizens, both present and future, and for the greatest benefit to the United States?"

Much of the blame for the legislative setback falls on President Truman. As Vice-President, he started the Murray bill on its way to frustration by assigning it to the hostile Commerce and Irrigation Committees in the Senate as well as to the Agriculture Committee, which had handled the original TVA legislation and regarded the MVA proposal with some favor. After Senator Overton had provided a three-ring circus for the bill's enemies before the first two, there was not much sense in starting hearings before the Agriculture Committee.

However, there are other obstacles in the way of speedy acceptance of the plan. For one thing, the people of the ten states in the vast Missouri Valley are not yet solidly united in support of a TVA for their region. In one of the earlier editorials with which the St. Louis *Star-Times* launched its MVA campaign, it admitted that while there were "at least some links of common interest that held people in the Tennessee Valley together," people in St. Louis have little in common "with the people who live in the foothills of the Rockies . . . or with the wheat farmers of the Dakotas and the corn growers of Nebraska and Iowa." Lines of communication cross the Missouri Valley from east to west instead of following the course of the river. The semi-arid states of the upper valley are primarily concerned with irrigation. The states of the lower valley are worried about flood control and navigation. Two years of persistent effort have done much to convince the people of the valley that irrigation and flood control, navigation and power production are all part of one big problem, but much remains to be done.

Political alignments have been a brake on the development of MVA sentiment. The Missouri Valley is the bailiwick of reactionary rural Republicanism. To its representatives in Congress the MVA smacks of the New Deal and is therefore anathema. (It is only fair to say that there is probably less favorable sentiment in Democratic Senator O'Mahoney's state of Wyoming than anywhere else in the valley.) While the *Star-Times* and the *Post-Dispatch* of St. Louis have given unremitting support to the MVA, the Kansas City *Star*, the Omaha *World-Herald*, and most other valley papers are hostile.

Wesley Price, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, was particularly effective in answering the favorite argument of the opposition that the MVA would create a "dictatorial, totalitarian super-state." Mr. Price pointed out that the very people who are now raising the cry of states' rights had long been looking to all sorts of federal agencies for funds to be spent in the valley. He also called attention to the "luxuriously financed lobbyists who went to work to head off the MVA." These gentlemen emphasized the sad plight of private power companies faced by the threat of public hydroelectric developments. One particularly nonsensical idea which they tried to plant with the "right people" was that the MVA would not help to industrialize the region since "industry really doesn't care what it pays for power; electricity is too small an item on the cost chart to be considered in locating a factory."

Public-spirited citizens have organized to fight this propaganda. Montana has an MVA Association under the direction of Jerome Locke. A similar organization in

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St. Louis is headed by Professor Raymond Tucker of the Washington University School of Engineering. A national MVA organization has been formed in Washington. Support has been obtained from James Patton's Farmer's Union, the Missouri Farmer's Association under the presidency of F. V. Heinkel, various trade unions, and groups like the League of Women Voters and the St. Louis Liberal Voters' League. The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce held a referendum which, rather surprisingly, resulted in a substantial vote for the MVA. Their energy and money, however, have not matched the efforts of the utilities, railroads, and other interests which feel directly threatened.

In the forefront of the opposition, stands the United States Chamber of Commerce—on behalf of which D. J. Guy proclaims that the MVA would have the power "to do everything but coin money, wage war, and amend the Constitution"—the Mississippi Valley Association, and the National Reclamation Association. In effect the last two are lobbying agencies for the Army Engineers and the Department of Interior's Bureau of Reclamation. These two federal departments fought over the waters of the Missouri for years but finally entered on a marriage of convenience to head off the MVA. The chief interest of the Engineers is navigation. They want to build a nine-foot channel from Sioux City to the mouth of the river just above St. Louis and to line this reach of the stream with high levees. Farmers insist that the narrowing and deepening of the channel has made floods much worse than they used to be. But the Engineers get strong support from the barge-line operators and the contractors who work for them up and down the 2,500 miles of the river. The Reclamation Bureau, on the other hand, is interested in irrigation in the upper states of the valley.

As it became more and more obvious that the solution of the problem of the Missouri could be achieved only through an over-all agency like the TVA, the army came forward with its Pick plan. This was a hodge-podge of old projects hastily put together by Colonel Pick, district engineer at Omaha, now General Pick, builder of the Ledo road. The Reclamation Bureau produced the so-called Sloan plan, a more carefully thought-out proposal on which W. G. Sloan, the bureau's agent at Billings, Montana, had worked for some five years. The Sloan plan calls for ninety dams and would cost about $1,257,700,000. It provides for seventeen power plants capable of producing 4,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of firm power. In addition its sponsors claim that it would provide irrigation for 4,760,000 acres of arid land and would bring supplementary water to 538,000 additional acres. They estimate its annual benefits at $168,306,000 and its annual cost at $65,413,000. This cost, they say, could be amortized in fifty years with interest at 3 per cent. The Pick plan calls for twenty-two reservoirs behind multiple purpose dams but makes scant provision for irrigation. Its cost is estimated at $661,000,000. These figures should prove that no money is saved by opposing MVA. It's a question of a good job or a poor one.

The MVA proposal clamors for a trial because all other methods of coping with an alarming situation have failed. Missouri Valley states have been losing population for several decades. It is beginning to dawn on them that they need new industries and more prosperous farms to keep their sons at home. In the years between the wars, drought drove more than 300,000 people out of the valley and ran up a relief bill of $1,246,000,000. Since 1942 severe floods have been an almost annual occurrence; their cost is conservatively estimated at $150,000,000. The richest farm land in the United States has been washed under the Eads Bridge at St. Louis at the rate of twenty acres a minute.

The MVA has been stalled but not stopped. Other regions are going ahead with similar proposals. A decline in the productiveness of the Missouri Valley while other regions are striding forward should break down the opposition. In the long run it will take more than a Montana Power Co. to stop the people of that state from joining with the other people of the valley to check its economic decline. The farms which are now being carried away by wind and water can be pegged down and enriched. Electric power can bring new industries to many parts of the valley. Development of resources can create thousands of new opportunities for a good living.

But this will not come about without effort. To quote again from a *Star-Times* editorial: "As David Lilienthal said, the technical problems of this transformation are not beyond the resourcefulness of the engineers. But first there must be a common determination to set the engineers to work for a common purpose. This calls for men of vision up and down the valley. The Tennessee had its Senator Norris—paradoxically a man from the valley of the Missouri—who worked and preached until the dream of TVA was an actuality. We need hundreds of Norrises—business men and farmers and ranchers and public officials fired with the dream of an MVA, men determined to explain and to plead, to organize and to fight, until their dream, too, is a reality."

Research in Happiness

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

HAPPINESS is a medical problem. The social purpose of the practice of medicine is the promotion of happiness. We shall not attempt here to discuss the concept of happiness; it has historical reality. The Declaration of Independence has made the pursuit of happiness one of the sacred rights of our society. Happiness presupposes freedom from fear and want, freedom from anxiety. Happiness is expressed by a state of physical and mental health. It is the physician's task —and the basis of his professional dignity and social standing—to achieve and to protect health and thereby create happiness.

A good physician, therefore, ought to be seriously concerned with the condition of unhappiness wherever it is met. Unhappiness is a challenge to the physician's ability, knowledge, and conscience. His powerful privileges are obviously wasted if he permits unhappiness to develop into an epidemic symptom.

Strangely enough, not many physicians are aware of these vital, strongly political implications of medicine, which is in part applied understanding of scientific processes and in part applied understanding of sociological forces. Unhappiness, so much thought of and talked about as an acute emotional state, has never been recognized by medicine as a pathological entity, either curable or incurable. It is true that the psychosomatic movement in modern medicine has once again reclaimed the idea of the close interdependence of emotional and physical factors. Cobb, Bauer and Whiting (Journal of the American Medical Association, 1939), for instance, have concluded from the study of so-called life charts, connecting a patient's medical data and social data, that "environmental stress, especially poverty, grief, and family worry, seem to bear more than a chance relationship to the onset and exacerbations of rheumatoid arthritis." This relationship can be shown to exist, to varying degrees, in almost every disease.

But not much attention has been given to the tremendous social consequences of such findings and to the great social responsibilities which derive from them for the practicing physician. Medicine holds, indeed, a key position in the fight against social catastrophes. The medical study of unhappiness as a disease-provoking element, as a disease in itself, or as a clue in the search for disease, should be systematically undertaken. Very few investigations in this direction are, so far, available.

Periods of transition, individual or social, may cause unhappiness until a new equilibrium has been established. Where no hope for a new equilibrium is offered, as in old age, or in a desperate political climate, unhappiness becomes a constant and dangerous part of existence. J. T. Landis (School and Society, 1942) examined 450 individuals over 65 as to their "happiest" period of life. Fifty per cent named the period between 25 and 45; 20 per cent chose the years between 15 and 25; 18 per cent decided for childhood; 7 per cent were unable to make a choice; only 5 per cent selected middle and old age. M. Morgan interviewed recipients of old-age allowances in New York State (Annals of Psychology, 1937): 41 per cent chose the years from 25 to 45 as their happiest. Worries associated with financial insecurity were the greatest single source of worry.

Whoever agrees that neither childhood or old age should be unhappy by nature, must be convinced that there exist critical age groups, burdened by an unjustified load of unhappiness, for which remedies can and must be found. Similar critical areas of endemic unhappiness could undoubtedly be discovered by investigating economic groups, racial groups, cultural groups. Such an investigation would, in all probability, reveal relations between the regional prevalence of disease (e. g. tuberculosis, hypertension, psychoses) and the prevalence of happiness or unhappiness among certain groups.

The statistics of suicide and crime might be another source for the study of unhappiness, though these incidents can be influenced by many complex factors difficult to evaluate. In a chart in "Mental Disorders in Later Life" (ed. Oscar J. Kaplan, 1945), we find that suicide rates increase progressively with age. But there are strong fluctuations according to sex, to race, and to the general economic situation.

The material thus far available on this subject is so limited as to be inconclusive in almost every respect. However, it suggests a new aspect of medicine: medical sociology, a systematic effort by physicians to analyze the social causes of unhappiness which influence the health of their patients, and to fight these causes by active participation in the political strifes of their time and their social group. Scientific facts could perhaps have a clarifying influence on hate, prejudice, and selfishness in politics and might help to reconcile a chaotic reality with reason.

MARTIN GUMPERT, whose articles on medicine appear regularly in The Nation, *is a New York City physician and author of a book on problems of longevity, "You Are Younger Than You Think."*

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Can We Afford German Capitalism?

TOP American and British officials in Germany have begun discussions of the means by which an economic merger of their two occupation zones can best be achieved. This step was undertaken because it has so far proved impossible to obtain the kind of economic unification of the whole Reich which was envisaged by the Potsdam plan. The resulting stagnation of trade and industry, and delay in reconstruction, has led to a further depression of German morale creating problems for the occupation forces. In addition, it has slowed down the pace of recovery in other countries for it is impossible to subtract the economy of Germany from that of Europe as a whole without achieving a general loss of production.

Merger of two of the three western zones may lead to some alleviation of the situation but, unless Mr. Byrnes's hope that it will lead to the reintegration of the whole country is speedily fulfilled, it threatens to create more problems than it solves. For if economic division persists for any length of time, with eastern and western zones developing on divergent lines, it will be difficult to avoid total fission of the Reich. That threat may tend to soften Russian opposition to unification on Potsdam lines since the Soviets need the products of the western zone and are certainly unwilling to see its powerful industrial apparatus linked to the economies of America and Britain. On the other hand, the French, who have also blocked unification, may favor a stronger barrier between east and west since it means severance of the arteries which connect the political brain of Germany with its industrial heart. That might, indeed, prove a solution of the problem of preventing the revival of an aggressive Reich. But equally it might make insoluble the much more immediate problem of preventing a competitive struggle among the victors for the largest pieces of the German heritage.

It is not my purpose here, however, to review the political implications of the Anglo-American move. I wish rather to call attention to some of the economic difficulties it involves, difficulties which, up to now, do not seem to have been given official recognition.

Both America and Britain have been very disturbed by the cost of maintaining even a very meager standard of living for the inhabitants of their zones, both of which are food-deficiency areas. Merger, by itself, will not remedy this situation although it may do something to raise agricultural production by making possible better distribution of fertilizers and farm tools. But essentially, if western Germany is to live without Anglo-American doles, it must export enough industrial products to other countries to enable it to import minimum requirements of food and raw materials. At the present time the cost of such imports, paid for by America and Britain, is reported to be in excess of $500 million annually. But even this large sum allows for the distribution of very inadequate basic rations—around 1,000 calories in the British zone and 1,275 in the American. These may be enough to maintain life; they do not provide sufficient energy to enable the Germans to make the industrial effort needed if they are to become self-sustaining.

It follows, therefore, that in order to raise productivity in the merged western zones, and so provide a surplus of goods for export, an immediate increase in imports of food will be required. In addition stocks of raw materials will have to be replenished from foreign sources before many factories can resume operations. Thus only by a further investment of cold cash can the Anglo-American authorities enable their German proteges to fend for themselves.

Another vital necessity is Anglo-American agreement about the kind of economy western Germany is to have. The British *New Statesman and Nation* in its issue of July 27 expressed the fear that "partnership with the Americans . . . would, in effect, compel us to restore a *capitalist* Germany which would also be inevitably a dangerous Germany." That fear is natural in view of the neutral stand which the American occupation authorities have taken in regard to the ownership of industrial property in their zone. But the British attitude has been similar, except in the case of the Ruhr coal mines which were socialized by decree some months ago.

Both western powers have, in fact, taken the position that it is for the Germans to decide, after the restoration of a free political system, what sort of economic structure they want. This is good democratic theory but is it practical? And is there, in fact, much hope of achieving political democracy in Germany without prior reform of the social structure? For, we must remember, there is no longer in Germany a large, stable, middle class on which to build a free-enterprise system. Two wars in one generation have wiped out savings and other forms of intangible assets. The German state can never repay the gigantic debt that it is loaded with as a result of Hitler's adventures; it will probably have to repudiate a large part of its enormous pension obligations. The wealth that remains in Germany consists largely of physical assets, such as undestroyed industrial plants, and its ownership is concentrated in the hands of a comparatively few industrialists most of whom were fervent Nazis. If these men are left in control of their property, they will be left in control of the state as well.

The Russians have dealt with this problem in a rough and ready way and they appear to be getting results, not only for themselves but for the Germans. They have nationalized a large part of the industry in their zone and got production going. Most of the output goes to Russia but a modicum is left for German consumers and the workers at least have jobs as well as rather better rations than are available in western Germany.

If the merger of the American and British zone does not speedily produce at least equally good results, western democratic methods are not going to impress the Germans very forcibly. But it is very doubtful whether we shall make much headway as long as we rely on private ownership of industry and the profit-motive. For those institutions cannot be reconciled with the total planning of the economy necessary to prevent western Germany from remaining dependent on the reluctant charity of its conquerors.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

Our Southern and Western Colonies

THE REVOLT OF THE SOUTH AND WEST. By A. G. Mezerik. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.

ONE of the basic national frustrations which produced the New Deal was the profound need in the West and South to throw off Eastern financial control and embark on programs of local industrialization. Roosevelt was too busy with immediate depression questions to confront directly the problem of strengthening the underdeveloped sections until his second term. But he then began to move in on what he called the nation's number one economic problem, the South; and, before the war came to absorb his major energies, he showed increasing awareness of the need for electrifying and industrializing the West. The hopes and ambitions of these underprivileged regions provided an important source of New Deal momentum; and their problems constitute a large part of the New Deal's unfinished business.

A. G. Mezerik's "The Revolt of the South and West" brings the economic balance sheet among the sections up to date with admirable clarity and force. The war, he points out, created the great opportunity to liberate the South and West from their semi-colonial dependence on the East. The requirements of war production, against all the inclinations of the industry-dominated planning divisions of WPB, meant that plants were built outside established geographical and financial limits. Machines, labor, and experts migrated to the underindustrialized parts of the country. It looked as if the industrial unbalance might at last be corrected.

But, in spite of all, the East maintained and strengthened its central financial position. With the war over, secure in its economic and political power, in its control over financing and over patents, the East is reasserting its pre-war supremacy. When it cannot stifle the industrial burgeonings in Texas and California and Washington, it insures its absentee control; and it mobilizes to squeeze out such mavericks as Henry Kaiser who persist in struggling for industrial home rule. Yet the South and the West, Mr. Mezerik thinks, are in there pitching. Governor Arnall's freight-rate fight, the united regional support behind Kaiser, the demand for the Missouri Valley Authority—these are all aspects of the determination to break the Eastern stranglehold over the nation's productive energies.

"In the making, across and down the United States, is a new and strange industrial civil war . . . The benefits of industrialization, the main ingredient for prosperity, are withheld from the people of the Pacific West, the Intermountain States, the Southwest and the South alike. These regions look at the East with growing anger, convinced it is the East which today exercises the new tyranny, industrial domination." Truman's modification of the Roosevelt Cabinet in favor of the South and West, Mr. Mezerik suggests somewhat optimistically, may mean a new drive to build up the underdeveloped areas; and in the long run, he thinks, the alliance of South, West, and Eastern labor against Eastern capital may lead to a realignment of parties.

In his zest for his case, the author sometimes tends to repeat certain more extreme charges, not only as expressions of regional paranoia, but also as objective analysis. More important, he does not always make clear that the revolt of the South and West, like most other nationalist movements, is headed by people who oppose foreign exploitation in order to clear the field for themselves—a fact which makes his projected alliance opportunistic and his realignment of parties most improbable. But, within the space he has allowed himself, Mr. Mezerik has performed a considerable feat of fast, crisp, and intelligent political writing. "The Revolt of the South and West" is a basic for students of current American politics; and it should be read, in particular, by every one interested in the possible origins and hallmarks of the next New Deal.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Sun Yat-sen: A Partial Portrait

SUN YAT-SEN, A PORTRAIT. By Stephen Chen and Robert Payne. John Day. $3.

THAT a well-written biography of Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary democrat, which shows him as the Chinese millions see him, is essential reading for Americans, goes without saying. But every informed person will be justly skeptical of any book "written with the help of Kuomintang Party members."

That such Kuomintang members are mouse-like liberals is proved by frequent false statements, such as one referring to Chiang Kai-shek as Sun Yat-sen's successor, or another to the effect that "the whole of China was united" three years after Dr. Sun's death.

With some exceptions, this book is nevertheless an excellent chronology of historical events through which the tenacious, self-effacing, and tragic figure of Sun Yat-sen moved. The most concise personal portrait of him is given in the words of one of his followers:

> He gave everything to others and received nothing for himself . . . he never amassed any property, he had no selfish desires, no thought of personal revenge. We may possibly be as learned as he was, but we can never be so full of tenderness.

Even a few weeks before his death in 1925, while cancer was eating out his wasting body, Dr. Sun was speaking forcefully in defense of a life-long struggle for his three principles —national liberation, democracy, and socialism. Before vast mass meetings he told

> . . . of his plans to organize the country on a cooperative basis, with representation from all the progressive movements, a country in which the people would have complete power to decide their own fate.

Though this book contains many of the basic writings of Sun Yat-sen, it makes no mention of an article published by him in early 1912 during his brief term as provisional president of the Chinese Republic, in which he stated:

> Unless we take care right from the start to protect ourselves against the establishment of capitalism, a despotism a hundred times more frightful than that of the Manchus awaits us, and rivers of blood will be required to liberate ourselves from it.

Reading such prophetic words, as well as other writings of Dr. Sun urging the establishment of a people's democracy and expressing his ceaseless hatred of foreign imperialism, one quite naturally compares them with the practices of the present Kuomintang dictatorship, which traffics in his name while violating every concept for which he struggled for forty years. The authors make no such comparisons, nor do they mention that even when Sun Yat-sen's forces were weak and his domestic and foreign enemies powerful and menacing, still he never once invited foreign armies to occupy the soil of his country on his behalf.

With his life work unfinished, he died tragically in Peking on March 12, 1925, with his grief-stricken wife wiping the death-sweat from his face. Madame Sun Yat-sen still relentlessly fights for the realization of his principles.

After his death, write these authors, the western powers eulogized him as one of the six great pioneers and leaders of the world. During his life, however, all those foreign powers except Soviet Russia called him a "Cantonese theorist, visionary, crack-pot, and trouble-maker." They always refused to recognize any Chinese government save those headed by chosen "strong men," quislings. Nor have those foreign powers changed their spots today.

The book is sometimes marred by Robert Payne's adolescent political ignorance, which he smothers in phony "poetic" images, such as this:

> Revolutions are like flowers that grow where the wind listeth; they arise often inexplicably as the result of forces which cannot be measured, because they are related to the overtones of the human heart.

Reading such passages, one has to come up for air. Like all revolutions, the Chinese revolution was, and remains today, explicable; and it can be measured in concrete actions —the struggle between a Chinese fascist dictatorship supported by American imperialism, and a representative Chinese people's democracy. Every Chinese patriot who is today mauled, imprisoned, or shot down by Kuomintang thugs armed with American guns, is struggling for the still unrealized principles of Sun Yat-sen.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Art As Experiment

NEW DIRECTIONS 9. Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. $3.75.

IN HIS annual gallery of experimental writing James Laughlin usually evades editorial responsibility by insisting that he does not judge what is "good" or "bad" but simply presents the diversity of the literary *avant-garde*. In "New Directions 9" the responsibility is more pressing because, as he admits, the experimental vein is running thin and because Farrell's leading essay on commercialized authorship involves the integrity of the non-commercial experimental writer—the intellectual, the literary rebel, the *révolté* of the "permanent revolution" in literature.

With understandable concern Farrell examines how commercial publication impedes the rapid growth of American literary taste and makes the writer a salesman. Yet his exploration of the dilemmas of the commodity vs. art opposition which cleaves low culture from high is inconclusive. After he demonstrates that philistine money can Hollywoodize literature until only "safe" books are printed on an industrial scale, Farrell addresses, with admirable quixotism, the "artistic conscience and honor," the artist as artist, in the name of "art as such." In so doing he minimizes the danger that art-as-such may terminate in the very literary bohemianism or skill-fetishism that he dreads. Though he observes how Marx demanded the emancipation of the press from commerce, the great issue is whether this emancipation can occur through the intransigence of the individual writer. Necessary and welcome as it is, the *avant-garde* is too often isolated in bohemia, that "cultural ghetto" of bourgeois society. In this instance Laughlin himself may offer a less naïve program when he argues that by developing a larger public concerned with serious writing we can somewhat mitigate the commercialization of authorship. In France, for example, La Nausée, Sartre's philosophic novel, has run to thirteen editions. The alternative to the industrialization of writing is not aesthetic rebellion, art as such. The bourgeois perspectives of J. Donald Adams will not be corrected by the cult of experimental or pure art.

The significant *révolté* is not *avant-garde* in this aesthetic sense. Henry Miller, who some time ago appeared to be only the *révolté*, never has appeared less so than in his present study of Rimbaud, himself a desperate *révolté*. Only Miller does not recognize him as such. He discerns in Rimbaud the *voyant* so finally alienated from the air-conditioned nightmare of the bourgeois world that he sinks into passivity and renunciation, with Miller's own conviction that "we are coming to the end." Here may be a better interpretation of Miller than of Rimbaud—but at least Miller can no longer be considered the arch-bohemian, or even experimental. His comments are almost academic in scope and precision.

At the other extreme from Miller is Eluard, the late surrealist, the alleged Stalinist of resistance poetry and as such, one presumes, "in line." Eluard, now in communication with his society, has like Aragon yielded his position as *révolté*. Incidentally, it seems certain that Eluard has accomplished a more satisfactory poetic clarity than Aragon. His ironies are less gross; the emotionalism is less shameless; the indirections and compressions and parallelisms, beneath the simplification of statement, are more extensive.

Both Miller and Eluard have, in their ways, emancipated themselves from the kept literary press and preserved their artistic honor. They are experimental in the only considerable sense of the term: their import cannot be summarized by referring to their method alone. In contrast is the "experimentation" of Patchen, with its freakish debasement of the portmanteau term, the Hemingway dialog, the Studs Lonigan milieu, the Sternian vignette and typography, and the surreal wisecrack, all of which give Patchen his "subterranean circulation." And is Berryman's prose "style" experimental: ". . . our visitor's grave words, repeated by me to the ceiling,

like a rite, with envy and relief, as meaningless as for some stray from the street, crept into a church for a moment out of the sun, the Elevation of the Host"? Barnes, Eliot, James, Pater, and Advanced Composition?

This collection will be re-read for other kinds of non-commercial experimentation that are not merely new directions in technique but in vision: the spasmodic three poems by Tennessee Williams; the William Carlos Williams story which, unlike Patchen's vulgarization of the Hemingway dialogue, adopts a kind of Hemingway simplification to effect its relationship to life; Paul Palmer's galloping parody of Dos Passos. Or there is the trio of Kafka fables, very brief but very authentic in their malaise, their sense of helplessness, and their ominous, seemingly detached symbols. Over and above the gibberish formulated into theses in the new translation of Lautréamont's preface to the verses that never appeared, admirers of the Maldoror will find a number of phrases by which to interpret the dislocations of that fierce and melancholy poem: "Communicate to your readers only the experience resulting from pain, which is no longer pain itself." The pain is that of the *révolté*. But the experimentation is inevitable, and not alone for the sake of art.

WYLIE SYPHER

BRIEFER COMMENT

Quantitative Verse

MAXWELL BODENHEIM, John Gould Fletcher, and Alfred Kreymborg have been familiar figures in literary circles for three decades, in which time, between them, they have written just one short of sixty books. Their virtues are well known: they have had successful careers; one of them has been president of the Poetry Society, another has won the Pulitzer Prize. There is little new, or encouraging, that can be said, now, about the publication of Selected Poems (Bodenheim, Ackerman, $3.50), The Burning Mountain (Fletcher, Dutton, $2.75), and Man and Shadow (Kreymborg, Dutton, $5).

All three of these books assay a high percentage of rhetoric, or The Will Trying to Do the Work of the Imagination. None of the three authors has a very good ear: Mr. Bodenheim's ironic wittitudes are better set off in his rhymed couplets (rare) than in his free verse rhythms (prevalent); Mr. Fletcher, for all his talk about symphonic forms and his division of his longer poems into four movements, is no Mendelssohn, let alone Mozart, of the written word; Mr. Kreymborg, in his long autobiographical poem, uses the colloquial manner of Robert Frost without the latter's saving grace of racy idiom, and at times, especially when rhyming, descends into a very vulgar doggerel indeed. If Mr. Fletcher's poem on Spain can be interpreted as anti-Franco, all three writers are at least progressive politically, against Hitler, for Democracy (Mr. Kreymborg very much so), and not too pessimistic (though Messrs. Bodenheim and Fletcher have their dark moments) about Humanity. There is almost nothing about the Atom Bomb.

Young poets, even those whose manuscripts are only "promising," have a legitimate grievance, I think, against

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MACMILLAN

publishers who continue to bring out books like these in a time of paper shortage. What difference can it possibly make to anyone except Messrs. Bodenheim, Fletcher, and Kreymborg whether Messrs. Bodenheim, Fletcher, and Kreymborg issue 20 or 21 books apiece? I know the old argument—publishers lose money on poetry, and so, perhaps, they feel safer sticking to the old stand-bys; but I cannot feel they are going to get very rich off these three volumes, either. Still, Mr. Kreymborg's book, I notice, is offered for sale at five dollars; an innocent in such matters, I nevertheless feel that this looks suspiciously like Inflation.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Big Business and the West

WHEN WORD CAME to Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, that the big government-financed steel plant at Geneva, Utah, had been sold to United States Steel for $47,500,000, the stout heart of the fighting little Nebraskan must have skipped a few beats. This was the plant in which we, the people of the United States, had invested $200,000,000. It was to be, with other smaller steel plants, a "center of economic gravity" for the industrial development of the West. Or such was Wendell Berge's vision as expressed in his book, "Economic Freedom for the West" (University of Nebraska Press, $2). Now that vision is blasted by this unpardonable sale of the plant to the Fat Boys of the East. It is ironic that this bargain sale—bargain, that is, for the Steel Trust—should have the blessings of Mr. Berge's boss, the bustling barrister from Texas, Attorney General Tom Clark, who announces that while the Geneva plant has an annual capacity of two million tons, or nearly 40 per cent of the total of the Far West, the sale does not constitute a monopoly in the technical sense of the word. That it does give U. S. Steel and the Pittsburgh gang a strangle-hold on any large-scale Western free enterprise is evidently not the concern of the Attorney General.

The welfare of Western war-born industries is, however, very much the concern of Wendell Berge. He is a genuine believer in free enterprise and in the effectiveness of the Anti-Trust Act in protecting the government-financed aluminum, magnesium, chemical, and steel works of the fifteen Western states; we paid two and a half billion dollars for them, whereas private concerns unwillingly put up about $656,000,000. Mr. Berge has written a strong appeal to all of us to save the big Western plants for our own use. But the Geneva sale is evidence of the resolve of Eastern special privilege to keep the West an industrial colony, paying its taxes, in the shape of "basing points" and exorbitant railroad rates, directly into the coffers of Wall Street.

This author has in him the crusading spirit of another great Nebraskan, George Norris. He is enlisted in a seemingly lost cause. Yet his faith in the resourcefulness and independence of the enterprisers on our last frontier makes his book heartening reading. It may well be that, disillusioned by such brazen sell-outs of our properties as the Geneva shenanigan, he will seek more drastic measures for curbing the monopolists than the antiquated Sherman Act.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

A Tactful Faith

QUITE RECENTLY THE SUPREME COURT ruled that Jim Crowism was illegal in vehicles operating in interstate commerce—yet throughout the South Negroes generally continued to move to the rear. Despite his Northeastern background and college education, Sergeant Logan, with his minimum demand ("A Negro's Faith in America," by Spencer Logan, Macmillan, $1.75) for equality of opportunity without social equality, is as humble and modest as his less advanced brethren in the South. Obviously, he does not see eye to eye with that unusual Negro woman who refused to sit in the rear of a bus, was fined for violating the Virginia Jim Crow statute, and finally won a victory for her race through her appeal to the Supreme Court. According to Mr. Logan, such people are guilty "of the gravest injustice to their cause if they attempt to gain by force of law alone the advantages of social equality from people who are not spiritually or morally prepared to grant it." He sounds defeatist as he assures the white reader that all the Negro masses need is bread and shelter, and that the Negro does not want to force himself "into the home life of white America." His desire to prove that the Negro does not expect any amalgamation of the two races even makes him strangely prejudiced against the "socially aggressive" light-complexioned Negro: "The lighter the color," he asserts, "the less stability of character and purpose." But how can the Negro ever achieve economic equality without social equality?

If Richard Wright's "Black Boy" was fraught with bitter rebellion, this other young Negro leans over backward. His book, which won the Macmillan Centenary Award for non-fiction, becomes far more valuable where the author leaves the field of Negro-white relations and starts to describe the life, hopes, and worries of his race. He depicts realistically the tragedy of Harlem, where college graduates and illiterate Southerners, law-abiding citizens and criminal elements are lumped together in one small terribly congested area, and he destroys the common notion that the Negro is just a happy-go-lucky: "The Negro laughs to forget his plight." Drinking, gambling, and prostitution were forced upon him by whites who took advantage of his predicament; as a proletarian, the Negro shares the lot of all proletarians, yet added to it is the burden of racial discrimination.

Mr. Logan, who spent several years in the army, is hopeful as far as the future of the American Negro is concerned. He found a great deal of inter-racial amity among the troops, and he believes that the Southern Negro soldier became more conscious of the rights and privileges of a democracy, of the ballot and the importance of using it. He is "convinced that many of the manifestations of race prejudice which we as Negroes experience would be greatly reduced if only those who yield to it could be brought face to face with the effects of this prejudice upon the human beings concerned." The author concedes that the road towards political and economic quality is a long and wearisome one, and that the changes towards the better are rather slow, but "in spite of all this I believe in America. My people believe in America. All the subtle persecution in the world cannot take our faith away from us."

ALFRED WERNER

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Paul Rosenfeld

PAUL ROSENFELD was an artist. In his performances one finds "a level of reality deeper than that upon which they were launched"; his experiences have not been "made by fear to conform with preconceived theories." Now to be thus "strong in oneself is to be strong in one's relationships. Give and take is effected, that feeds the powers"; powers that have afforded us "a great panorama of conclusions upon the contemporary scene"; a "miscellaneousness" of acknowledgment that baffles enumeration. The mind which has harbored this greater than greatest Noah's ark of acknowledgments was characterized by an early compliment to it in *The Nation,* as "courageous, clear, and biased."

Biased? Biased by imagination; and the artist biased by imagination is a poet, as we see in Paul Rosenfeld's mechanics of verbal invention. Mass epithet would not do; sensibility fevered the noun or the adjective. John Marin was "a timothy among the grasses"; "The Enormous Room" had "a brindled style"; "love and aversion" were "darts of light on a stilly flowing stream, wave-caps cast up and annihilated again by a silently rolling ocean."

Matching the ardor of the method, there was in Paul Rosenfeld a republicanism of respect for that *ignis fatuus,* liberty; a vision of spiritual fitness without visa; of "inner healing" for white America's black victims, those "splintered souls" whose "elasticity of young rubber is weakened and threatened and torn, in bodies of young girls become self-centered and men playing in vaudeville theatres." Though a bachelor, Paul Rosenfeld was not inimical to woman, as Margaret Naumburg, Gertrude Stein, my timid self, and many another might well have testified ere 1946. He even understood children, their "infantine works and little houses"; their way of "cooking a meal without friction of personalities," since "the end irradiates the means."

The artist is no "lily-leaning wistful willowy waning sentimentalist," but "a man of stomach," producing "hard form which reveals itself the larger the more it is heard." "Heard" suggests music, and in this regard there is an Amazon to explore; an Amazon that was a river, flowing and branching throughout a continent. It was without "axes to grind and sadism to exhaust."

In objectifying what poets, critics, novelists, educators, painters, photographers, sculptors had "given" him, Paul Rosenfeld exemplified most touchingly his conviction that possession involves responsibility. He toiled to benefit his benefactors; or to put it exactly, to benefit benefaction; to justify justice. It is not merely D. H. Lawrence, E. E. Cummings, Gaston Lachaise, Nodier, El Greco, Marsden Hartley, Mozart, or Stravinsky, to whom he was grateful, but to sculpture, painting, writing, music.

Nor was critical rectitude in Paul Rosenfeld something apart from supposedly more prosaic manifestations of conscience. "Michelangelo," he said, "does not stand entirely besmirched for having ceased work on the Medici tombs in order to fortify Florence against brutal Emperor and treacherous Pope." Paul Rosenfeld cared what becomes of us. "America," he said, "must learn to subordinate itself to a religious feeling, a sense of the whole life, or be dragged down into the slime."

Flamboyant generalities are the refuge of the lazy, things that sound well, but in this instance *are* well. Paul Rosenfeld, in his impassioned and varied books, was a poet. He was a scientist of music; a musician; the rescuer of Tristram and Iseult from the half-scholarship of judicious translating; "contented," "refreshed," "rejoicing," "gladdened" by his multifariousness of gratitude—a figure best praised by his own myriad chivalries, drudgeries, and masteries. When everything has its price, and more than price, and anyone is venal, what a thing is the interested mind with the disinterested motive. Here it is. We have had it in Paul Rosenfeld, a son of consolation, a son of imagination, the man of deeds.

MARIANNE MOORE

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued the recording of Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin" cycle that Lehmann made a few years ago, before the Petrillo ban (Set 615; $7.85). More exactly, it is a recording of nineteen of the twenty songs: Lehmann could not record "Ungeduld" for Columbia because she had recorded it several years earlier for Victor; and this creates the difficulty that if one interpolates the Victor "Ungeduld" at the proper point one hears a different-sounding voice. But one hears worse differences in the Columbia performances. The entire cycle could not be recorded at one session; and most of the songs—from the first, "Das Wandern," to No. 15, "Eifersucht und Stolz"—seem to have been done on days when Lehmann was having trouble with her voice—when she did not have the control of breath necessary for steady tone and smooth legato. The voice is shrill; in the fast songs the singing is breathlessly choppy, quavering, explosive, and at times inaccurate in pitch (the groups of breathily staccato notes of indeterminate pitch in "Mein" are painfully ludicrous), and the phrases are breathlessly clipped (worst of all in "Der Jäger"); and even in the slow songs, where the legato and phrasing are better, the tone is not firm and some groups of notes with wide upward leaps are achieved only with explosive strain. These things, moreover, are made worse by recording in which there is no consistency in volume-level or in balance of voice and piano, but which usually makes the voice too loud for the piano, and in some instances so loud that the shrill tones leap out at one almost entirely deprived of piano context. (In addition, the recording provides "Der Neugierige" with a background of Congo drumming that Schubert's score does not call for.) But in No. 16, "Die liebe Farbe," it is as though one were hearing another voice; and in fact one is hearing Lehmann's voice on a day when she had it under control: it is lovely, firm, steady, manipulated with ease in wonderfully inflected phrases. That is what one continues to hear in those last great songs, to the concluding sublimity of "Des Baches Wiegenlied," which is realized in the most beautiful performance of the series. In these songs, moreover, the voice is excellently reproduced; but it is not properly balanced with the piano. And only English summaries, not the German poems, are provided in the album.

The first part of Aaron Copland's "A Lincoln Portrait" contains some fine-sounding music of the kind that he would write if the title were "A Roosevelt Portrait" or "Allegheny Autumn." Which is to say that its only connection with Lincoln is the quotations from his speeches that it leads up to; but the way of presenting them—the business of "He was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, and lived in Illinois. And this is what he said: This is what Abe Lincoln said:" and "When standing erect he was six feet four inches tall. And this is what he said: He said:"—had me writhing. And Lincoln's words would seem to me to call for something less than Kenneth Spencer's bombastic decla-

mation. The performance of the music by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Rodzinski seems good and is well-reproduced (Set X-266; $2.85).

Rodzinski's performance of Wagner's "Siegfried Idyll" with the New York Philharmonic (Set X-265; $2.85) lacks the sensitive fluidity of the previously recorded performances of Muck, Toscanini, and Walter. Its over-all recorded sound is agreeable; but there are a few places where important melodic strands in the contrapuntal texture cannot be heard; and on side 2 of my copy there is some very bad distortion.

Respighi's "Pines of Rome" is well-performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, and the performance is well-reproduced (Set 616; $3.85); but the crescendo that Toscanini achieved in the finale is not on these records.

The Boccherini Sonata No. 2 in C major for cello and piano that Piatigorsky plays with Pavlovsky (71785-D; $1) I have found uninteresting; and though Piatigorsky's playing is unusually restrained, its mellifluousness is not to my taste. The performance is well-recorded.

Films

JAMES AGEE

IN "Caesar and Cleopatra" large million-dollar chunks of ancient Egypt are tossed around under Shaw's lines as casually as so many rehearsal campstools. They are often pleasantly gaudy, sometimes beautiful, and never, I think, primarily objectionable; yet to some extent, by their massiveness and their violence of complexion, they cloy one's attention and thus slow up the mind and the dialogue. The movie could have been as good, I am sure, and perhaps better, if the budget had been adequate only to take care of the players and their costumes, and their background had, with proper wit, been suggested and sketched in. But even as it stands, the show is excedingly good at the core, if you enjoy Shaw. Over that I am in no position to argue. I know of very little writing and not much music, for that matter, more pleasing than his work; nor do I expect to see his dialogue better used or his insights better understood than by most of the people in his cast, particularly Claude Rains and Vivien Leigh in the leading roles. Shaw's study of genius in Caesar, incidentally, makes most political leaders, and most studies of them, look about as well housebroken as a high-school debating society.

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"Caesar and Cleopatra" was, I gather, generally panned in England. I can't see why. "Dead of Night," which was also made in England, got raves here. I think I do see why. The film is made up of three amusing, rather old-fashioned, cryptic little episodes which might be supernatural or might just be elaborately "psychological." If you wholly reject the non-rational, the picture is no fun. But if you are by habit over-rational, a film so persuasive as this, suavely presenting as accomplished fact so much that you have refused to regard as even faintly conceivable, can profoundly disturb and excite you. This is, of course, an important and serious event, but the disturbed person has chiefly himself to thank for that, not the picture. Two excited reviews of the film seemed to me as sympathetically, yet naïve, as the reactions of certain friends of mine who heard Willkie talk just after his world tour and who, because for once they were sure they had found a sincere man, were sure they had found a great one. For such reasons, among others, any further development of America's so-called religious so-called revival is deeply to be dreaded, though no more so than most of those who dread or scorn it. If anyone can be trusted to hold his liquor, it is the habitual drinker. All this aside, "Dead of Night" is in every way made with exceptional skill and wit; as intelligent light entertainment it could not be better; and its famous last shot, whether one has foreseen it or not, is one of the most successful blends of laughter, terror, and outrage that I can remember. Even so I think it would be

(Continued on page 195)

"The resolution of conflict in self is like the making use of opposites in art"

TWO AESTHETIC ANALYSIS PAMPHLETS

by Eli Siegel

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Germany's Future

Dear Sirs: The "Future of the Ruhr and Rhineland" by Fritz Sternberg in the July 6 issue is one of the most subtle arguments to revivify German industry. It puts all thoughts of punishment for German war-like activity completely aside.

According to Mr. Sternberg, "The danger of a third world war does not lie in any future aggressiveness on Germany's part but in a sharpening of the enmity between the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union." Thus is future German aggressiveness lightly brushed aside. Where the peace-loving German socialists and democrats are to come from is completely unanswered. Past experience proves that any German is militantly Pan-Germanic.

All competent objective observers from Germany report no democratic activity there. Instead there is a bitterness at Hitler for not winning the War. Nazism is still the dominant feeling and pervades all thought. Rebuilding Nazi industry—all the rich industrialists were Nazis—will only show that we are soft and decadent to their thoughts.

When Germany shows her peaceful inclinations by actions and thoughts based on past actions, then is the time for the attitude suggested by Mr. Sternberg.

MICHAEL FRIEDMAN

Brooklyn, N. Y., July 22

Word From Finland

Dear Sirs: I herewith wish to express my sincere admiration for *The Nation*. It is really a very broadminded and human political magazine. I only complain that my acquaintance with it dates from last spring when I first had the opportunity to read it at the Information Library of the United States of America in Helsinki (Helsingfors), where I borrow American literature.

I am greatly surprised that our country's newspapers and political magazines don't make quotations from *The Nation*. There are no similar papers in this country who look at Franco Spain as do the editors of *The Nation*. Your struggle against fascism is in a class of its own. I admire your frankness and your articles, the way in which you defend the working class, and your logical and human viewpoint on the political and social situation today. It is really a very great loss to our politics and our people that our politicians don't follow such progressive and liberal magazines as *The Nation*.

Since last spring I have tried to introduce *The Nation* to my friends. I often make political speeches for groups of workers at Malm, a suburb to Helsingfors, and at each speech I make quotations from *The Nation*.

Because I was struggling against the Germans and the Finnish Fascists (not as a soldier, but in a political way) during the war I got imprisoned twice, but was let free October 1, 1944. I send my warmest greeting to all Americans who helped defeat the Germans and through this helped me to freedom. During the war I worked together with Socialists and Communists in the struggle against the fascism, but I have not joined the Communist Party, even though that party's program is moderate. The Finnish Communists seem to be logical and democratic in their claims.

ARVID E. CEDERBERG

Malm, Finland, July 30

Principles vs. "Realism"

Dear Sirs: I fully agree with Professor Grayson Kirk (*The Nation*, July 27) that our hope lies "in the development of general political understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union." But there can be no "general understanding" on the basis of secret diplomacy (Yalta-Potsdam) and power politics. These can only breed distrust, conflict and ultimately war; the experience of the last twelve months ought to be illuminating, even to the wilfully blind. Understanding comes only from a clear, honest, consistent statement of a permanent policy, i. e. of principles. We should make the United Nations Charter a reality, not a sham. If it were such a reality, if difficulties were settled on the basis of "understanding' and not of force, the United Nations Charter would automatically turn into the constitution of a world state. If we reject principles for "realism," i. e. deceit and violence, then we had better follow the advice of the late General Patton. Half-heartedness is neither peace nor straight "realism": it is "appeasement."

ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford University, Calif., August 1

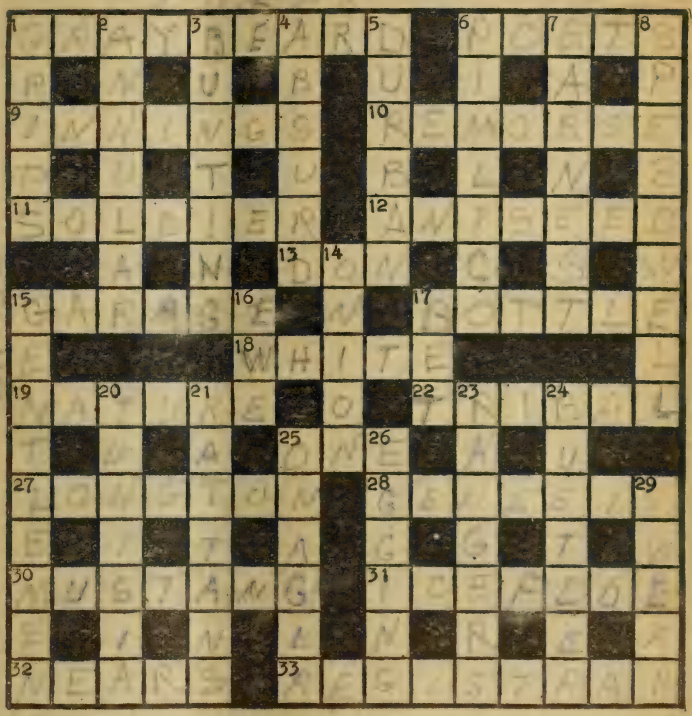
(*Continued from page* 194)

still better if "The End" were not superimposed on it, and if it ended with the first full closeup of its character.

"Notorious" lacks many of the qualities which made the best of Alfred Hitchcock's movies so good, but it has more than enough good qualities of its own. Hitchcock has always been as good at domestic psychology as at thrillers, and many times here he makes a moment in a party, or a lovers' quarrel, or a mere interior shrewdly exciting in ways that few people in films seem to know. His great skill in directing women, which boggled in "Spellbound," is functioning beautifully again: I think that Ingrid Bergman's performance here is the best of hers that I have seen. One would think that the use of the camera subjectively—that is, as one of the characters—would for many years have been as basic a movie device as the closeup, but few people try it and Hitchcock is nearly the only living man I can think of who knows just when and how to. He is equally resourceful, and exceptional, in his manufacture of expressive little air-pockets of dead silence. He has a strong sense of the importance of the real place and the real atmosphere; the shots of Rio de Janiero are excellent and one late-afternoon love scene is equally remarkable in its special emotion and the grandeur of excitement it gets away with, and in the amount these depend on communicating the exact place, weather, and time of day. Hitchcock also knows the movie value of the special tones and looks of people with special backgrounds, at special jobs. Cary Grant, as an American agent, has almost precisely the cultivated, clipped, puzzled-idealist brutality of a man whom I know in a roughly equivalent job; and Louis Calhern, as his boss, reminds me even more forcefully that, for what little good it gets us, there are considerable depths of specifically native sophistication at work, in and out of Washington. There is perhaps no telling how much of all this should be credited to Ben Hecht's screen play; but it seems safe to credit a good deal of the sharpest movie sense, and of a cool kind of insight and control which suggests a good French novelist, to Hitchock. The story by the way, shows Miss Bergman, a Nazi's daughter and a quondam tramp, doing State Department fingerwork among post-war German plotters in Brazil. Among her more painful duties is marrying Claude Rains, who is no less good as one of Hitler's unhappier orphans than as Bernard Shaw's coldly genial prototype of all dictators.

Crossword Puzzle No. 174

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Obviously he is not a young shaver any longer
6 The only truth tellers
9 Team's turn with the bat
10 The gnawing pain of guilt
11 Fighting man
12 Die sane (anag.)
13 Quixotic fellow
15 A necessity with most houses
17 Bundle of hay when it pours
18 The color you get by mixing all the others
19 Her Spring dress is much admired
22 Clannish
25 Singleton
27 2,240 pounds (4 and 3)
28 A first book
30 This wild horse needs to have his head
31 Polar bears like to be photographed on one
32 Approaches
33 A stranger who interests himself in your birthday

DOWN

1 Grasps
2 Ring-shaped
3 May be found among the reeds and flags
4 Ridiculous
5 Rub Dan down in a South African town
6 Buckingham Palace is in this London district
7 One who is in this is in no joking mood
8 Flowery adieu
14 Groucho Marx suggested using this vegetable to make your ice water
15 They take off their hats to women
16 This creature sounds like you, dear
17 Lay
20 Is a unit in North Africa
21 Walking-canes, maybe
23 These and the Home Guard would seem to have complementary roles
24 Butler's become active
25 Orange mixture
26 Urging on
29 Said the ghost in *Hamlet*

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 173

ACROSS:—1 HYPHEN; 4 WHEATEAR; 10 THOREAU; 11 SWAMPED; 12 AVERT; 13 EKE; 14 TYROL; 15 ENROL; 17 MARKSMAN; 21 RAPPINGS; 23 EDGAR; 26 ALTER; 28 MUM; 29 THEME; 30 DISTEND; 31 NANETTE; 32 EVERYMAN; 33 FERRIS

DOWN:—1 HOT CAKES; 2 PIONEER; 3 EVERT; 5 HASTE; 6 AWAIT; 7 EMPORIA; 8 RIDDLE; 9 SUPERMAN; 16 LOP; 18 RESUMING; 19 SUE; 20 BREEDERS; 22 ARTISTE; 24 GREATER; 25 CAUDLE; 27 REEDY; 28 MEDIA; 29 TENSE.

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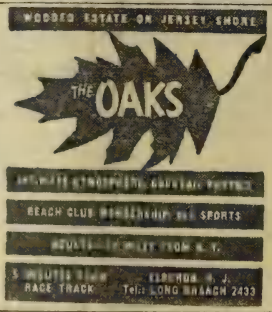

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The Shape of Things

HOPE FOR EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO CARRY on the work of UNRRA have improved somewhat as a result of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the State Department. William L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State, said on his return from the UNRRA council meeting in Geneva that provision would have to be made in some way for 800,000 refugees and displaced persons, not much below the present number being cared for by UNRRA. The representatives he left behind at Geneva—assuming they were not misquoted by the Associated Press, which carried a most unfortunate misquotation of Director General La Guardia's statement—even recommend that UNRRA's refugee activities be continued for six months after the funds run out on December 31, or until the International Refugee Organization can take over. One thing is certain; the I. R. O. will have neither the organization nor the money to begin operations anywhere near December 31. The most we can hope is that some sort of life can be instilled into it when the General Assembly meets in September, and that the money can then be found somewhere. Money will be necessary also to maintain the refugee personnel of UNRRA, and as far as the United States is concerned it will be very difficult to do anything about it in time. Congress has adjourned for the summer and for the elections, and it is at least even money that it will not come back to Washington until next January.

✶

MR. TRUMAN NO DOUBT WAS RELUCTANT to ask for additional funds for UNRRA's work from such a Congress, but he and his State Department will have much to answer for as the result of their lack of courage. It would appear that Mr. Clayton, who was principally responsible for the decision to cut off UNRRA with no additional funds, was primarily interested in stopping free food from countries under Soviet influence. Other countries, presumably Greece and Italy, will get American loans, although how that can be done without Congressional action is not easy to see; our Export-Import Bank is supposed to supply credits solely for actual projects, not national subsistence, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development still refuses to be involved in such utopian projects as feeding people and rebuilding devastated areas. Since we were contributing three-fourths of the cost of running UNRRA, and presumably will pay only our standard United Nations contribution of 24 per cent to whatever UNRRA activities it takes over, the new set-up will represent a saving to the American taxpayer. Let us hope that it will not cost the hungry people of Europe and the Far East more than it saves us. The only way we can avoid a real catastrophe next January is to continue the pressure on the Truman Administration. The United Nations still has not enough competent personnel, and the steps necessary to build up a satisfactory staff, to obtain the necessary money, and really to take over from UNRRA, will be long and difficult. But it is a task worth doing, and we should remember the warning by Herbert H. Lehman, LaGuardia's predecessor as director general of UNRRA, of the consequences "which must inevitably arise if the ground which has been so laboriously gained by UNRRA over the past years is lost."

✶

THE DEPORTATION OF SOME 1,300 JEWS WHO had made their way into Palestine in defiance of the British blockade and quotas can only make an ugly situation worse and a solution more difficult to find. Of what use is it for Mr. Bevin to discuss possible compromise plans with members of the Jewish Agency or his own Cabinet members while Moslem troops from Britain's Indian army herd Jewish refugees into barbed-wire concentration camps in Cyprus, and British courts hand out death sentences to Jewish rebels? The deportations and repressions are certain to cancel out any attempt to find a peaceful solution; cancel it out by inflaming the emotions and hardening the will of both sides in the struggle; by discrediting every Jewish leader who agrees to negotiate with the British and glorifying the young fanatics who use hand grenades and guns. If Mr. Bevin really wants peace in Palestine he will have to call off his side of the civil war first. He will have to release imprisoned Jewish officials and all the others who have been jailed for their opinions. He will have to halt the deportations, allowing the refugees to remain in Palestine until an immigration policy is finally agreed upon. Then perhaps he can talk with the Agency officials to some purpose, for it looks as though an improved partition plan, providing full autonomy, with control over

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immigration, in a larger Jewish zone, might be acceptable to the more moderate Zionist leaders. But such a scheme cannot even be discussed while war rages in the Holy Land.

*

THE SOVIET NOTE TO TURKEY PROPOSING revision of the Montreux Convention which governs navigation rights between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, has placed another indigestible dish on the overloaded diplomatic table. The note made five suggestions: (1) that the straits should always be open for the passage of merchant vessels of all nations; (2) that they should be always open to the warships of Black Sea powers; (3) that warships of others powers should be barred except in cases specially provided for; (4) that "the establishment of the regime of the straits . . . must constitute the competence of Turkey and the other Black Sea powers"; (5) that the defense of the straits should be jointly organized by Turkey and the Soviet Union. The first three of these proposals conform closely to ones made by Mr. Byrnes last November and, if the Russian plan had stopped there, it would have been acceptable to Turkey and the other signatories of Montreux as a basis for negotiation. But the fourth point appears to exclude all but the Black Sea powers from the picture, leaving Turkey to deal in isolation with mighty Russia and two of its satellites. And the fifth is interpreted as a demand for Russian bases on Turkish soil.

*

NOT SURPRISINGLY ANKARA HAS INDICATED that it regards these proposals as incompatible with Turkish sovereignty and "categorically unacceptable." Unfortunately, the U. S. S. R. can appeal to several historical precedents in support of its claims: for instance, the demands made by President Theodore Roosevelt on Colombia which preceded the acquisition by the United States of the Panama Canal Zone, and British insistence on special rights in Egypt in connection with the Suez Canal. The fact is that, before the Dardenelles problem can be finally settled, we shall need an international conference to decide on principles governing the navigation of all international waterways. As *The Nation* has often pointed out, the Western powers cannot oppose Russia's designs with moral or political precepts which they neglect themselves.

*

WITH THE EMBARGO ON OVERSEAS PRESS dispatches lifted and arbitration under way the Press Wireless dispute, which for a week has disrupted all major services between the United States and most foreign countries, seems sure to be settled. But the strike develops certain issues which went far beyond the merits of the case. The grievances of the strikers were clear and impressive. Members of the American Communications Association (C. I. O.) walked out to protest the firing of

forty-six of their men and the reclassification of many others, with accompanying reductions in pay. Whether they violated their contract by striking will be determined by the arbitration proceedings, but their tactics during the strike raise a grave question of union policy. It was entirely reasonable for the A. C. A. to order its members everywhere to refuse to handle Press Wireless copy during the strike, with consequent financial loss to that agency. But the union went beyond reasonable limits, it seems to us, when it ordered its members to embargo copy from all other cable companies on the ground that is was the only way to get at the papers owning Press Wireless, which were avoiding the consequences of the strike by getting their news through other channels. In other words, Press Wireless and its owners were to be penalized even if the process involved penalizing innocent cable companies and innocent newspapers, not to mention millions of readers who were to be denied full access to the news at a crucial moment in world affairs. The Newspaper Guild of New York is to be commended for having asked its members not to handle Press Wireless copy, while refusing to extend the ban to other channels covered by the A. C. A. embargo.

*

SINCE THE VIOLENT END OF BOLIVIA'S President Villaroel, other South American despots have been having nightmares in which lamp-posts are a prominent feature. The President of Paraguay two weeks ago went to the length of clearing the plaza before his palace of these dangerous weapons, and now the Argentine dictator appears to be similarly affected. When police tore down a placard with the legend "This post is waiting for President Perón," that idol of the people began to show signs of hysteria. "If anyone is thinking of a revolt," Perón announced to a group of his own officials, he himself would "act the week before." And growing still more graphic: "It is all a matter of giving a few feet of rope to the Descamisadas [his shirtless supporters], and then we will see who hangs." These and other such remarks confirm rumors in Buenos Aires that Perón's mixed following is already seriously disaffected, with certain labor and army groups getting set for a showdown. Inflated prices, wholesale thievery in high places, and factional ambitions appear to be mixing a bitter brew for Perón, whose regime meanwhile steadily takes on a deeper fascist coloration. It is characteristic that he talks of suppressing revolt not with the legitimate forces of government, but with his private following of 500,000 Descamisadas, which "with me at the head amounts to a million." He demands immediate formation of a "single party." And his Minister of Migration, inviting a thousand Norwegian quislings "of the best racial types" to settle in his country, bars the gate to refugees from Central Europe ("Argentina cannot put up with that useless human wreckage"). Perón discovers now, too late, that "to govern is not my profession." He is a soldier, he says, and he "will die fighting." So did Villaroel.

*

WHILE THE CASUALTY LIST IN CALCUTTA rises to monstrous proportions—more than 3,000 killed and injured as we go to press—Congress Party leaders proceed grimly with the job of setting up India's new Provisional Government. The background of the last few days' events is carefully drawn by Shiva Rao in a dispatch from New Delhi on a later page; even when he wrote, the prospect of a peaceful transition was clouded by the Moslem threat of direct action to block British proposals and Congress attempts to act upon them. The communal fighting which followed inexorably upon Mr. Jinnah's declaration of "Direct Action Day" undoubtedly threatens the whole plan for a representative interim government. Jinnah has pointed up the violence of his followers by attacking the Congress leaders as "caste Hindu fascists" who want the rule over the Moslems with the backing of British bayonets and by flatly refusing to cooperate with the Provisional Government. In such a setting the possibility of compromise seems negligible. That India's hope of independence should be drowned in Indian blood is intolerable, but unless Mr. Jinnah changes his mind very suddenly or Viscount Wavell and Pandit Nehru make unexpected concessions, the new government would appear to be doomed at birth.

Battle of the Blocs

THE Paris Peace Conference spent its third week listening to and discussing statements made by the five defeated countries. Nothing in the debate, however, suggested any closer approach to a common purpose, or even an increased disposition to compromise opposing views. On the contrary, many of the speeches were couched in bitter terms and new controversies arose.

Mr. del Vayo, in the review of Russian foreign policy which appears on another page, deplores the fission of the late allies into competing blocs and describes the growing fear and suspicion of the western powers which he found in Moscow. The question of who began the game of bloc-building is an arguable one, but certainly there is nothing to be gained any longer by denying that such blocs exist. The nature of the divisions at the Paris conference offers too much evidence on that score.

The course of the voting on procedural questions indicated that the western group is considerably larger than the eastern. But what the Soviet bloc lacks in numbers it makes up in organization, and its discipline is much tighter. At no time has the care with which its strategy is planned been better demonstrated than during the past week when the reception given to the spokesmen of Hitler's satellites was clearly designed to

emphasize that ex-enemies who followed the Moscow line would be given much greater consideration than ex-enemies who didn't, or even ex-allies. Thus de Gasperi's plea for a softening of the harsh Italian treaty terms was castigated by Molotov and still more severely by the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Edward Kartelj. But when Romania and Bulgaria made similar pleas, and asked to be given the status of co-belligerents, they found sponsors in the Soviet camp. Bulgaria, indeed, received the backing of the Ukraine and Poland for its demand that Greece cede to it part of Thrace so as to provide it with an outlet on the Aegean. Greece, on the other hand, a country which suffered enormously as a result of invasion by the Nazis and their allies, including Bulgaria, was treated with cold hostility by Soviet spokesmen and its claims for territorial compensation, which would give it better strategic frontiers, were derided.

The lesson conveyed by such differentiations was rubbed in by Molotov in a speech warning Italy and France against aligning themselves with America and Britain. "Certain great powers," he said, "are now trying to assure themselves of a position in the Mediterranean by attempting to relegate to the background not only Italy but also France." The Russian Foreign Minister went on to allege that Italy was in danger of "enslavement through foreign trusts and cartels" if it yielded to demands for special privileges by "foreign powers, disposing of great capital and vast means of pressure." This passage appears to have been an attack on the economic clauses which the United States wishes to insert in the Italian and other treaties with a view to insuring most-favored-nation treatment to all members of the United Nations and the exclusion of discriminatory trade agreements.

There have been many hints in the past few months that Russia was opposed to the whole American program for the freeing of international trade but none offered so direct a challenge as this speech of Molotov's. It provoked Byrnes to a heated reply, in the course of which he pointed out that the principle of equality of economic opportunity was embodied in the Atlantic Charter, reaffirmed in the United Nations Declaration, and restated in the joint declaration of the Potsdam Conference. "Would anyone seriously propose," he asked, "that an opposite intent be written into these treaties—that Italy or the Balkan countries should be free to discriminate in favor of some and against others of the Allied countries? . . . Would anyone suggest that those countries which were the principal objects of German economic penetration . . . should merely substitute for Germany some other country on which they would be almost entirely dependent for supplies and for markets? It is out of such arrangements, and not out of non-discriminatory trade, that enslavement and exploitation arise?"

These two speeches by the heads of the Soviet and American delegations glaringly reveal the almost insuperable difficulties of reconciling two totally opposite points of view. To the Russians the principles outlined by Byrnes appear simply as a device to further capitalist imperialism; to Americans, the bilateral agreements which the Soviets are concluding with the states within their sphere, often in conjunction with reparation agreements, look very much as if they were designed to insure economic subservience and to secure for Russian workers the benefits of "surplus value" created by the workers of other lands. Perhaps both are wrong but we have a ghastly feeling that probably both are right and that the battle of the blocs is, in part at least, a struggle, not between light and darkness, but between two varieties of big-power domination.

La Follette's Folly

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE'S defeat in the Republican primary is a doubly painful occurrence: first, because it removes from the Senate an extremely able and progressive legislator, and second, because La Follette needlessly brought about his own downfall. The simple political truth is that he had no business running in a Republican primary at all. When the Progressive Party appeared to be played out, La Follette was invited, urged, and begged to bring his following into the Democratic Party, which, though numerically weak, had a monopoly of the state's liberals who were not still clinging to the foundering ship of the Progressives. But, guided by his mercurial brother Phil, he chose to force himself and his followers on a stodgy Republican machine, which he fantastically expected to control through the adulterated magic of the La Follette name. Had the Republicans nominated him, he would, if elected, have taken back to Washington with him a delegation of reactionary party hacks, in contrast to the slate of liberal nominees put up by the Democrats. For the sake of his own election he would have paralyzed Wisconsin's liberal forces, already reeling from the blow of the Progressive Party's dissolution.

The result of this major political blunder was that thousands of former Progressives abandoned La Follette and went into the Democratic primary to roll up a vote for Howard McMurray, a confirmed New Dealer. The defection was enough to eliminate La Follette and give the Republican nomination to youthful Circuit Court Judge Joseph R. McCarthy, whose strategy was the simple one of taking any position that La Follette opposed. This ill-starred expediency was not the only burden that La Follette carried into the campaign. Both McMurray and McCarthy hammered away at La Follette's isolationist record, encouraged by the defeat of such other senatorial isolationists as Nye, Wheeler, Shipstead, and Gos-

sett. Nor was La Follette helped in industrial areas by McMurray's reminders that in 1944 he had soured enough on the Roosevelt Administration to speak of the New Deal's "tarnished record" both at home and abroad. And then came the kiss of death—a letter from Senator Taft, widely circulated by McMurray, in which the man with the Senate's most brilliant nineteenth-century mind affirmed that he was ideologically closer to La Follette than to the liberal Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Having elected to cast his fortunes with the Republican Party, it would admittedly be difficult for La Follette to switch over to the Democrats on the strength of one intra-party setback. But the other courses open to him are even less attractive. He has too much integrity, we believe, to back McCarthy for the sake of a party regularity that he never proclaimed, and, with his own machine destroyed, he can hardly run much of a race as an independent. He will therefore either recognize his serious mistake, support McMurray in November, and join forces with the Democrats, who would welcome him with enthusiasm; or he will pitch a tent durable enough for one of the longest sulks on record.

The last of these possibilities would be a serious loss to the country. Even at the peak of his isolationism, La Follette scorned the unsavory associations that ruined the careers of lesser men like Nye and Wheeler. And on the positive side, his zealous protection of civil liberties, his contributions to the growth of labor's influence, and his recent—and partially successful—efforts to reorganize Congress along more orderly lines leave the nation very much in his debt. After twenty years of service in the Senate, Bob La Follette is only fifty now—far too young to bury his talents and experience either in private enterprise or in the Republican Party.

The Worlds of H. G. Wells

IT IS foolish to be solemn about the death of H. G. Wells; otherwise one could say, with perfect truth, that our century has lost its Diderot. But this was the man who snorted: "Don't interrupt me. Can't you see I'm busy dying?" It is more as if the last bluejay had died: we shall never again hear that bright, brash, busy, scolding voice, so opinionated and confident and alive, so sure that everything will come right in the end, if we can only somewhere find the sense to behave as the voice keeps telling and telling and telling us to behave.

In the end he outlived himself, as men do; and his last fretful attacks upon mankind—which he called obsolete—and the English royal family—which he called corrupt—had kept only the testiness and impatient violence of the real Wells. But he had left a little of himself in eighty books, and had left more of himself in a time and in the people of that time. For a decade he was the most influential writer in the world: readers went into his books as children go into a forest, and every one of them could come back with something different. For there were all the fantastic stories, full of a grotesque and plausible imagination that it would be libelous to pigeonhole as "scientific"; all the humorous genre pictures of that nation of shopkeepers, England; all those hortatory, didactic, journalistic "novels" of Mr. Britling or William Clissold or whatever megaphone Wells was using; speeches and interviews and articles about everything in the world; and, last and longest, all the volumes of that private, patiently elaborated encyclopedia which he might well have called "The Outline of the History, Evolution, Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind." He was a great journalist and propagandist and teacher; was even, sometimes, a good writer; but first of all he was a great work of nature, one of the wonders of the Western world. It is odd to think that, just as Diderot survives mostly in "Rameau's Nephew," Wells will survive mostly in a few stories.

Few people did more to destroy Victorianism; yet he was in a queer sense the last of the great Victorians, since he took one part of Victorianism—the vigorous and absolute trust in science and progress that he got from Huxley, his first teacher—and made from that a club with which he could beat everything else into pieces. How many times he told us that Science is the Means and the End and the Way; that it alone can sweep away all the outmoded rubbish of the past in which we miserable squatters are worrying out our petty existences; that sooner or later we must relinquish our destiny to those disinterested, impatiently efficient boards of scientific engineers that will build around us the future's barer and better world. Certainly he was not exaggerating the physical powers of science: today most of us can understand that, used as it seems it will be used, Science can sweep out of this world, along with the rest of the rubbish, most of that poor rubbish Humanity. But it has become harder and harder to believe in the existence of the boards; easier and easier to understand that Wells attacked confusion so violently because he himself was so confused, and admired nothing but clarity and reasonableness and efficiency because they were exactly what he himself never had. His conquests of the world had a curiously factitious quality, since they were accomplished not by overcoming obstacles one by one but by sweeping them all aside in a simple, magnificent, oblivious gesture. Between the Defoesque particulars and the cloud-like abstractions of his work there was a tactical vacuum that his moral enthusiasm and moral indignation could never hide.

And yet what a prophet he was, at his best. He was a man whose lifelong vocation was understanding what the next war—the First World War, the Second World War, the Third World War—was going to be like. It

was not just that he predicted the atomic explosions, the disease-ridden and decimated populations, the radioactive areas bare of any life: he understood the confident generals, the petty and harried politicians, the worried and helpless scientists, the young fliers thoughtless as puppies—all the people who drop the bombs because they can think of no alternative. How unfortunate that this wasn't just one more mistake of that fertile, vigorous, and so often mistaken mind! But he was right; and all of us have been flung willy-nilly out of the world that created Wells into the most menacing of the worlds that Wells created.

What Price Groceries?

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, August 19

THE large and impressive Senate caucus room is the stage for some of the most exciting theatricals in Washington. There, under the blinding glare of the newsreel floodlights, Cordell Hull told the story of pre-war American foreign policy to the Pearl Harbor investigating committee. There husky Ed Pauley squirmed and perspired under the savage questioning of Senator Tobey of the Naval Affairs Committee. There the sordid story of war profits, of the slick Garsson boys and blustering Andrew Jackson May, was unfolded.

But for four days last week a deadly-serious social drama replaced this run of melodrama and tragedy. Instead of the usual array of Senators behind the long table, there were three men, members of the Price Decontrol Board. The big, friendly, white-haired man in the middle was Roy Thompson of New Orleans, chairman. To his left was Daniel Bell, a small, neat man with skeptical eyebrows and a cold, persistent curiosity. The man to the right, with a wrinkled forehead and tired eyes, was George Mead. Bell is a banker now, but for thirty-five years he was a model professional public servant. Mead is a Republican manufacturer who has served on a number of federal boards since 1933.

This board was a product of indecision, political fears, and deadlock. In the dying days of Congress, the House-Senate conference committee on price-control legislation was meeting morning, afternoon, and night. The big issue was food prices. The food lobby was piling on pressure to keep controls off; labor and the Administration were insisting that they be held on. Both sides threatened political revenge. The Senators and Congressmen were unhappy.

Finally, Senator Radcliffe of Maryland had an idea. Why not let someone else make this decision, say a board? The conferees brightened up—why sure, why should we take the heat? That was the genesis of the Decontrol Board.

For four days all the old arguments were repeated. There were the same statistics and charts and threats. The caucus room was taken over by the lobbyists.

But there was a different quality to these hearings. There was none of the anxious humility of Congressmen in the presence of bigtime lobbyists. The three board members were polite but neither enthusiastic nor cool when the big names of the farming and food industries sat before them.

Throughout the long hours of testimony and questioning, the basic issues and the opposing sides in this great economic battle gradually cleared. The most powerful segments of the food industry—the big farmers, the larger packing houses, the grocery chains, the larger distributors—were against price controls and subsidies. Their reasons were hinted at by two witnesses. One, representing small packers, said that under price control the small independents had been able to compete with the big boys. In an uncontrolled market, they would be squeezed out. Another witness, testifying for small milk farmers in the New York area, said that under subsidies the farmer made his reasonable profit. But now, he testified, with high prices the dealer is collecting the increase and the farmer is getting only a fraction.

There was a somewhat unreal quality to the testimony of the large farm organizations, the Farm Bureau and the Grange, which are tied to the anti-control group. Less than fifteen years ago the farmers were the radicals. They came to Washington demanding controls. Henry Wallace was their idol. The farmers had lost their big mass markets because city workers were without jobs. The farmers demanded action without precedent.

The first witness on Monday morning was Ed O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation and a political powerhouse. He is a suave old man with an amused twinkle in his blue eyes. For a longer time than he would care to admit, Ed O'Neal has been dictating farm policy in Washington, and electing and defeating candidates for offices from county commissioner to United States Senator.

O'Neal pooh-poohed all the talk about prices being too high. Of course some prices had risen above what most thinking farmers would like them to be, but, he

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said with a wag of his head, "Many of these price increases are not as great as they appear. Through much of the twenties and thirties, the consumer received his food at unreasonably low prices."

The Farm Bureau head forcefully, and with mountains of statistics, denied that the three conditions existed under which the board could decide to recontrol prices and authorize subsidies. These three conditions—written into the bill—are: food prices must have risen unreasonably since June 30, the products in question must be in short supply, and price controls must be practical.

All through the morning and into the afternoon, the grain farmers, dealers, and distributors hammered at their themes: a return to price control would mean black markets and less grain; there is plenty of grain for everyone; prices, really, are not too bad.

The first consumer witness was no match for the polished, confident, and well-armed professional lobbyists. She was nervous and easily flustered by the questions of the board. Her argument was simple and sincere: "Price rises threaten the basic cost of living. One-eighth of the food budget goes for grain products. Any rise in cereal prices would be a hardship for low-income groups."

A serious young man representing combined labor groups gave statistics destroying the myth that incomes are flushed and bank deposits stuffed. He testified that since the end of the war, the average weekly wage has dropped from $47 to $43. Savings are rapidly draining off. Half of American families have less than $500 left in savings.

Tuesday was meat day. Judge Montague herded his collection of husky, tanned men from the Western livestock farms into the chamber. The spokesman for the meat raisers was good-looking, self-assured Col. Jay L. Taylor. Mead chided him once, saying, "Don't you think you exaggerated the Congressional situation when you said Congress was unanimously opposed to controls?"

Taylor's voice grew hard, "If you want production, you might as well face the facts. You won't get production if you recontrol meat. Do you want production?"

It was a plain threat. Play our game or we strike. Mead asked him several other questions, but each time Taylor came back with the same answer: "Give us high prices and we'll produce."

Other witnesses were a little less blunt. A representative of the meat packers who looked like a well-dressed pig said, "Prices have not risen unreasonably. Prices are declining steadily. The supply picture is very favorable. Give us a little more time to prove we can provide meat at a reasonable cost."

The bald heads in lobbyists's row were startled by a defiant representative of the National Meat Industry Council, an organization of small packers. "The lapse of price controls," he said, "has been followed by price rises to record high levels. Meat prices have gone up from 20 to 50 per cent. These increases are in spite of large supplies. An uncontrolled market will force prices much above OPA plus subsidy."

The meat lobby was struck from another side by Herman Greenberg, formerly of OPA but now representing the New Council of American Business, who said sarcastically: "One of the gentlemen here this morning who cried the loudest about the black market was indicted and pleaded guilty to violation of price controls."

Greenberg said livestock prices have gone up 34 per cent in a month's time and that this is only a beginning; that retail meat prices in Washington shot up 73 per cent over June 30 ceilings.

Boris Shishkin, the lanky economist for the A. F. of L., dropped a gentle warning in the laps of the board. "The A. F. of L.," he said, "has strongly urged its affiliated unions to follow a policy of restraint in collective bargaining on wages. We have a specific program to help achieve greater production. We have taken these steps because of labor's hope that stable transition to full production is still possible with the aid of effective price control." Shishkin paused just a moment. "However, the patience of American wage earners is running out. The American worker will not sit idly by watching his weekly wage dwindle before his eyes."

The most dramatic witness of the whole hearing was Mrs. Frances Silverman, a young, very pretty, and indignant Brooklyn housewife, representing the Buyers' Strike Committee. Her angry dark eyes flashed as she charged: "Congress was derelict. If necessary, we'll organize buyers' strikes across the country so meat will rot in the slaughterhouses. Then maybe we can all eat, and not just the rich."

The next morning, Wednesday, Tom Linder, Commissioner of Agriculture from Georgia and venomous foe of the New Deal, made an attack on the integrity of the board. He slyly quoted a Washington news letter and Fulton Lewis to the effect that the board was "fixed" and its employees were all OPAers. This brought the first anger from the board members. By turn, they told Linder that they resented his statements. But the groundwork was laid. If the board decides for decontrols, the opponents have their alibi.

The final witness Thursday night was Phil Murray, fresh from a meeting downtown of C. I. O. leaders. His was a broadside attack on Congress for letting inflation get started, upon OPA for not fighting harder against it, and on the enemies of control. He spoke gloomily in his soft Scotch burr of "inflation and depression" and told the board: "It is your solemn duty and responsibility to put a stop to rising prices."

The big caucus room quickly cleared. The lights were turned off. And the three men went home to mull over the problem of the nation's grocery bill.

Will Russia Break With the West?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 12

THE recurring crises in the inter-Allied negotiations give rise at regular intervals to predictions that a final break is imminent. This has happened at some point in the course of every international meeting since the war ended but I have always felt sure, and have expressed my certainty in *The Nation*, that a break would not take place—not on the initiative of the Russians, in any case. Today, returning to Paris from Moscow in the midst of a new crisis, I still refuse to accept current rumors of an inevitable, disastrous break. No matter how tense the situation may become during the week ahead, I am confident that even at the last moment a way out will be discovered. For Russia, from which the difficulties are generally expected, will never of its own accord take the responsibility of bringing about the collapse of the frail structure of international cooperation that emerged from the war.

Russia's foreign policy, whether one approves of it or not, has, in this period of weakness and confusion, one distinguishing characteristic: it knows exactly where it is going. Besides this, it knows how far to go, where to stop, when to reduce its speed or even to retreat. And the limit Moscow sets is the line beyond which lies the imminent threat of war. This is why in my first article I emphasized the Russians' will to peace; in spite of the apparent rigidity and intransigence displayed by Molotov and his colleagues, that will still dominates Moscow's foreign policy.

The Soviet Union not only knows its own course; it knows as much as can be known about the purposes and plans of the Western powers, so often contradictory or even hard to discover. People talk about the growing isolation of the Kremlin; but if by this they mean that the government is not fully aware of the growth of anti-Russian feeling in the West during the last six months, they are greatly mistaken. Talking to many Russians who had never left Moscow, I might easily have believed that they had just stepped out of a plane from Washington. American opinion is followed with extreme care.

This is natural, and not only because of the weight and importance of the United States—today the only other really great power. Soviet concern derives also from the hope that was formerly placed in America; for it was to the United States that Russia looked to maintain in the first years of peace the collaboration which made possible Allied military victory. In that short-lived hope a personal factor played a decisive part and might have exercised a tremendous influence on early post-war developments, if death had not intervened. The loss of Franklin D. Roosevelt was a disaster that today seems to loom larger in the minds of Soviet citizens than of Americans. Russians are acutely aware of the service he rendered when, against the advice of his doctors, he traveled to Yalta to establish a basis of mutual understanding for the difficult period that was just opening. There in the Crimea, as at no previous meeting, Roosevelt won the confidence of Stalin and with it the confidence of the Russian people. General Catroux, the able French Ambassador to Moscow, told me how ordinary Russians had reacted to the news of Roosevelt's death; there was, said the Ambassador, "general consternation."

Had Roosevelt lived, American-Soviet relations, in the opinion of most informed Russians, would have followed a different course. Old reciprocal suspicions, which for more than two decades had hampered normal dealings between Russia and the Western Powers, had already been reduced to relatively harmless proportions; but even confidence and understanding, however important, needed to be buttressed by the broad, statesmanlike attitude of the late President. The most striking thing about Roosevelt's handling of the Russian issue was his capacity to relegate to second place aspects of Soviet policy with which he disagreed and to stake everything on Russia's undoubted desire to maintain the coalition among the Allies and extend it to the problems of the peace. At Yalta, in particular, he held to that major purpose and subordinated his disagreement on less crucial matters. The essential role of mediator, so clearly reserved for the United States, has found no successor to Roosevelt. Only an amateur of diplomacy like Mr. Bullitt—a man can hold the highest diplomatic post and remain an amateur—could have wanted the President to burn all his bridges on, let us say, the issue of Poland; the same sort of people here in Paris—one meets them every day—are again eagerly waiting for the moment when a sonorous Anglo-Saxon fist descends upon the conference table and ends the show, throwing Russia forever out of the community of nations.

To remain faithful to the idea of cooperation with the Soviet Union does not mean accepting every move Moscow makes. I believe the situation in most of the Eastern European countries after the war was naturally so favorable to the Russians that even in their own interest they

THIS IS THE SECOND article in a series by The Nation's *European editor, reporting on his recently completed trip to the Soviet Union. Mr. Del Vayo's third article will deal with the new Five Year Plan.*

could have used tactics which would have provoked less opposition inside and less excitement abroad. It is not that I take much stock in the pre-war democracy of the Balkan and Danubian states where, with the exception of Poland and Rumania during a short period, no honest free election had ever been held, but I am sure that genuinely anti-fascist, capable people, now excluded, could have been drawn into the revolutionary effort to break the feudal basis of those once-Nazi puppet states.

When the Soviet Government established relations with Argentina a few months ago, I found the arguments made in support of that decision wholly unconvincing; and today, when Perón boasts of being the first Argentine president in twenty-eight years who has received a Russian Ambassador, I am still skeptical, knowing very well that he is ready—as one of his latest speeches revealed—to take the leadership in any anti-Russian movement that may develop in South America.

I have always disapproved of those too-clever decisions in foreign policy that confuse the people regarding the main issue. But specific points of difference do not incline me to join those who maintain that Russian policy is directed only toward territorial expansion, new markets, and mastery of the world. I still believe that one of Moscow's chief objects is the destruction of fascism—not only in words but through acts, as in the Russian zone of Germany. While no one can deny that very real conflicts of interest would have challenged even the best efforts of post-war diplomacy, it is equally true that four or five years of honest effort to work together in the spirit Roosevelt established at Yalta might have done much to overcome difficulties and stitch together the fabric of international relations. Once a common progressive policy had been established, differences in economic structure and method would not have presented an insuperable obstacle. Soviet policy has allowed for such differences ever since the economic conference of 1927 when Russia announced that the peaceful coexistence of capitalist and communist states was possible "during the transition period in which we are now living." If there were ever a "transition period" justifying such collaboration, it was the reconstruction period which followed the victory.

It is difficult to fix the precise moment when things started to deteriorate, but I believe the U. N. meeting in London last January marked the point at which mutual distrust and ill-feeling began clearly to dominate the relations between Russia and the Western powers. It was there that the talk of blocs and the organization of blocs emerged as a major disturbing factor.

Since then, the evil effect of this division among the nations has spread fast, building up suspicion on both sides. From Moscow the Western bloc, anchored securely in the New World and constructed with American and British material, is seen as much more than a loose association of Western European nations. Russians watch with distrust every combination, whether it takes the form of an attempt to revive the Balkan Entente or to carry out the Vatican plan of uniting France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal—with an eye to wider connections in Latin America. The ingrained suspicion which led Chicherin in the twenties to regard the League of Nations as an instrument directed by the Western bourgeois world against the new revolutionary state, is coming to life again in relation to the U. N. I met this feeling on all sides. Russians are beginning to say that nothing has changed since 1917 in the attitude of the big capitalist nations; that the same old story is starting again, though with one great difference—the immense strength of present-day Russia. They even suggest that if Russia were not so strong, the peace would be made without it and against it.

Russian suspicions are increased by the fact that the people who are talking most about a new war are also those who openly advocate a Western bloc. In this context, British-American collaboration looks less like a natural coincidence of similar views on democracy and peace than a joint effort to insure Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Events since San Francisco have fortified these suspicions. Russians feel that not only have attempts to expand the Soviet area of influence been met by the combined opposition of Britain and the United States, but that the U. S. S. R. has even had to fight hard to maintain the positions granted it in the various conferences from Teheran to Potsdam. But more than any specific dispute or friction, the thing that gives Soviet distrust a serious aspect is the widespread belief in Russia that the concept of an anti-fascist war has ceased to exist among the other Allied powers.

One hears in Moscow much speculation about the reasons for America's changed attitude toward Russia and for the expanding partnership in foreign policy between the Anglo-Saxon powers. Russians see the United States supporting Britain's attempt to prevent the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states from gaining full access to the Mediterranean. In the long run even partisans of a "strong policy" toward Russia admit that this drive cannot be stopped; but it can perhaps be delayed until the "equilibrium of forces," to use a classic diplomatic cliché, has somehow been restored, or until the British feel stronger, or until the proposed American Mediterranean fleet bcomes a reality. In this unquestioning support of Britain by the United States, Russians see the total collapse of the anti-fascist idea. They see American policy adding its strength to that of Britain in Spain and Greece and everywhere else in the Mediterranean. They see Anglo-Saxon collaboration rising above obviously opposed interests in the Middle East in order to safeguard weakened British positions. They see Ameri-

can policy in Palestine hesitating and insist that were it not for the Jewish vote, the United States would undoubtedly support Britain's effort to maintain there a last stronghold along the Middle-Eastern communications line. In China they see conflict of interest between the United States and Britain again subordinated (this time Britain making the chief concessions) to the need of maintaining a common front against all other powers; they see the Kuomintang right-wing supported to a point which threatens new difficulties with Russia. And they watch attentively the gradual shift in American policy in Japan towards a more conciliatory treatment of those elements responsible for the war.

Seeing all this, Russians question more and more whether it is only "common loyalty to the ideals of Western democracy" which brings the Anglo-Saxon powers together as the nucleus of a Western bloc. The fear of an opposing coalition inspires every move made by the Russians in the U. N. It is this which explains their persistent opposition to any weakening of the Security Council in favor of the Assembly, where "combinations" are easier to arrange; their attitude on the veto issue; and even their objection to the Baruch plan and the later American memorandum on atomic energy, which would create a system of control that might, they fear, be used to undermine the Security Council.

From the moment the division of the world into two blocs came to be accepted as a fact, the Russians have automatically rejected solutions of problems which might have been relatively simple to deal with had the Roosevelt policy remained in force. We have seen this, above all, in matters touching Russian security. We have seen the conflicts of interest between Russians and Anglo-Americans transplanted to the soil of Germany where explosive material is still heaped high and the chances of a revival of Nazism are rapidly increasing. One may blame the Russians as much as one likes for the present deadlock in Germany, or argue that the Eastern bloc preceded the Western bloc. But what one must realize is that the Russians, watching the anti-Soviet wave mount in the chancelleries and the international conferences, will hardly refrain from carrying out a policy in their zone which they believe offers them a measure of security both against external attack and the rise of internal reaction. Mr. Sumner Welles was right when he wrote on July 25 in the Paris *Herald Tribune:* "The Soviet government has been eminently successful in achieving its objective within the Russian zone of Germany," while "the British and American governments have failed to carry out any integrated or democratic program within their zone. Political confusion and economic prostration are intrinsically as great as when the occupation began."

Together with the attitudes of the Great Powers, certain obvious tendencies in the internal political life of many Continental countries contribute to the mistrust in Russia. I dealt abundantly with these tendencies in my article on "The Western Catholic Bloc" in *The Nation* of June 29, and I need not discuss them here. But in Moscow, the theory that the Vatican has become the rallying point of all reactionary, anti-Soviet policies is widely endorsed. People say: The Vatican is no longer "above the battle"; it is "in the battle." Besides, Russians are wary of certain Socialist leaders who have become energetic promoters of the idea of a Western bloc.

I have always believed that even its own security would have been better guarded if Russia had followed a consistently democratic policy everywhere, attracting through such a policy the active support of the progressive forces in every country. I have believed that if in 1945, just as the war ended, Russia had spoken out clearly, not only on the colonial issue, where its stand has from the beginning been firm, but on the general issue of the fight against fascism; if it had made a series of concrete proposals for bringing that fight to a successful finish and had put the adversaries of a people's peace on the defensive, the present state of things could never have developed. But whether or not such a policy would have succeeded, today we must acknowledge that the revival of reaction has moved faster than anyone expected; rival blocs are coalescing, and if the left is still strong in Europe, as compared with the United States, and still has a chance of winning the battle, the attitude of certain elements among the Socialists and the rivalry between Socialists and Communists have for the moment greatly reduced the possibility of creating any kind of popular front capable of neutralizing reactionary intrigues. In this situation Russia is likely to rely less on such hopes than on consolidating its own strength. Nor are its intentions modified by the general run of persons who represent Western diplomacy in Moscow and elsewhere in Europe. Able, serious persons are to be found among the gossips and snobs in every foreign service; but it must be said that all over Europe, in diplomatic posts and in conferences like the present one at Paris, one sees an army of survivors of all the Munichs carrying on as before the war, spreading poison and doing all they can to dramatize and make impassable the differences between Russia and the West. The activity of these men not only partly accounts for the rising wind of suspicion that propels Russia's foreign policy, it also helps to discredit and often to distort the policy of the West, dissipating recklessly the good will created with such patient effort by President Roosevelt.

Neither they nor any other influences, however, will succeed in bringing about a break. The Russians will ride out any storm that rises in the Conference of Paris, whether they are blamed for it or whether they blame the West. They may not be confident of the future, but they are determined not to give up the United Nations.

Prairie Socialism

BY J. KING GORDON

II. The CCF Moves Ahead

Regina, August 10

DURING the last few days in this city on the flat wheat plains of western Canada, I have been doing some thinking about the future of the Canadian progressive movement in politics in comparison with the outlook for American progressives. I have come to the conclusion that Canadians are much more advantageously situated. Whereas in the United States the progressive forces appear to be hopelessly split into competing factions, uncertain as to political program and utterly lacking in an over-all national organization, the Canadian movement expressing itself in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation has reached a strength and maturity that equips it to challenge the wave of political and economic reaction that is plainly visible.

The CCF national convention which has just concluded brought together an impressive group of political leaders from every one of Canada's nine provinces. The mining regions of the maritime provinces were represented, as were the rich farm lands of Prince Edward Island and the Annapolis Valley. French Canada had an impressive group of young men who contributed an élan frequently absent from the serious-minded deliberations of their English-speaking comrades. Metropolitan Ontario had its spokesmen, too, but the most impressive of its industrial representatives, Charlie Millard, of the United Steelworkers, was occupied in Ottawa with the deadlocked negotiations on Canada's great steel strike. The prairie provinces, where the CCF was born fourteen years ago, had representation from every federal constituency—progressive farmers, trade unionists, teachers, and preachers. Canada's new north, rich in mines and forest industries, and where the CCF shows greatest political strength next to the prairies, sent its delegates from Sudbury, Cochrane, Cobalt, The Pas, and Flin Flon. The west coast, old in its socialist and trade-union tradition, sent men and women who might have come out of the left-wing of the British Labor Party.

It is, chiefly, this national character of the CCF which distinguishes it from the scattered movements in the United States and gives the greatest promise for the future. While it is true that the great majority of the twenty-eight CCF members in the Canadian parliament come from the province of Saskatchewan, with its firmly installed CCF government, the 800,000 votes the movement polled in the federal election of 1944—twice the 1940 total—are widely distributed across Canada. For example, in the last provincial elections in Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia, the CCF vote totaled more than 650,000, and in two of the provinces, British Columbia and Manitoba, the CCF is the official opposition, in each case having forced its chief opponents to form a coalition government.

J. KING GORDON, The Nation's *managing editor, here concludes his two-part report on Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Party.*

The national strength and unity of the CCF, its success in eliminating sectionalism and factionalism, derives from a well-worked-out socialist program specifically designed to meet Canadian political and economic problems. I was at the last CCF convention held in Regina in 1933. The movement was just one year old and the main job was to work out a statement of principles and a program which would bind into a working unity widely separated farmer and labor groups from half a dozen provinces and a score of cities. That first Regina convention is still looked upon as the most fascinating in the movement's history. For the differences were real and openly expressed. The eastern farmer from the long-settled regions of Ontario spoke a different language from his farm cousin on the western plains. The urban trade unionists had not yet got into harness with the rural progressives. The doctrinaire Marxists looked with suspicion on the Fabian socialists from the eastern universities. But out of the strenuous debate and the common necessity of saving the Canadian people from capitalist waste and exploitation, came a basic agreement; and the Regina Manifesto became the credo of the CCF. When Walter Nash, Foreign Minister of New Zealand's Labor Government, read the text he remarked to the CCF parliamentary leader, M. J. Coldwell, that it was "the finest statement of socialist principles and program in the English language." In the subsequent years of the movement the Regina Manifesto has saved it from political compromise, and unwise coalitions and affiliations, and has provided a basis for political education, the influence of which has extended far beyond CCF ranks. Some day soon, American liberals and progressives are going to have to abandon the course of expediency that seems to be dictated by political "realism" and hammer out a similar national program.

The convention that ended last night divided its time between problems of organization and problems of national and international concern to a socialist movement. The CCF in its early days reflected the provincial self-consciousness which has characterized Canada as a whole,

and which today blocks the Dominion government's scheme to recast federal-provincial relationships. In the case of the CCF there has been some gain from the original emphasis on the provincial organization: witness the conquest of political power in Saskatchewan. On the other hand the priority of the provincial organizations has weakened the national office by starving it of needed financial support. Only the outstanding ability of the national officers—Coldwell, David Lewis, the national secretary, Professor F. R. Scott, the national chairman, and other parliamentary leaders and research assistants—has compensated for an inadequate budget. This convention deliberately moved away from the provincial base by establishing a national membership with fees paid in directly to the national office. Next year will see a greatly expanded staff in Ottawa, increased research and publication, and stepped-up organizational activity in sections where the movement is still weak. In the organization of local units—and a vast amount of work in this field needs doing in the eastern provinces—the provincial organizations will, of course, have to bear the major share of responsibility.

In its discussion of national affairs the convention in effect endorsed the day-by-day efforts of the CCF members of parliament. Whether a resolution condemned the Liberal government for its cold-blooded policy toward Japanese Canadians or its suspension of civil liberties in the recent spy case or its labor policy exemplified in the present steel strike, it was simply restating the case that the CCF had urged repeatedly on the floor of the House. The resolutions on social security, price contral, a housing program, a health program, all urged nationally the implementation of policies already being carried out within the limits of provincial jurisdiction by the Saskatchewan CCF government.

In international affairs the CCF viewpoint has broadened greatly. In the years before the war, disillusionment with the appeasement policy of the great powers, a basic preoccupation with domestic economic matters, and a socialist suspicion of the joint aims of capitalist nations had forced the CCF into a position not far removed from that held by the pre-war American socialist party. During the war this view of international affairs changed drastically. The CCF was thoroughly behind the Canadian war effort, and its members have played a leading part in Canada's participation in the various agencies of the United Nations. The convention expressed deep regret over the failure of the British Labor government to accept the report of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine. It urged that Canadian delegates to the United Nations Assembly be instructed to press for the severance of diplomatic relations with Franco and for recognition of the Spanish government-in-exile, and demanded that "economic and other measures as provided in Article 41 of the United Nations charter be applied as far as is necessary to assist the people of Spain to rid themselves of Franco and his fascist government and regain political democracy." It called for the adoption of a scheme of atomic energy control—nationally through an Atomic Control Board which would undertake research and develop atomic power for peaceful ends through publicly owned enterprise, and internationally through such an agency as is described in the Baruch plan. The sympathetic relationship between the CCF and other democratic socialist and labor parties throughout the world was frequently stressed: Sam Watson, M.P., made a special trip from London to Regina to carry the fraternal greetings of the British Labor Party.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation appraises its strength and weakness realistically. It has on the credit side an impressive record of fourteen years growth, a national unity transcending sectional and provincial difference, and a program that has forced rival old-time parties to set more advanced social goals. Its national leadership is distinguished. A youth movement is recruiting new members and accepting a corporate responsibility in the affairs of the national movement. On the debit side is a numerical and organizational weakness, particularly in the eastern provinces where it must rally much greater strength than in the past if it is to make a serious bid for power. The trade unions, whose battle for recognition the CCF has fought vigorously since its inception, are generally sympathetic but have so far failed to enter wholeheartedly into the movement; the non-political-action tradition of the international unions still unfortunately persists.

To some extent these are the weaknesses of a young movement that will be automatically conquered if the CCF continues the aggressive campaign of political action it has prosecuted in its first fourteen years. Meanwhile, its adversaries are not sleeping. We have already noted the coalitions formed in certain provinces to keep the CCF from office. During the last federal campaign, a nation-wide campaign of scare-mongering and defamation was carried on by so-called public-relations counsels in Toronto. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were poured into slanderous propaganda to discredit the CCF. Today the attack on price controls, on trade-union security, on social legislation is being pressed by big business in the same concerted fashion as in the United States. The recent Dominion-provincial conference, aimed at assisting the provinces in their social-security program and bringing necessary taxing power back to the federal government, was jettisoned by the combined efforts of the Conservative premiers of Ontario and Quebec, representing the wealthiest interests in eastern Canada. The immediate focus of attack is Saskatchewan. The mortgage companies, the insurance companies, the Canadian Pacific Railway, are aiming their blasts at those measures the CCF government has passed to provide security for the

people and curtail the exploiting power of the large corporations. The next years will see a more intensive attack from manufacturing and financial interests and the old-time parties who fear above all else the rising strength of a people's movement pledged to eliminate monopoly and inaugurate a planned economy. The CCF leaders and membership are quite aware of this imminent showdown. It is a challenge they are prepared to meet.

Cowboy on Our Side

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Potlatch, Idaho

PAPPY O'DANIEL has prejudiced decent people against cowboy singers in politics, but forty-two-year-old Glen H. Taylor is doing his level best to dissipate that prejudice. Less than twenty months ago Glen Taylor was a young fellow who wheeled into Idaho towns in a sound truck, yodeled Oh, Susanna! and talked international cooperation and a Columbia Valley Authority. Today he is senior Senator from Idaho, occupying the seat which William E. Borah held for more than three decades.

Perhaps because he worked in a sheet-metal plant during the war and eats in the employees' cafeteria instead of the Senators' dining room, Glen dares to rush up legislative gorges where even the most doughty liberals fear an ambush. He alone among the members of the Senate is instituting ouster proceedings against Mississippi's Bilbo, recently renominated after urging intimidation and violence against Negro citizens.

The customary senatorial amenities have no place in Glen's book. Colleague or no colleague, Bilbo has encouraged violation of the Constitution of the United States, so Glen contends he should not be allowed to sit in the Senate. He sees scant value in the deference which Senators pay to each other; to him, senatorial courtesy is another way of winking at skullduggery.

A group of Senators recently told *Pageant Magazine* that Glen was the least effective member of the Senate. The wish may be father to the thought, for right now Glen is challenging another cherished senatorial prerogative—the privilege of so distorting and diffusing one's voting record on vital issues that a Philadelphia lawyer could not figure it out. Glen has introduced a resolution calling on Congress to publish at the end of each session a "tabulation of the voting records of all members on all roll-calls, together with a brief description of the issues voted upon." This proposal has, understandably, deeply offended many of Glen's colleagues.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, magazine writer and journalist, once served in the Oregon State Assembly. He is the author of several books on political and social problems of the Northwest.

This cowboy crooner recently took time out to drive home to Idaho. His mission was to bring about the defeat of the state's reactionary junior Senator, Charles Gossett. In the primaries Glen backed a Snake River Valley lawyer named George Donart. Most of the press and practically all Democratic Party officials supported Gossett, whom Taylor accused of being "a Republican in disguise." He said Gossett had voted for Hoover in '28.

The boys around the cigar stores in Boise and Coeur d'Alene were wagering 3 to 1 on Gossett nine days before the election. Then the "least effective" member of the Senate hit the state with his sound truck. He stopped the truck on street corners, at village squares, and along backwoods roads. He said George Donart was a Roosevelt liberal, but that Gossett was "just a stooge for the corporation crowd and there's too many of that kind of men in Washington, D. C., already." The result of the primaries was Senator Gosset, 14,460 votes, George Donart, 16,308. In addition, Idaho's Democratic vote exceeded the Republican total.

Taylor admits to being "an uneducated fellow," but the reactionary clique on Capitol Hill is wary of his sharp tongue. Ira Mosher, of the National Association of Manufacturers, testifying against the Full Employment bill, warned that the President could forecast a boom which would upset the business economy. Glen Taylor replied from the Banking Committee table, "President Hoover proclaimed a boom almost every day, as I recall, and none developed."

Pappy O'Daniel and Glen Taylor both can croon Clementine, but there the resemblance ceases. They vote opposite ways on practically every bill. Pappy is a flour salesman who was brought up in Ohio and later moved to Texas and emphasized the "Lee" in his name. Nothing synthetic tinges Glen Taylor's association with the region he represents in the United States Senate. He was born in Oregon and reared in Kooskia, Idaho (pop. 411). Glen could look out the attic window of his father's house and see the trail which Lewis and Clark had blazed along the Clearwater River.

Glen was number twelve among thirteen Taylor offspring. This ample family proved useful to Glen's father, Pleasant John Taylor, a traveling minister who preached in mining camps and sawmills. Pleasant John staged

heart-rending melodramas to finance his preaching. His family provided the cast.

Glen herded sheep in the Bitterroots for a while, then married a girl named Dora Pike who could sing and dance. They formed their own vaudeville troupe—the Glendora Players. When the depression hit in 1929, farmers brought fryers and sacks of potatoes and traded them for tickets. Glen played the guitar and Dora sang. Many times their pockets were empty, and they were only a few steps ahead of a real-life sheriff.

Glen Taylor Seligson

In 1932, practically broke, Glen read a book that was a milestone in his career. It was "A New Deal," by Stuart Chase. That started him thinking. Why were people hungry in a land of plenty. A tract by King C. Gillette, the safety-razor king, made him think still more along this line—Gillette wanted every citizen to be a stockholder in the United States of America. Glen became interested in politics. In between performances with ukelele, banjo, and guitar he tried without success to form a Farmer-Labor Party. His failure convinced him that the Democratic Party under Franklin D. Roosevelt was the only practical vehicle for the common people to ride.

In 1940 Glen won the Democratic nomination for Senator to finish William Borah's unexpired term. He lost in the finals, but found that folks would listen to a man who interspersed Stuart Chase-Franklin Roosevelt economics with cowboy ballads. Two years later Taylor campaigned the state on a white saddle horse and again was Democratic senatorial nominee. Once more he lost in the general election, but this time it was only by 3,700 votes.

Glen joined the A. F. of L. sheet-metal workers and got a job in a San Francisco war plant, the management of which was astonished to find a two-time nominee for the United States Senate toiling at a shop machine. In 1944 he tried for the third time. "You make it in war plants," Glen told Idaho's ranchers, "and the grocer takes it away from you. Don't let anybody ever tell you there's a fortune in *that* work. You only see the money as it goes past your nose."

In the primaries Glen edged out Senator D. Worth Clark, and in the general election he defeated C. A. Bottolfson, the state's Republican governor. A year later Senator John Thomas died, and the singing cowboy became senior Senator from Idaho.

Senatorial offices are associated in the public mind with marble archways, overstuffed leather chairs, and a heavy Olympian atmosphere. Glen and Dora run their office in Room 244, Senate Office Building, without the usual senatorial solemnity. Their two sons, P. J. and Glen Arod (Dora spelled backwards), run through the rooms and leap into the Senator's lap, shouting, "I love you, Daddy." The secretary is a gray-haired Rhodes Scholar named George Curtis who hates Washington's pavements and phoney atmosphere and wants to go back to Idaho and teach literature in a country school.

Some staid liberals have been a little shocked by this ally of theirs from the Bitterroots. They like Glen's advocacy of a Columbia Valley Authority, and they admire his courage in assailing Bilbo and senatorial vote-dodging. But they gulp a little when they turn a radio dial and hear Idaho's senior Senator, under the coaching of Fred Allen's Senator Claghorn, chanting It Ain't Gonna Rain No More, No More. Glen's friends insist you don't have to be stuffy in order to be liberal. They also claim there is no reason why a technique for getting voters to listen to political speeches should be surrendered completely to the reactionaries.

A Senator without inhibitions is unusual in Washington. Even some fighting liberals take themselves pretty seriously. A widely-read document in Idaho is Glen Taylor's story of how he and his family finally found a place to live. They visited all of Washington's neighborhoods but refused to pay merely to be "elite." They balked at $250 a month rent, and at length bought a place in the Southeast section for $15,000. "That's a fearful lot of money," he explained, "but not as much as $250 a month for six years."

As for nepotism, Glen met the issue head-on: "Mrs. Taylor works in my office. She always has worked with me, as everybody in Idaho knows. In fact, if she weren't working too, I would despair of making ends meet."

When Glen first got to Washington, several reporters asked him to pose on the Capitol steps with his guitar. He said he would rather not but agreed to do so if the boys would give him a break when he had something to say in favor of Henry Wallace or against big business. The reporters promised full reciprocity, so Glen cocked his Stetson back on his head and sang a cowboy refrain with the majestic dome of the Capitol towering overhead. Dora, P. J., and Glen Arod surrounded him affectionately as he yodeled.

"I expected a lot of criticism about my lack of dignity," says Idaho's senior Senator, "but you know, it didn't turn out half bad. I got a whole batch of friendly letters from all over the United States saying that folks were glad a human being had been elected to the Senate instead of a stuffed shirt."

Hungarian Holocaust

BY HILDE SPIEL

Budapest, July 30

THE wildest inflation in history has ravaged Hungary during these last weeks. Life was insane, a sad joke drawn out almost beyond the endurance of the ordinary man or woman. From one hour to the next prices doubled and trebled. In May, when the pengoe stood at six million billion to the dollar, a monetary index figure called a "tax pengoe" was introduced to make the collection of taxes possible. By its merely fictitious and nominal existence, it killed the existing currency and then whirled off to dizzy heights of its own. At this writing the smallest note in circulation is one million tax pengoes—roughly a day's salary for an average employee and barely enough to cover his streetcar fare. Nobody pays rent in Budapest. The shops are filled with foodstuffs and all kinds of luxury goods, but no one on a salary, from Prime Minister to chambermaid, can hope to buy them.

Until a week ago a Hungarian wanting more than twenty-four hours' security tried to obtain black-market dollars. If he was lucky enough to get his hands on one, he would hold it until as late in the day as possible so as to secure the best possible price, yet still allow time for his wife to take the several hundred million tax pengoes to the market ten minutes before closing time—and with them buy a few green paprikas, a head of cabbage, a pound of tomatoes, and a kilo of apricots.

But when the death penalty was introduced for illegal dollar traffic, there were only two ways left for the average family to survive. One was through the calory-wage paid by business firms and factories to their employees. These men have become literally the breadwinners of the family: they bring home, every few days, a supply of white flour, cooking oil, fats, eggs, potatoes, or onions "paid" to them by the factory. The other way is by barter. Budapest, at all times a picturesque city, is today noisy with the clucking of hens that are carried about in shopping baskets. Its boulevards are soiled with rotting cabbage leaves dropped from the rucksacks of city workers. All over town barefooted peasant women trade farm produce, not only against clothes, shoes, porcelain, and silverware, but also against small but no less precious things like matches, saccharine, and sewing cotton. One is reminded of René Clair's old movie about moneyless Ruritania, in one scene of which a farmer hands over a spring chicken in payment for his aperitif, receives three eggs in lieu of change, and tips the waiter one.

All this would seem grotesque in a country which used to be the richest granary and fruit-producer in the Danubian basin. But there are a number of very real reasons, both economic and political, for the present situation. It is impossible to understand them, however, without remembering what happened here last year. When the first coalition government was formed by General Miklos in the provincial town of Debreczen during December, 1944, some of Hungary's gold reserve lay frozen in the United States and Switzerland. It remained frozen throughout the first year the government was in office, and only very recently were promises made to return it to the Hungarian National Bank. All the remaining gold reserve had been removed by the retreating German army to what is now the U. S. zone of Germany. Meanwhile, the government had to pay its own excessively large, and as yet unreduced, staff of civil servants, as well as issue liberal credits in order to get the country's industry in motion. Then the Red Army began to print notes to pay its soldiers, and soon the tremendous burden of occupation and reparation costs made itself felt.

The situation was further complicated by the political anomaly of a government composed of four parties with conflicting aims. The Smallholders' Party, led by Tildy, represented the conservative democratic interests in the country. In their desire to purge Hungary of fascist ideology, they found a common platform with Socialists and Communists, as well as with the National Peasant Party of non-Marxist, agrarian revolutionaries. They could even agree on a three-point program, of which the foremost point was land reform. This agrarian revolution, one must remember, was long overdue in feudal Hungary; yet even after the war the political demand for partition of the big estates did not come from the peasants themselves, much as they desired it. It was initiated by the intellectuals of all parties who first assembled in Debreczen. When land reform was subsequently introduced, it was done on orders from the capital, with no angry farmers evicting landlords from their estates. Most landlords had fled from the advancing Red Army, and the farmer looted house, larder, granary, storeroom, and stables, removing foodstuffs and seeds; but he was afraid to touch the land. Officials sent down from Budapest to divide up property among the peasants naturally encountered determined resistance from the bailiffs left in charge. These men used every kind of ruse and rumor to prevent the farmers' accepting the land offered them

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for cultivation: the British Army was just across the border, ready to march in and hang every peasant found in possession of his master's land; or the new Hungarian regime would fall as speedily as did the 1919 Commune. Also, no title deeds had yet been forthcoming from Budapest. How could a farmer call land his own that he could not prove was his by deed and letter?

For these reasons the land was left unsown, and the harvest was meager, with disastrous results to the economy of the country. But there were other difficulties weakening the government's grip on the country and thereby contributing to inflation. Enemies to the reconstruction campaign were to be found not only among the feudal landlords; there were also a number of large financiers left in Hungary, besides a large and bloated bureaucracy—staffed mainly from the ranks of second sons and poor relations of estate owners and industrialists. And though in 1944 the Smallholders' Party had fully agreed to land reform, and was still committed to carrying it through with the help of the other parties, it became less and less inclined to fulfil further obligations. For meanwhile the party's ranks had been swelled with a number of ante-bellum elements who saw the danger to themselves in the nationalization of industry and the drastic reduction of the civil service. They also sharply protested against the composition of Hungary's new police, which is, indeed, disproportionately staffed with Communists.

So an incessant tug of war is going on between the coalition parties, with damaging results to the government itself. At the same time, the big financiers of Budapest are still undaunted and do their best to disrupt the finances of the country still further by illegal transactions of all kinds.

Political leaders cannot helping seeing in the presence of the Red Army the most decisive factor in Hungarian politics. They are aware that this army, content for the moment to allow Hungarian statesmen a measure of self-determination, would not hesitate to back the more revolutionary movements if it seemed expedient. They also see their country's economic future inescapably linked up with the East, however much some of them would prefer closer bonds with the West. The Communist Deputy Premier, Rakosi, a dynamic and experienced politician, is believed to dominate his less astute colleagues in the government by sheer strength of personality. Tildy and Nagy of the Smallholders, and Szakasits of the Socialists may, indeed, be swayed by his powers of persuasion. But his arguments would be far less convincing without the continued Soviet occupation. Nor can the Smallholders find consolation in the fact that at present they represent 56 per cent of the electorate. As long as the coalition is maintained, they may be reasonably sure of holding their position; should it fail, a new election would certainly bring a swing to the left.

It is against this background that financial stabilization is now being attempted. On the first of August a new currency unit, the florin, goes into circulation, to be balanced against the old pengoe at one to four hundred billion. Simultaneously, economic life will be entirely reorganized. A series of new measures are being introduced to strangle speculation. The possession of foreign exchange is already punishable by death. Another law is proposed by which all gold in excess of a hundred grams will have to be given up—and while this will not force private hoards into the open, it will prevent the use of gold in barter and trade. Only a limited number of florins—eighty million during the first six weeks—will be put in circulation. Salaries and wages will be fixed in accordance with the average citizen's needs. Food rationing, moreover, will now be introduced in earnest. During these last months, government agents have been buying up food at all available sources, often outbidding the racketeers, and a three months' reserve is said to have been accumulated. The calory issue will certainly be small, probably not exceeding a thousand calories. But if fruit and vegetables are on sale at stabilized prices, and the free market is allowed to continue on a more reasonable basis than before, Hungarian housewives may breathe a little freely for the first time since the war.

But how can the government expect to carry this program through? Has it a real basis for its confidence?

The main ground for hope lies in the fact that land reform has at last been carried through with a good measure of success. The peasants discovered that, after all, nobody was hanged for acquiring land, and, in time, the title deeds were forthcoming from the capital. The coalition government, after a certain amount of reshuffling, seemed to stand firm. Last spring the farmers showed their confidence by sowing their land. In the face of incredible odds no less than 93 per cent of all arable land has been cultivated, despite huge losses of cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, poultry, and agricultural machinery. Similarly industrial production rose through the spring and early summer and, as a whole, is said to be 70 per cent of former capacity. This, moreover, was achieved in spite of the requisitioning of rolling stock and machinery by the occupation forces, and the almost complete demolition of bridges and railroads by the Germans during their retreat.

Hungary's national income during the next year may reach 75 per cent of its pre-war standard, while the state revenue is estimated at about 650 million gold pengoes (130 million dollars). Against this must be balanced reparation costs, of which 37 million gold pengoes will go to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and 200 million gold pengoes to the Soviet Union over a period of eight years. It is hoped that other expenditures, after further cuts in the civil service, will not exceed 540 million gold pengoes. The new budget was to be bal-

anced at a deficit of no more than 20 per cent, or 130 million gold pengoes a year—a sum which gave no particular cause for anxiety. And today Prime Minister Nagy was able to reveal that the Soviet demands for reparations have been cut by a third and their payment extended over a greater period of years. This measure of relief, together with the return of Hungary's gold from American custody, will appreciably help the financial recovery of the new Hungarian state.

The only danger to the country seems to lie with those citizens who are determined at all costs to prevent economic stabilization. They are to be found among the few remaining big financiers and industrialists, the disgruntled state officials, and the landed gentry deprived of their property. Aided by their social standing and undeniable charm, they try to influence members of the Western Allied missions against the government, hoping to obstruct the financial reconstruction and thus unseat the present regime. This policy would seem short-sighted; for however much one may oppose power politics, and however much one may desire a country governed according to Western ideals of democratic self-determination, the geographical necessity for an Eastern orientation of Hungary cannot be argued away. In the light of this necessity, the interests of the country would seem better served by the existing government coalition—in which there is still room for a conflict of ideas and for free discussion—than by its demise; for the fall of the present government would certainly bring greater pressure from the East.

(Since this article was written the florin has replaced the pengoe and Hungary has exchanged a superabundance of money for a severe shortage. Reports from Budapest indicate that deflation is proving almost as painful as inflation. Wages, prices, and rents have been fixed at levels which make the real incomes of workers no more, at best, than half pre-war. So while goods appear plentiful in the stores there are no customers for any but the barest necessities. Meanwhile success of this drastic economic reform remains in doubt. It depends on the government's ability (1) to limit expenditures and avoid further recourse to the printing press; (2) to induce farmers to bring their produce to market in spite of the fact that wheat prices have been set at 2.2 times the pre-war level while those of industrial goods are five times higher.—EDITORS THE NATION.)

India: Unity or Civil War?

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, August 12

POLITICAL developments have taken place at an almost bewildering pace since the Labor Ministers returned from New Delhi at the end of June. In summing up the results of their mission during the course of debates in both houses of the British Parliament in London, Lord Pethwick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps claimed a certain measure of success for their efforts. They asserted that both major Indian parties, the Congress Party and the Moslem League, had accepted the British long-term proposals and agreed to work out a Constituent Assembly on the lines laid down by the Cabinet Mission. Plans for a provisional government might have gone through had not Jinnah deliberately published his correspondence with Lord Wavell in which he challenged the right of the Congress Party to include within its quota Moslems from outside the ranks of the Moslem League. The ministers decided, upon their return to London, on the establishment of a purely official "caretaker government" at the center. They gave assurances that the Viceroy would resume negotiations immediately after election of the Constituent Assembly, and that the caretaker government would not remain in office beyond a few weeks.

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Elections for the Constituent Assembly have now been completed. The Congress Party and the Moslem League between them have secured an overwhelming majority of seats. The former captured 203, losing only seven, while the latter obtained seventy-three seats out of a total of seventy-eight assigned to the Moslems. The Congress, however, made a significant and generous gesture. It elected nearly thirty outstanding men and women not belonging to the Party, chosen either because of their special qualifications or because they represented groups or interests which could not hope to succeed without Congress support. The result is that there are representatives of industrial labor, peasants, education, judges, doctors, and women, besides the smaller minorities such as Christians and Anglo-Indians, in the Constituent Assembly.

Had nothing else happened during July, the Viceroy could simply have gone ahead with the formation of the provisional government, resuming negotiations at the point where they were abandoned at the end of June.

The Congress leaders have always attached the greatest importance to this provisional government. They are anxious that India should take her proper place among the nations of the world at the earliest possible moment especially when far-reaching decisions are being taken. At the Paris Peace Conference a handful of officials form the Indian delegation—not men like Nehru. India intends to raise the issue of South Africa's discriminatory treatment of Indian settlers at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September. It is vitally interested in the future of Eritria and Somaliland. It considers membership in the Trusteeship Council essential to insure a liberal interpretation of the provisions of the Charter. None of these things can India be sure of achieving without a provisional government made up of leaders who enjoy the confidence of the masses of the people.

Internally, too, the situation demands prompt and energetic decisions on a number of social problems. Strikes and labor unrest call for an imaginative sympathy on the part of the government—not bureaucratic rigidity. The country suffered great hardships as the result of a three-weeks' postal strike for whose satisfactory termination credit should go more to the front-rank Congress leaders than to the officials who form the caretaker government. The food situation continues to cause anxiety since imports from abroad have proved extremely inadequate, and the central government is incapable of producing the necessary coordination.

Inside the Congress Party itself pressure upon the leaders is becoming increasing apparent from Socialists who captured an appreciable number of places on the party's central executive committee. They do not conceal their anxiety about the present leaders' "drift towards compromise and constitutionalism," as they derisively describe it from hundreds of platforms. They want to renew the struggle with British imperialism on an even more impressive scale than during the war. Gandhi they admire; for Nehru they have a certain amount of affection, even respect; their politics, however, they sharply criticize. They chafe at Gandhi's uncompromising adherence to non-violence. General strikes to achieve political ends they regard as a perfectly legitimate weapon, disregarding Gandhi's advice. The Congress leaders are aware that unless they can evolve a satisfactory working agreement soon, these left-wing elements will make a formidable bid for control.

Men like Nehru, seeing their influence challenged by younger men and women, genuinely want a settlement with the British and with Jinnah. For a solution of the "vast and intricate political and economic problems," observes the latest resolution of the Congress leaders, "the largest measure of cooperation among the people of India is called for so that the 'change-over would be smooth and advantageous towards all concerned." They visualize the present task facing the country as a "rapid transition from dependence on a foreign power to full independence."

In addition Nehru wants to see India assume the leadership of Asia at this juncture. As for Gandhi, it is more than the mere leadership of the continent, more than a mere political settlement of Indo-British differences; Gandhi, brooding on the atomic bomb, thinks non-violence is the real answer. The solution of India's problem by non-violence will prove the efficacy of such a policy, he thinks, in meeting all world problems.

The Moslem League's present attitude renders the problem, which is difficult enough at all times, considerably more complicated. There was hope of a spirit of compromise prevailing inside the Constituent Assembly so long as Jinnah seemed willing to accept the British long-term plan, notwithstanding its clear repudiation of Pakistan. Subsequent publication of certain documents and letters proves that this acceptance was induced by a number of assurances which the Viceroy privately gave to Jinnah in regard to the formation of a provisional government without full realization of their implications. Jinnah and the Moslem League have withdrawn their support of the British long-term plan, although their representatives in the Constituent Assembly have retained their seats. The Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy have been charged with a breach of their pledged word and phrases like "dishonorable betrayal of Moslem interests" and "the unholy alliance between the British and the Congress" have been freely used in recent weeks. Released from its embarrassing commitment to the British long-term plan, the Moslem League has reverted to its original demand for the immediate realization of Pakistan, but with a dangerous addition—a threat of direct action.

No one likes the present situation, neither the British nor the Congress Party, nor the Moslem League. Under these circumstances the Viceroy has asked Nehru to make proposals for an interim government—a course which should have been taken at the beginning of the negotiations. It was highly improper of the Viceroy to attempt a task which falls within the sphere of the duties of a Prime Minister. Nehru has accepted the responsibility and will see the Viceroy later this week with proposals. It is significant that the resolution of the Congress leaders, adopted last week-end before the Viceroy's invitation was issued, makes an earnest appeal to Jinnah and the Moslem League to participate in the solution of their common problems in a spirit of cooperation. It is certain that Nehru will offer Jinnah a share of the power within the provisional government. If he spurns the offer, Nehru must go ahead with such elements as are willing to support the new government. It is a critical moment in India's history—implying either a united endeavor to establish democratic freedom or grave civil strife.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Production and Profits

ASSIDUOUS efforts have been made by the N. A. M. and other mouthpieces of business to spread the impression that the profits of industry have been subjected to an intolerable squeeze between the millstones of rising costs and fixed price ceilings. As a result, it is claimed, the business man has been left with little incentive to produce and the one sure cure for inflation, a massive output of goods, has been delayed.

It is now possible to state positively, on the basis of production and profit statistics for the first six months of 1946, that this propaganda theme is not supported by the facts. Only a few industries, faced with special reconversion problems or involved in prolonged labor troubles, are now operating on an unprofitable basis. For the majority, business is good and profits are mounting to heights never touched in the most prosperous years of the past. The upward trend of earnings is brought out very clearly by figures for 120 companies noted in *Barron's* of July 29. In the first quarter of the year their aggregate profits showed a decrease of 1.5 per cent compared with the corresponding quarter of 1945; in the three months to June 30, they registered an increase of 36.7 per cent. These figures would have been still more favorable but for the fact that among the corporations included are some that have yet to recover ground lost during prolonged strikes in the early months of the year. General Motors, for instance, has reported a net loss for the half-year of $19.8 million after tax credits estimated at $79.5 million and a transfer from reserves set up to cover reconversion costs of $21 million. The obstinate refusal of the G. M. management to negotiate a settlement with the United Automobile Workers have proved very expensive for the company's stockholders.

Labor troubles in the automobile, steel, and coal industries have also been an important factor in holding down production. However, since the coal strike—the last major dispute—was settled, output has been gaining rapidly. The Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production (average of 1935/39 equals 100), which fell to 152 during the steel strike and again relapsed when the mines were shut down, rose 11 points between May and June to reach 170. And, according to the latest report of the Civilian Production Administration, additional gains were made in July. Coal output, for instance, is now averaging in excess of 2,000,000 tons a day compared with 1,400,000 in 1941, a boom year. Electric power output is also far ahead of the 1941 level, while in June petroleum production rose to the wartime peak of 5,000,000 barrels a day.

Many of the consumer goods industries are by now turning out goods at a greater rate than before the war. The following table shows recent shipments of certain household appliances in comparison with the monthly average in 1940/41.

	1946	1940/41 average
Washing machines	193,000 (June)	158,000
Vacuum cleaners	177,000 (June)	156,000
Gas ranges	141,000 (June)	125,000
Water heaters	225,000 (May)	175,000
Electric irons	430,000 (May)	380,000
Refrigerators	210,000 (June)	309,000
Electric ranges	46,000 (June)	47,000

Mid-year reports show plainly that, in most lines of business, the level of operations is sufficiently high to provide bonanza earnings for stockholders. A table published in the August Bulletin of the National City Bank shows, it is true, that the aggregate net income of 345 leading corporations for the first half of this year was 7.8 per cent below 1945 causing the annual rate of return on net worth to fall from 10.2 per cent to 9.1 per cent. However, this setback was wholly accounted for by the adverse results of the steel, automobile, and electrical equipment industries. By contrast other business groups showed the following striking percentage increases in net income for the first half of 1946 compared with the first half of 1945:

25 Food products	51.6 per cent
18 Paper and pulp	212.0 per cent
29 Chemicals, drugs	52.8 per cent
15 Cement, stone, and glass	25.4 per cent
52 Miscellaneous manufacturing	78.8 per cent
23 Trade (wholesale and retail)	247.0 per cent
13 Service	37.2 per cent

The tremendous increase in trade profits is especially noticeable, particularly as this branch of business, taken as a whole, has made very substantial profits all through the war. Retailers and wholesalers have been in the fortunate position of being able to expand sales vastly without a commensurate expansion in costs. They have, of course, had to pay rather higher wages, but wage costs per unit of sales have dropped sharply, as have overhead charges. Consequently profit-margins have risen to levels hitherto unknown in a highly competitive business. For the year ending January 31,1940, Gimbels's profit margin was 2.9 per cent; for that ending January 31, 1946, it was 10.4 per cent. Corresponding figures for the May, Allied, and Associated department store chains were: 5.1 and 13.8 per cent, 4.3 and 9.8 per cent, 4.7 and 12.2 per cent. It would seem that there is a very good case for absorption of some part of higher manufacturing prices by retailers.

Another business group which has enjoyed exceptionally large increases in profits this year is textiles, although nowhere are there more constant complaints about the ruinous ceilings set by the OPA than in the pages of the textile trade press. The National City Bank tables do not provide separate figures for this industry but the half-yearly reports of eight companies which I have received show aggregate net earnings of $27,251,000 this year compared to $10,775,000 in 1945—a rise of 252 per cent. It would certainly be hard to account for the shortage of shirts and suits on the ground that profit-incentives were absent. KEITH HUTCHISON

(Everybody's Business will not appear in the next four issues of The Nation *as Keith Hutchison is on vacation.)*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

New Year's Day

Again and then again . . . the year is born
To ice and death, and it will never do
To skulk behind stormwindows by the stove
To hear the postgirl sounding her French horn
When the thin tidal ice is wearing through.
Here is the understanding not to love
Our neighbor or tomorrow that will sieve
Our resolutions. While we live, we live

To snuff the smoke of victims. In the snow
The kitten heaved its hindlegs, as if fouled,
And died. We bent it in a Christmas box
And scattered blazing weeds to scare the crow
Until the snake-tailed sea-winds coughed and howled
For alms outside the church whose double locks
Wait for St. Peter, the distorted key.
Under St. Peter's bell the parish sea

Swells with its smelt into the burlap shack
Where Joseph plucks his hand-lines like a harp,
And hears the fearful *Puer natus est*
Of Circumcision, and relives the wrack
And howls of Jesus whom he holds. How sharp
The burden of the Law before the beast:
Time and the grindstone and the knife of God.
The child is born in blood, O child of blood.

ROBERT LOWELL

The Poetry and Wisdom of Paterson

PATERSON (BOOK I). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.

THERE are many distinct levels in William Carlos Williams's new poem. Three are object levels, what the poem is about: Paterson, the city; the city as man; language as bridge between the two, joining their identity. The second of these levels can be further divided into city-as-man-in-general, as this-or-that man, and as the self, the largest abstract autobiographical image of the poet. Then there are the levels of language-in-use: first prose, in the form of passages from a local history, newspaper clippings, expense accounts, letters and reminiscences; and finally the surface itself, which is Williams's familiar, and at the same time deceptively, but authentically, simple poetry. The completed poem of four parts will elaborate the image, "a man in himself is a city, beginning, seeking, achieving and concluding his life in ways which the various aspects of a city may embody. . . ." The present installment "introduces the elemental character of the place." Thus far, the curious thing about this poem, with its divisions and subdivisions, is that its lines are a true green, though they grow not as meadow but real estate.

The simplicity of Williams's lines is not strained by the need to bind so much disparate symbolic material. The pace accommodates itself to things seen, tactile qualities, an uncrowded catalogue:

. . The sun
winding the yellow bindweed about a
bush; worms and gnats, life under a stone.

The pitiful snake with its mosaic skin
and frantic tongue. . . .
The absurd dignity of a locomotive
hauling freight—

or

rolled his thumb

about the tip of his left index finger
and watched it dip each time,
like the head

of a cat licking its paws, heard the
faint filing sound it made. . . .

The ease with which Williams hauls his symbolic freight is to the credit of his prose. It is in his clean idiomatic manner (I assume he has written most of it himself, instead of actually taking it from local sources), and it fixes beforehand the objects, events, and meanings that the lines of poetry draw upon. (It is rather as if the notes of "The Waste Land" had been moved into the poetic foreground, with the poem serving as commentary—or need one say *as if?*) Thus the image of Mrs. Sarah Cumming and Sam Patch, who met their deaths, respectively, by an accidental fall and a stunt leap into water, is well prepared in the prose excerpts to serve the later purpose—death by drowning as the typical metaphor of ineffable poetic language. The lines in the following passage that Williams puts in quotes illustrate the value of such a cut-back in making concrete a generalization about poetry.

Moveless
he envies the men that ran
and could run off
toward the peripheries—
to other centers, direct—
for clarity (if
they found it)
loveliness and
authority in the world—

a sort of springtime
toward which their minds aspired
but which he saw,
within himself—ice bound

and leaped, "the body, not until
the following spring, frozen in
an ice cake"

There is an obvious scrap-book advantage in this method; it permits running back and forth in time, leaps from man to this-man to the self, and provides a sociological or historical distillate of the city which the poetry, essentially lyrical, could never undertake to do. But the success of this attempt, a generalizing lyricism with an *ars poetica* as its motive, cannot as yet be determined. It will depend on how freely the poetry detaches itself, in the subsequent parts, from the prose conveyor belt and works out its own designs. There is already some spontaneous generation of material in the lyrical sections; thus, a reconstruction of a National Geographic snapshot of native women, which develops into a delicate passage on marriage and the communication between lovers.

Of course, devices are essential, for the lyric has short wings. But more important than the sustaining of the lines is the sustaining of the mood, which is here one of summary and wisdom: whether it can grow, circle out, and return on itself with real gain. In recent years the poet's only wisdom has been poetry; he knows all about knowing about poetry, and the earth, which Williams in his concluding lines calls "the chatterer, father of all speech," is a borax heap on which only words grow. But Dr. Williams knows many other things: child-birth, women, life along the Passaic. One can expect him to bring this knowledge to his wisdom in the forthcoming parts of "Paterson."

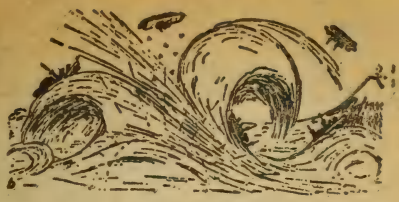
ISAAC ROSENFELD

Life and Politics

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE found so much good in the worst of his fellows that all his life he foreswore harsh judgments and loved men whose views and acts he couldn't abide. At the same time he saw so much bad in the best of them that his autobiography, for all its mellowness, color, and high spirits, exposes with surgical deftness the shams of a generation. Unlike Steffens and the other great muckrakers who were his contemporaries and good friends, White was never the outsider doing a cold job on malefactors whom he abhorred; on the contrary, he was for half a century an insider of the Republican machine that he so frequently and enthusiastically damned, and a warm personal admirer of innumerable G. O. P. luminaries from Hanna to Hoover.

The exception to White's rule of indulgent tolerance is William Allen White. To hear him tell it, he was first "a young fool . . . writing reactionary editorials about Sound Economics"; then he was "fair, fat, and twenty-four, a supercilious young Pharisee, blinder than a bat," who lied about the Populists out of the depths of his ignorance. As a journalist, he "reported the superficialities . . . without real knowledge of what was going on," and even at thirty-seven, already publisher of the Emporia *Gazette*, he was still no more than "a little oleaginous molecule with a red, round face, waddling in a dog-trot from God-knows-whence to God-knows-where." Nor, in his own harsh view, did he ever improve appreciably. Covering the peace conference at fifty, he was "abysmally ignorant," without the "sense



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that Frank Simond had, or that Oswald Garrison Villard had." He was "just Republican precinct committeeman in the Fourth Ward of Emporia, Kansas, who had been on the state commitee and had been on the national committee, and so walked with what I thought was a heroic tread."

This self-castigation should not be taken at face value, and will not by anyone who ever knew William Allen White, and I suspect that future generations of readers will be too absorbed in the narrative, the color, and the warmth of his book to pay much attention to it. I suspect further that White did not mean these passages to be taken literally. But they are there for a reason, and I cannot believe that reason to be unconnected with the curious political double life that marked White's career from the time a minor episode "soured [him] on wealth" and made him "a champion of the new rebellion."

Here was a man who threw himself with characteristically boyish abandon into the Great Reformation led by Theodore Roosevelt, his idol. And here was the man who, among Roosevelt's closest advisers, held out longest against the bolt from the G. O. P. He was, as he says,

> a rebel against the rebellion, suspicious even in my enthusiasm, but abating no ounce of energy even though I was standing beside myself . . . I have always done that. Something in moments of tension has always split my personality. Maybe it was in inheritance, blood, or paternal environment—the calculating Yankee watching the wild Irishman, not without amusement and sometimes with qualms.

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This was the same split personality that warned White's Kansas delegation in 1920 not to "disgrace the Republican Party" by nominating Harding and then "toddled along, followed the Kansas banner in the parade, ashamed, dishevveled in body and spirit, making a sad, fat figure while the bands played, the trumpets brayed, and the crowd howled for Harding." The "wild Irishman" supported Franklin D. Roosevelt in public and in private for three-and-a-half years of his first term only to allow the "calculating Yankee" to spend the last six months in promoting the election of Alfred M. Landon, even though he was doubtful enough of his fellow-Kansan to write of him in the *Gazette*:

> Political geography has taken him where he is. . . . But political geography does not make a man President. He must measure up to certain spiritual requirements. . . . But if he does not have these extraordinary qualities—if some hell-born breed of events thrusts him luckily into power without the strength to do the job—God help his country in a time like this.

The truth is that William Allen White, materially successful all his life, endowed with excellent health, and supremely happy in his family life, knew none of the miseries which he realized were "crystallizing the struggle of the people of the world into one pattern of revolt"—a revolt that was mirrored only tangentially and with distortions in the middle-class insurgency of the Bull Moose. Vaguely and inactively, William Allen White was for that deeper revolt, but he was not of it. He became conscious enough of the shallowness of the Roosevelt reform to write in his autobiography that "we were intent upon making wholesome dog biscuits for the underdog." But apparently this awareness seemed in no way inconsistent with an almost embarrasingly lavish devotion to revolutionists of the caliber of Herbert Hoover. ("We set up a little altar to Herbert Hoover in our hearts—and after thirty years the candle before it is still burning.")

The White "Autobiography," foreshortened by the author's death in 1945, is a great book on several levels. As a personal narrative it is a joy to read—especially the opening chapters on the respectfully dispassionate courtship of White's parents, an episode of Dickensian flavor, and on his idyllic boyhood in a post-bellum Kansas that still feared Indian raids, though the Red Men that little Will White knew were hardly more than wandering bands of amiable gypsies.

As a detailed and animated study in the workings of American political machinery—local, state, and national—the book is superb. White loved Kansas and the America of his youth, but no Marxist has ever dissected the railroad plutocracy so unmercifully, or so unsentimentally laid bare what White called "the vast swindle that was the Middle West of the eighties." And, in passing, the world's most noted country editor wasted no rose-tinted nostalgia on small-town papers as an institution; most of them, he showed, were as mendacious as the small scale of their operations required.

No journalism of our day can touch the "Autobiography" for sheer reportorial brilliance. As correspondent for the

George Matthew Adams Newspaper Service and the top-notch magazines of the period, White covered every major political story—and many an unscheduled one—of the first two decades of the century. And they come alive in his book with startling vividness, particularly the Republican convention of 1912, at which Elihu Root, the intellectual aristocrat of the party, facing down a crowd of delegates "which had been melted by rage into a rabble," put his faith in the barbed wire concealed beneath the bunting that wrapped the railed approach to the rostrum. Equally memorable was the scene at the Century Club, where White had been lunching with Thomas B. Reed on the day of McKinley's funeral. At the moment when the entire nation came to a standstill for the tribute of a silent prayer, Reed, who had been ousted as Speaker by the McKinley-Hanna cabal, rose and delivered himself of "the most exquisitely brutal, meticulously refined malediction" White had ever heard—all "poured out in a torrent of wrath, a cold, repressed New England cascade of icicles."

White's estimates of people are personal rather than political, and he has sketched a fascinating gallery. McKinley "was destined for a statue in a park, and was practicing the pose for it." Charles Curtis was a man "who after his one blast for free silver never let the expression of his convictions affect in any way his rise in prestige and power." Mark Hanna, whom White loved as a father, was "a tender-hearted brigand," who, had he lived, might perhaps "have seen how evil was his rollicking economic lechery." Bryan was "an innocent, intellectually and emotionally—a child in a garden who loved its beauty, enjoyed its perfume, and never crushed a bud," while Darrow "belonged to the great brotherhood of pilgrims who tread the primrose path not idly but with zeal and a deep conviction of their rectitude." Wilson, whom he admired and whose foreign policy he favored over that of his hero's, was "a spare, ascetic, repressed creature, a kind of frozen flame of righteous intelligence"; yet he treated T. R. with "a frigid malevolence" that White could never forgive.

The book is 649 pages long and so broad in scope that I have done no more than suggest its contents. It is an intimate political history of the United States from 1880 to 1923, informed by the genial spirit of a man who had experienced the best the country had to give in those years—an intelligent, talented, and successful American whose conscience preserved him from social arrogance and whose humor saved him from ever becoming smug.

ROBERT BENDINER

Coming

The Books and the Arts section of The Nation *will feature during the next few weeks articles and reviews by Wolfgang Köhler, William Empson, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Hans Reichenbach, Stuart Chase, Albert Guerard, Franz Neumann, Paul Tillich, Isaac Rosenfeld, Ernest Nagel, Delmore Schwartz, Mary McCarthy, Wylie Sypher, Hannah Arendt, Robert Lowell, Arthur Mizener, and Paul Sweezey.*

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FICTION IN REVIEW

ROBERT PENN WARREN'S "All the King's Men" (Harcourt, Brace, $3) is not the first novel to draw its inspiration from the career of Huey Long. Some years ago there was John Dos Passos's "Number One," which I have not read, and a few seasons ago there was Hamilton Basso's "Sun in Capricorn," which, as I remember it, dealt rather freely with the actual biography of the Louisiana Kingfish. Mr. Warren would seem to stay closer to his original: he gives us a complete life-story, from the days when his Willie Stark was just an earnest, urgent, back-country farm boy to his early years in law practice and his first venture into politics, through his flashing rise to political power and the governorship, to, finally, his assassination. I say "would seem" because, acquainted with only the broadest outlines of Long's life, I have no way of knowing how much of Mr. Warren's detail is a matter of record and how much supplied by the novelist's imagination. But since Mr. Warren offers his story wholly as fiction, the question of factual accuracy need not be raised.

And a very remarkable piece of novel-writing "All the King's Men" surely is. For sheer virtuosity, for the sustained drive of its prose, for the speed and evenness of its pacing, for its precision of language, its genius of colloquialism, I doubt indeed whether it can be matched in American fiction. Mr. Warren's method is the method of great photography, his poetry an overtone of photographic documentation. Perhaps one must imagine the camera of Walker Evans inching over mile after mile of the South, piling up its record of personal portraits and place portraits and portraits of things, catching fact after fact of the Southern heat and mystery, indolence and venality and despair, in order to begin to have a notion of what and how Mr. Warren sees.

Nor are its imposing gifts of composition the only recommendation of " All the King's Men." There is also its largeness of intention. Mr. Warren's study of a political leader is intended to investigate the moral relativism inherent in the historical process. One might describe it as a fictional demonstration of Hegel's philosophy of history. For what Mr. Warren seems to be saying, with Hegel, is that spirit or goodness arises only out of the ruck of living and the clash of self-seeking wills. He is questioning the absolutes of good and evil which are so much the assumption of a large part our present-day political morality.

But all relativistic positions are peculiarly liable to misinterpretation, and the Hegelian relativism especially must be read very purely not to be translatable into a justification of means by their end, or not to be understood as the belief that good always, even often, has its source in evil. Yet here precisely is the inadequacy of "All the King's Men," that it can give rise to just such misconceptions of what I am sure was its very much purer informing idea. It is in fact difficult *not* to infer from Mr. Warren's novel that a Willie Stark's absolute power is justified by such public benefactions as the fine hospital he builds, or that we are to welcome the Willie Stark type of political unpleasantness as a step in political progress.

In part, of course, this may be the inevitable result of translating the hero of history into a hero of fiction. For, concerned with the world historical figure, Hegel was concerned only with his historical or force aspect, not with his ethical aspect; but fiction always deals primarily with individual human beings, and only by suggestion with philosophical abstractions, and when Mr. Warren personifies his abstractions, as the novelist must, he in effect alters a way of viewing history into a system of personal morality from which, then, we evolve a system of political morality. Thus, Willie Stark is not an evolutionary force, but first a person on whom his author exercises an ethical judgment; and if only because he is the hero of the novel, we must assume that this judgment is largely admiring or approving. The result is that it is the demagogue's usual dull ambivalence—half the obsession with power and half a soft generosity and idealism—that is made to stand for the dialectical struggle of good and evil in both individuals and society.

But it is not merely because he is the hero of the novel that we assume that Stark is approved by his author. We also have the word for it of Mr. Warren's narrator. "All the King's Men" is told through the point of view of a young newspaperman-researcher attached to Stark—one of those prefabricated figures out of the city room whom Mr. Warren endows with a wonderful eye but with no equivalent gift of inward vision. "Wise," cynical, tough but touchable, Jack Burden is better educated than his usual counterparts in fiction and the movies, but his values are scarcely more fortifying. He is the kind of man, for instance, who, when he perceives that the only thing alive in the face of an Okie to whom he gives a lift on the road is the twitch near his eye, goes on to evolve from this observation an embarrassingly maudlin philosophy—a phantasy of the Great Twitch as a god of doom. Even more significant, he is the kind of man who feels virtually no emotion about his share in the blackmail of a friend, a blackmail that leads the friend to shoot himself, except the pleasure of recognition that a good—a truth—has come from it. But although Jack Burden is so essentially shabby a person that he vulgarizes any thought he entertains or acts out, it is to him that Mr. Warren entrusts an idea of history that requires the nicest discriminations. It is Burden's morally ambiguous evaluation of Stark that we are forced to accept as Mr. Warren's.

And if the low quality of Burden's moral awareness is responsible for most of the ethical and political confusion of "All the King's Men," so must it in some measure account, I think, for the failure of Mr. Warren's novel to achieve the artistic stature commensurate with the author's writing gifts. For one has the idea that were Mr. Warren's narrator to inhabit wider realms of thinking and feeling, he would not only alter our view of the book's central character but also give greater meaning to its subsidiary people, that he would raise all his associates out of the realm of the commonplace and raise their conflicts from melodrama to drama. Certainly the conception of almost all Mr. Warren's characters fails to match the energy of the prose in which they are delineated. While Mr. Warren's language draws upon every resource of actuality, his creation of people lacks all freshness of perception. It is the inner human mystery that Mr. Warren blinks as he pursues the mystery of the historical process.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

JAZZ is a new material not only for the musicological system-grinders but for the academic course-makers. The following questions were sent to a number of music critics by a member of a college teaching staff who wrote that the answers and comments would be part of the material he was assembling "in connection with the contemplated introduction of jazz into the music curriculum:"

1. What is the position of jazz in modern music?

2. Will jazz make any permanent contribution to music? If so, what?

3. Could jazz be taught in the music schools? Would such instruction be of value?

In reply I wrote: "A course in jazz could be given and would be valuable if it was devoted to letting the student *hear* jazz—this for two purposes: (1) by familiarizing him with it—and solely by that method—to develop his taste for it; (2) to make clear to him the difference between jazz and the forms of popular music that are not jazz, such as the show music of Gershwin and Berlin and the large-band performances of arrangements of this music."

In other words, "the course would not be concerned with the 'position of jazz in modern music' and its 'permanent contribution to music.' Your questions on these matters represent first of all the academic attitude in the teaching of music—which is to teach not the piece of music as a piece of music, a particular artistic communication, but the piece of music as a collection of stylistic manifestations related to other such collections in the development of music. And that is something I consider completely wrong. Your questions further represent the long current notions about the relation of jazz to American serious music, which are also wrong. In these ideas jazz has been taken incorrectly to mean the show music of Gershwin and Berlin; and even about this music the ideas have been wrong, and your questions are on the wrong track—as you may realize if I ask the analogous questions about the position and contribution of the Viennese waltz. But it is even worse when the ideas and questions are about jazz in the correct sense—the improvisation of small groups like those of Louis Arm-

(*Continued on page* 223)

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Voting at Eighteen

Dear Sirs: As a highly interested teenager, I have wondered why *The Nation* has not come out for the extension of the franchise to all citizens over eighteen years of age.

I, like most of my contemporaries, feel that now is the time to amend the Constitution extending the vote. When I graduated from high school two months ago, I generally was in sympathy with such an amendment. Since I have now entered industry, observing what the older as well as the younger generation is thinking, and observing how reaction is setting in as typified by Dwight Griswold's defeat in Nebraska and Charles La Follette's defeat in Indiana, I am particularly concerned about the need for this amendment. Young people are, as a rule, liberals, with highly imaginative concepts of things, yet are, contrary to opinion among the older folks, well informed on political and economic issues which are at present confronting the world. Their outlooks have not been blackened with delusion and fear and prejudice, and they are not burdened down with the modes of the past. Liberalism is greatly in need of these young people's votes. They are looking to the future.

During the war millions of young men not yet of voting age were drafted into the armed services and asked to accept the responsibilities of full-fledged adults. Recognized as quick thinkers and alert fighters, as a group they were excepted from no undertaking. Many returned veterans, hardened by the experiences of seeing the world, will this fall be ineligible to vote because "they ain't old enough."

I have heard many people refer to the younger element as too ignorant and inexperienced to vote. Most of these same people are not acquaintd with, or never attended the meetings of, the young people of the present generation. Mention youth, and most of these old fogies immediately think of a harum-scarum demon. There are many young people like this, but I rather think they are an exception. Most youth are serious. They want to contribute to society and take up the responsibilities of an adult. The number of people over twenty-one who are in ignorance of the problems of the present age is much higher than that of people between eighteen and twenty-one. After all, the older people have had time to lose faith in prevailing institutions, their minds have become closed and set. Not so the young folks. Their minds are clear, relatively unpolluted by the hates and resentments of yesteryear. The future is theirs and most of them will be wary in their handling of it.

Despite claims to the contrary, eighteen- and nineteen- and twenty-year-olds want the franchise. We see political opponents elected to office, we are made responsible adults before the courts, and Congress drafts us long before the ballot is even within reach. Most of us form personal political and economic opinions, quite distinct from those of our parents, before leaving school.

At present, only Georgia provides the franchise for citizens over eighteen. Under the auspices of liberal Governor Ellis Arnall, an amendment was passed to bring these young citizens into the electorate. The results have been satisfactory.

I suppose we could wait for individual states to take action; however, the delay and inadequacy of this procedure is too obvious. The time to act is now. Now is the time for all of us to work for a Constitutional Amendment to give all citizens over eighteen the franchise.

BEN BENEDICT

Sturgis, Mich., July 14

Hope for Georgia

Dear Sirs: I found "It's Growing Time in Georgia" by Lillian Smith (*The Nation*, July 13) a masterpiece of understanding and bravery. Reading it was difficult in the light of Talmadge's victory. I admire Governor Arnall's work and hope that he will have another growing time in Georgia.

JAMES R. DUFFIN

San Francisco, July 23

Stickney Memorabilia

Dear Sirs: I am gathering material for a life of the American poet, Trumbull Stickney (1874-1904). If any of your readers have letters or other material pertaining to him, I would appreciate hearing from them.

THOMAS RIGGS JR.

12 Gansevoort St.,
New York 14, July 6

(*Continued from page* 222)

strong; and again you may realize this if I ask the analogous questions about the position and contribution of Spanish *cante flamenco*."

And in conclusion, "the fundamental error is that of thinking that these forms of popular music acquire importance and value only from a relation with, an absorption into, serious music, instead of realizing their sufficiency and validity, their importance and value in and for themselves."

But if the course is given I am sure it will be devoted to the ideas about the position and permanent contribution of jazz in serious music that were supplied by the other critics whom my correspondent wrote to. It will be devoted, that is, to the ideas which provide the kind of material a college course can be made of—which lend themselves to classroom discussion, note-taking, memorizing, and questions and answers for academic bookeeping.

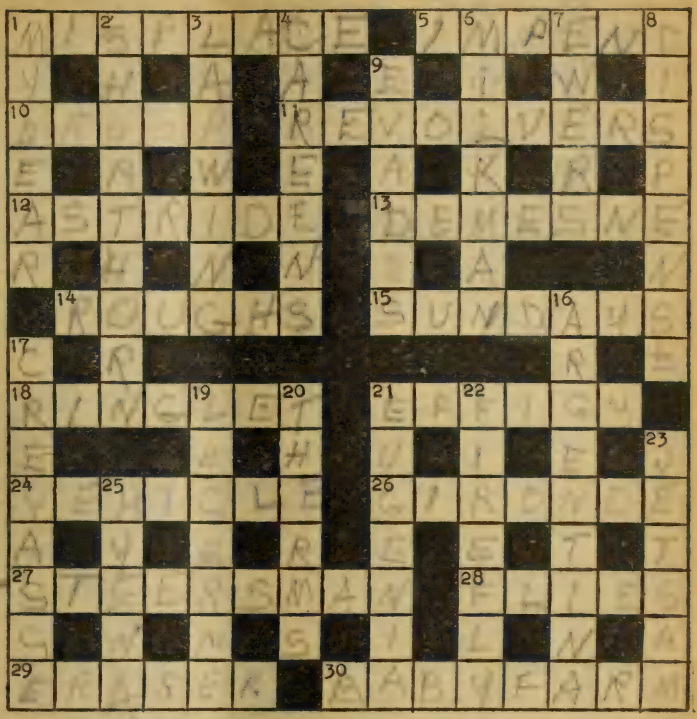
For August Victor offers a single record (11-9191; $1) with Mozart's Overture to "The Abduction From the Seraglio," beautifully performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (though with characteristic over-deliberateness in the minuet section), and beautifully reproduced (though with some weakness in treble, and with curiously fluctuating volume-level in the fortissimos on the second side.)

Apparently Victor considers this overture as great a burden as our minds can stand up under in August; for the rest of its list is very light, and only one of the items rates discussion: a volume (Set 1053; $3) of the favorite Brahms Hungarian Dances—Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 17—spiritedly performed by Erica Morini with Artur Balsam at the piano.

If Victor is so seasonal it might issue Beecham's recent recording of Royal Hunt and Storm from Berlioz's "Trojans," of which I have heard enthusiastic reports. The quiet conclusion of that piece is a succession of exquisitely wrought details of a startlingly intense loveliness that brings tears to my eyes in the same way as some of the things that happen in Mozart; and the entire piece documents a reader's observation, in a recent letter, that he saw in Berlioz's "very pure and fire-like and passionate music . . . a mind operating in the romantic idiom in the same extraordinary way as Mozart's operates in the idiom he grew up with."

Crossword Puzzle No. 175

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Put a square peg in a round hole, for example
5 Finish with a mischief-maker
10 Hang down
11 Weapons with which people might defend themselves when encircled?
12 Mounted like a man
13 Manor house
14 Hooligans
15 We are best suited on these days
18 Token of marriage on hire?
21 It doesn't hurt anyone to be burnt in this
24 Any conveyance
26 No dirge comes from this part of France
27 Pleasure was, in Gray's famous lines
28 Buzzybodies
29 The man who never made a mistake would have no use for one
30 Where infants are taken in and done for (4 and 4)

DOWN

1 Dreamy way to begin a letter (2 and 4)
2 If we're going to be chased by a bull, we hope it will be this kind!
3 Is this bird a sitter, or a flyer, or both?
4 Moves with an inclination to port, or starboard
6 We open the door to find that he has left
7 Running water wash-basins have largely superseded them
8 Do away with — in the prescription department!
9 Dodges
16 A great inn (anag.), and it's in South America
17 Cress, Eva? (anag.)
19 Town and lake in Switzerland
20 Heat units
21 She's probably "Genie" to her friends
22 Seems as though it might be a dangerous insect during a drought
23 Washed up while the jam set
25 Is this animal laughing at *us*?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 174

ACROSS:—1 GRAYBEARD; 6 POETS; 9 INNINGS; 10 REMORSE; 11 SOLDIER; 12 ANISEED; 13 DON; 15 GARAGE; 17 BOTTLE; 18 WHITE; 19 NATURE; 22 TRIBAL; 25 ONE; 27 LONG TON; 28 GENESIS; 30 MUSTANG; 31 ICEFLOE; 32 NEARS; 33 REGISTRAR.

DOWN:—1 GRIPS; 2 ANNULAR; 3 BUNTING; 4 ABSURD; 5 DURBAN; 6 PIMLICO; 7 EARNEST; 8 SPEEDWELL; 14 ONION; 15 GENTLEMEN; 16 EWE; 17 BET; 20 TUNISIA; 21 RATTANS; 23 RANGERS; 24 BUSTLER; 25 ONAGER; 26 EGGING; 29 SWEAR.

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The Shape of Things

TRIESTE REMAINS THE TOUGHEST NUT FOR the Peace Conference to crack; its shell was scarcely dented at the Foreign Ministers' meetings. But the difficulties of the problem are by no means insoluble. Now that the conferees have accepted internationalization of the disputed seaport as the only sensible course, the next step is to find an international machinery acceptable to the two blocs into which the Peace Conference has unfortunately divided. For the past few days there has been a good deal of quiet discussion in the corridors of the Luxembourg Palace of a formula which would place Trieste under the control of an international board headed by a representative of a country other than the Big Three and the nations directly concerned. There are not many people on the international scene today whose anti-fascist record and international outlook would meet with general approval, but there are a few. It is impossible to overestimate the tremendous service that would be rendered to the cause of peace by a rapid solution along these lines; in the midst of the present discouraging exhibition of mutual distrust and misunderstanding between the nations which won the war, this would be a first example of working internationalism. But the only chance of success for this Trieste plan lies in the creation of an anti-fascist administrative system with a clear-cut progressive program. Perhaps the solution is not so much the "internationalization" of Trieste but, as Pietro Nenni suggested the other day, its "inter-socialization," with the left forces in Italy and Yugoslavia giving the world a lesson in peaceful cooperation.

*

BARTLEY C. CRUM BELIEVES HE HAS HIT ON the answer to a major political mystery: the paradox of America's official failure to further a Jewish homeland in Palestine even though every President since Wilson has proclaimed the principle, both major parties regularly include it in their platforms, and numerous resolutions in its support have been adopted in Congress without opposition. Mr. Crum, who was a member of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine, blames the State Department and particularly its "gentlemen of the middle level," who have long been "captives of the British social lobby" in Washington. The solution may be over-simplified; we suspect that our oil concessions, dependent on the cooperation of shady feudal chiefs, are one important factor among others. But the indictment leveled by Crum is convincing and concrete enough to call for drastic investigation. Given access to the department's secret files in connection with his mission, Crum found that for every Presidential promise made on Palestine and for every Congressional resolution, the State Department, in confidential cables to Arab leaders, advised that "nothing would be done." He cites "secret communications between Ibn Saud, Farouk of Egypt, and the Husseinis of Jerusalem, and the Middle East desk of the State Department," headed by Loy Henderson, whose removal, he suggests, would be "salutary." Confidential cables from the White House to American members of the Palestine committee, he says, were delivered first to British Foreign Office officials, who opened them as a matter of course and undermined the committee's work at every turn. Evidence has been piling up for years showing the extent to which policy is influenced by these middle-level officials, in the Foreign Service and in the department itself. The country should welcome Senator Guffey's proposal for a full-dress investigation of this secret government-within-the-government.

*

NINE NEGROES HAVE BEEN LYNCHED IN the last two months, in outbreaks of that inter-racial violence that is the most barbarous and shameful feature of American life. No one has been punished for these lynchings; it is not likely that anyone ever will be, if local authorities and local sentiment have their way. If local authorities won't act, the federal government must; but the improved civil-liberties laws that would enable it to act with real effectiveness have little chance to get through Congress, owing to the antiquated and unfortunate system that has put Southern reactionaries in control of most committees, and that gives a minority of Senators the power to block any legislation by filibustering. Senator Johnson has just resigned, in disgust at its inaction, from the special committee investigating campaign expenditures; two of its remaining members have been goaded into stating that they consider charges against Senator Bilbo extremely serious. It will be educational to see what they do about the charges. Men like Bilbo and Talmadge have done everything in their power

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to make Southerners feel that race violence is not only right but expedient; Bilbo has openly and repeatedly advocated that Negroes be kept from the polls by force or intimidation, and has just crowned his long, deplorable, incredible career by a spirited and heartfelt defense of the Ku Klux Klan: "The Klan has always stood for the American flag, constitutional government, and the American way of life." Senator Bilbo, at home, is a shrewd politician; his evident belief that his constituents will agree with his statement is more disquieting than the statement. But the most disquieting thing of all is the probability that this man will continue to represent—or should one say disgrace?—the American flag, constitutional government, and the American way of life.

*

NEWS FROM CHINA IS NOW BEING CONVEYED by military communiques, and hope of peace has virtually come to an end. Unfortunately, the communiques are fully as partisan and misleading as the political dispatches which preceded the breakdown; Americans who want to know how the fighting is going will have to wait until the true picture seeps out through the iron-clad censorship. The censorship has also made it almost impossible to gain a clear understanding of the events which led to the collapse of negotiations and the outbreak of full-fledged civil war. On another page in this issue Agnes Smedley assigns chief responsibility for the breakdown to Chiang Kai-shek and his reactionary associates, but suggests that blame also rests on the American government and those financial interests which have backed Chiang against the genuinely democratic elements in China. Her general indictment of American policy is unquestionably justified, but it is important in the interests of clarity to distinguish between the sound democratic policies outlined in President Truman's directive to General Marshall and the less advertised but obviously more potent measures adopted by our military officials to prop up the Kuomintang armies in their struggle against the Communist forces. For the American army in China has obviously subverted the purposes announced by the President. It is probably too late to avert the tragic consequences of our conflicting policies, but it is not too late to pull American troops and marines out before they find themselves fighting in China's civil war—on the wrong side.

*

PRIMARY DAY IN NEW YORK ADMITTEDLY brought no cheer to the left, but the ecstasy of the conservative press is pathetically out of proportion. Joseph Clark Baldwin and Augustus Bennet, two reasonably liberal Republicans—both repudiated by their party and running without campaign funds, organizational backing, or any kind of mass support—were defeated for renomination to Congress. That is the extent of the

victory. From the editorial pages of the Scripps-Howard, Hearst, and other metropolitan papers the casual reader might conclude that the G. O. P. had gone much further and retired from public life such leftist luminaries as Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell. Actually, all that happened was that those two gentlemen, deprived of a Republican nomination, will run in November on two tickets instead of three. As Democrats and American Labor Party nominees, both are almost certain to return to Congress. Their failure to go back as Republicans, far from depressing us, seems like a healthy, if unsought, release from a none too savory connection. The appallingly low vote in the New York primary is regarded by experienced observers as a failure of the machines: not enough canvassers rang enough doorbells. This failure, particularly marked on the left, was largely responsible for the Republican defeat of Marcantonio and Powell. Communists and their fellow-travellers, who can normally be counted on to perform this basic chore, are reliably said to have fallen down on the job this year—a sign of the weakness that has beset the party since the purging of Earl Browder. Here again the effect can be salutary if it induces labor candidates to organize such support in the trade unions instead of buying it, politically, from a party which, like the Republicans and Democrats, has its own fish to fry.

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IN THE DEATH OF DOROTHY J. BELLANCA, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has lost a unique leader and the nation a devoted citizen. Mrs. Bellanca was only fifty-two years old. Yet her service as a union member, organizer, and vice-president had stretched over more than thirty years—all of them in the men's clothing trade, from which the Amalgamated grew. Under Sidney Hillman's remarkable leadership, she was one of that ardent and able band who started the union, extended it to encompass the entire industry, and won for it the respect of workers and management alike. A person of rare loveliness and fine mind, she was possessed by an unflagging and passionate concern for the sufferings of others. Without question she was the ablest woman organizer in the American labor movement. For many years Mrs. Bellanca had responded to those wider claims so often made on union leaders. She was an outstanding member of the Committee on Welfare of Women and Children of the Department of Labor, established when the New Deal was young. She was a White House appointee to the National Health Conference in 1938, which did so much to inspire subsequent work in this field. She was a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment during the depths of the depression. She was a leader of the Governor's committee against employment discrimination in New York State. Her life was shorter than it should have been, but it was filled with distinguished work and was rich in compensations. One recalls the words of Heine: "Place on my grave a wreath and in my hands a sword. For I have been a soldier in the great Liberation War of Humanity." Mrs. Bellanca was such a soldier.

The Price Compromise

IF ANYONE is fully pleased by the curious compromise agreed upon by the Price Decontrol Board, the press has neglected to report its existence. Compromise is inevitable in politics, and it is often possible to reach a middle-ground decision reasonably satisfactory to all parties in a controversy. But the Decontrol Board's efforts represent a straddle that is rightly condemned by both friends and foes of price control.

Restoration of price limits on meat had been anticipated, despite the protests of the packing interests, because of the runaway prices on most meat products in recent weeks. If there was to be any stabilization at all, it was obvious that meat, which accounts for a large proportion of the average family's food budget, had to be brought under control. But dairy products—milk, butter, and cheese—also constitute a big part of the average family's food; and, despite the official reasoning cited in Tris Coffin's article on page 229, it is difficult to understand the board's decision to exempt these items from control. In many areas the increase in milk prices had exceeded the June 30 ceiling plus the subsidy and in some instances has reached unreasonable levels.

Even if the increase were no greater than the two-to-three-cents-a-quart rise made necessary by the suspension of the subsidy, it would seem imperative to restore that subsidy. Otherwise, millions of children in low-income families face curtailed consumption of this irreplacable food. The only plausible explanation of the board's action is political rather than economic. It apparently decided to throw some sop to the opponents of price stabilization, and the lifting of controls on milk and grains seemed less dangerous than similar action would have been with meat.

Whether or not the compromise can be made to work is another matter. Explosive inflationary pressures have been generated by recent price and wage increases. These will naturally be exerted most strongly on the uncontrolled sectors of the national economy. Milk and grain prices may be forced far beyond their present levels. Confronted by a big increase in the cost of these necessities, together with the never-ending price increases authorized by the OPA, organized labor would have no choice but to demand wage rises beyond the 18½-cent advance incorporated in the national stabilization program. As President Roosevelt pointed out during the war, the only way to stop the insidious advance of prices is to stop it simultaneously everywhere. The decision of the Price Decontrol Board has left a vital sector of the price front undefended. The gap can still be closed if

the board carries out its promise to watch prices closely and restore controls as soon as further increases occur; but its behavior so far is not such as to make us expect great energy or courage in the future.

Roots of Suspicion

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE Yugoslav-American crisis subsided when the State Department announced that its demands had been met with the release of the nine men held after the shooting down of the army transport plane on August 9. But the issues involved in the incident have not been resolved. The attacks by Yugoslav flyers on unarmed planes will hardly be repeated; Marshal Tito has in fact ordered that they be stopped. They were not, however, isolated outrages designed to test out the limits of American forebearance, although this is the interpretation offered by most of the editorial writers. The whole context of events suggests that they reflected a more serious and complicated situation.

From the moment the victorious Yugoslav forces were induced to abandon Trieste and the western littoral of Istria, and the area was put under Allied—meaning Anglo-American—control, a state of semi-war has been in effect. For the Yugoslavs look upon the Morgan Line as a British invention which infringes upon their inalienable rights, and regard the crack British-American troops guarding the line not as liberators, still less as allies, but as an occupying army. Border incidents, ambushings, free-for-all fights have become the common expression of this hardening enmity.

Tito says that American army planes have been making frequent reconnaissance flights over Yugoslav territory. The State Department denies it. Probably an impartial inquiry would be required to get at the facts, and this is not likely unless the United States government lays the dispute before the Security Council. But it would be wise, in the absence of such an inquiry, to withhold judgment on this particular point. Even if Tito is telling the truth, the behavior he complains of would explain rather than excuse an attack on a plane obviously unarmed and carrying passengers. What his explanation does is to highlight a background of tension and hostility far more serious in the long run than any single act of violence, however unjustified.

It is this background which explains the dismal stalemate at Paris, and the mood of despair and even of hysteria which has swept the Western world in the past few weeks. If war were made by headlines, by prophecies, by a fierce concentration on the probability of war, the bombs would begin to drop before dawn tomorrow. Fortunately the men who must make the fatal decisions do not want war—not now at any rate. Or, more accurately, they do not want another military war if they can establish their ends by political pressures and maneuvers.

In three articles Mr. Del Vayo has provided a clear description of the suspicions that dominate Russian strategy in this continuing political struggle. Most Americans will sharply challenge Soviet assumptions about the intentions of the West. As a nation we consider ourselves innocent of any aims that could interfere with the legitimate interests of other nations. And it is a fact, I believe, that neither our government nor the people as a whole want war or harbor any direct aggressive designs. But in this world of revolutionary conflict, innocence is not a defense. It may, in fact, prove a rather menacing trait. It enables us to do, or connive in the doing of, an astonishing variety of provocative acts with an air of total complacency. It enables us to be shocked by the conduct of our opponents without ever imagining that we may be arousing similar emotions in them.

Just as an obvious and even pressing example, let us take our policy on the atomic bomb. Having perfected, manufactured, and used this instrument of extermination, we proceeded, after an interval of many months, to develop a plan for the international control of atomic power. The preparation of the plan was the work of a group of honest, disinterested experts. The plan itself, although open to serious criticism at several points, does in fact offer the organized world a chance to control a power this country now wields alone without challenge. Nothing has more startled American opinion than Russia's bland dismissal of our proposal. How can it be explained even in Russia's own interests? Naturally, the easy explanation, in the present temper of the country, is that the Soviet Union opposes any system of control because it expects to develop atomic weapons soon itself and wants no inspectors snooping about its plants and laboratories.

I suspect this is a superficial analysis of the Russian attitude; it ignores, because we cannot really believe in, Russian suspicions. For a year after the United States dropped two A-bombs on Japanese cities, our army and navy went on improving and manufacturing these weapons. For a year they went on experimenting with new methods of atomic attack, new forms of propulsion. They conducted two noisily-exploited trial bombings over Bikini. They did their best to keep the domestic control of atomic development in military hands. And, meanwhile, a number of high military men openly advocated that the bomb be used on our Soviet ally, before our Soviet ally should get to the point where it could use it on us. This was not, certainly, the view of the government, but it seemed to gain ground, especially in the jingo press.

Then came the plan, and the plan provided that all the fissionable material in the world be put under the control of a new international atomic-energy board which was to be created, and that when all the chips were in, and all the machinery assembled, and all the rules made, the United States would decide whether the set-up was satisfactory to it. If so, it would surrender

the knowledge and the bombs. If not—that question wasn't answered. But the Soviet Union, if I gauge its suspicions correctly, was not prepared to accept a plan which depended ultimately on the simple yes or no of a power which had not acted in a way calculated to allay those suspicions.

One can argue, as I would argue, that the sensible procedure for Mr. Gromyko would have been to call for amendments of the American plan rather than propose as a substitute one which makes no sense at all in a world of mutual insecurity. It is likely that his demand for the immediate destruction and outlawing of the bomb was not in fact a serious proposal, but was intended to dramatize the existing international situation—like Litvinov's famous proposal, at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, of total, universal, and immediate disarmament.

This is just an example, but an important one, of the gulf of misunderstanding that opens when American innocence collides with Soviet suspicion. Perhaps the best course Americans can pursue in this period of political struggle is to examine dispassionately—instead of rejecting indignantly—the reasons the Russians give for doubting our good intentions.

Mr. Del Vayo's article on Germany provides much specific material for such an examination. So does Mr. Vallance's letter on the Paris conference. But the most substantial food for self-analysis I have come across in recent weeks was the official report of General McNarney on Russia's policy in Germany, published on October 16 in Berlin. The whole report was an expansion of a single charge: that the Soviet Union was deliberately attacking private enterprise and moving toward socialism in its zone. In the General's own words, this implied "establishment of a Socialist state with a classless society following the destruction of the capitalist system." One can understand how painful such discoveries must be to a General brought up in the dominant American faith. But I would like to suggest that a report like his is enough to prove the incapacity of the American army to carry on any political or economic functions in any European country. It is not only evident that the attitude he reveals is bound to produce antagonism among the Russians, justifying in their eyes every fanciful charge against the American government; it is also clear that McNarneyism, like the policy of the Colonel Blimps referred to by Mr. Del Vayo, will drive into Russia's arms the only elements in post-Hitler Germany we can safely do business with, and will open the way for a recrudescence of Nazi hopes and activities. What this means in terms of the prospect of peace hardly needs to be emphasized.

The Work of the Decontrol Board

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, August 24

FROM quiet first-floor offices in the Federal Reserve Building, the members of the Price Decontrol Board are anxiously watching the reaction to a decision they made after exhausting days of hearings and study.

These three men—Roy Thompson, the big, friendly chairman; Daniel W. Bell, whose punctilious, exact mind searched out the answers in the four days of hearings; and George Mead, the midwestern manufacturer—staked their reputation on this decision. They ruled that price ceilings and subsidies should be restored to meat; that flax, cottonseed oil, and soybeans should go back under controls; and that most grains and dairy products should not be placed under price ceilings.

The mail is beginning to pour into their offices—cheers and angry criticism from consumers and producers alike, with the cheers holding a slim majority. The most cheering letter was one which reads: "Your board will receive brickbats and bouquets. This note is from an American family which feels your board tackled an onerous task with forthright courage and made its decision with clear conscience."

The ruling came as a surprise to Washington, for it disregarded the heaviest pressures. The meat and cottonseed oil interests have potent political backing from Southern and Western Congressmen, and in the hearings the livestock men bluntly threatened to withhold meat if controls were restored.

In failing to put price ceilings on dairy products, the board went against the recommendations of both the OPA and the Department of Agriculture in one of the few cases where these two agencies have agreed on anything. An easier finding was that on grain; all the figures the board could collect showed that supplies will be sufficient when the crops are harvested and that prices are tending to level off toward the old ceilings.

In his radio talk Thompson explained the action on fats and oils. "Nearly everyone agreed that was what needed to be done—industry, consumers, and government. Price rises since June 30 were outrageous in many cases. An adequate supply of fats and oils is nowhere in sight. This country is unfortunately having to halt all exports of fats and oils after the end of the year."

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The toughest and most perplexing problem was dairy products. Consumer groups made their strongest pleas to put price ceilings on milk. The arguments were both statistical and emotional.

The board was limited by Congress: before it could restore controls, it had to find that prices have risen unreasonably, that supplies are short, and that controls would be workable. The three men could not satisfy themselves that prices had shot up unreasonably. The final decision was motivated by two factors—first, that for the country as a whole milk had risen one cent a quart, plus the two-cent subsidy which was withdrawn; and second, that the dairy industry had made an effort to hold prices and was considered deserving of an opportunity to discipline itself. Economists in both the OPA and Department of Agriculture, however, are frankly pessimistic. They believe that milk will become short in the winter months and that prices will go up further. Moreover, Thompson in his radio talk did not close the case of dairy products. He said, and I am told the board means it: "If dairy products move upward from here on out, this board can and will put the industry back under control." The work of the board is not finished. It will be watching supply and demand of farm products continually until the price control act expires.

At the other end of Washington, in an old barn-like building down by the railroad tracks, the OPA is organizing for its greatest test—the success or failure of meat ceilings will determine the future of price control. The opposition has moved fast. The American Meat Institute is screaming "black market" at the top of its lungs. The *Wall Street Journal* reflected the sullen mood of the industry in a page-one story on August 22, a roundup of opinion from livestock men, packers, and butchers. The article wound up with a nasty crack: "Former black-market operators didn't say anything yesterday. They just grinned."

When Paul Porter, the tall, good-natured OPA administrator, held his press conference this week, he was frankly cautious. A reporter asked him, "What can you say about rolling meat prices back to the June 30 levels?"

"I think we ought to be pretty realistic about it," Porter replied. "We are going to have a pretty bad September. I have always tried to stay at or near June 30 levels. We will do the best we can—subject, of course, to the concurrence of the Department of Agriculture." He promised to "throw the book at the black marketeers," and added: "I think probably for the first time we have some basis for confidence. We have enough manpower to make a full-scale attack on the black market. [*Note*: The enforcement staff has been doubled.] Obviously, we are not going to succeed one hundred per cent, but I don't think there is any reason to believe we will see large-scale black-market operations."

A correspondent asked, "How seriously do you take the packers' warnings that farmers will stop producing and hold back livestock?"

He replied thoughtfully, "I think we have heard those threats many times before. I am hoping that the packing industry will devote as much energy to making controls work as they did in trying to get rid of them."

Porter realizes that the OPA is going to be blamed for an inevitable meat shortage in September, and he is not happy about it. Every forecast indicates the livestock growers will keep their cattle on the range during September and not sell them. The grass is good during September and the cattlemen can fatten their products and watch with satisfaction the howls from a meatless public. The American Meat Institute can say, "We told you so," and haul up the old bugaboo of the black market. Cattle are expected to come into the packing houses at a rapid rate in October, and then slow down during the first quarter in 1947, leading to a meat famine in the second quarter. During the war the lowest level of supply was 115 pounds of meat per capita per year, which meant 65 pounds dressed in the stores. The current figure is 135 pounds.

The board's decision on meat has been followed by a confusion that tends on the surface to support the industry's propaganda line. Wholesalers have stopped buying meat from the packers at uncontrolled high prices, but their ice boxes are still loaded with high-priced meat they can't unload; the retailers don't want to be stuck with high-priced meat either. So the counters have pretty slim pickings at present. The wholesalers are crying bloody murder and demanding that OPA give them more time to unload. They claim that they need thirty days to get rid of their high-priced meat before controls are put back on.

The OPA has a double-barrelled job on meat—it must keep a close watch all along the line to see that meat is not diverted to the black market, and it must educate consumers not to buy above ceilings. The OPA people profoundly hope that the consumer groups, which did such a good job of lobbying and testifying, will work with equal vigor in organizing housewife support for the meat program.

Paul Porter has another worry in the back of his mind: he is afraid that milk prices will go up, and that he will be faced with the almost impossible job of dragging them back down again. He told his press conference: "I would be less than candid if I did not say I was disappointed that the board did not recontrol fluid milk and dairy products. I expect we will be in trouble in dairy products, certainly, this fall. It's a lot more difficult to catch the horse after he has gotten out of the barn, particularly when he is allowed to run a month or two. But we'll probably have to try and lasso him and bring him back."

The battle of prices is not over. It is just moving into a new and perhaps more complicated stage.

How to Elect a Progressive Congress

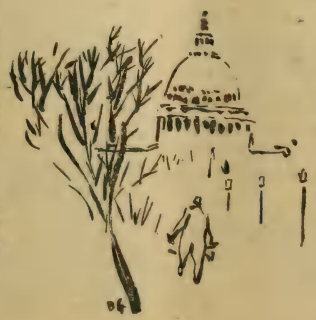
BY HENRY A. WALLACE

IT IS an appalling historical fact that the votes of a few Representatives and Senators meant the difference between adequate and inadequate preparation for the war against Germany and Japan—between victory and defeat. The draft law, for instance, was extended shortly before Pearl Harbor by only one vote in the United States House of Representatives. It is also true that the kind of Senators and Congressmen we elect this November will largely determine whether we meet the challenge of the peace at home and abroad.

Too many people, I have found, seem to believe that too many other people become weary of well-doing. They point to the fact that Woodrow Wilson found it impossible to awaken the people of this country to the necessity for a League of Nations after World War I. They remind us that President Wilson, who gave his life to winning the peace after he had worn himself out in leading us through a successful war, was succeeded by President Harding, who beguiled the people with the sop of "normalcy." But I am convinced that the people of the United States are not asleep in 1946. The lesson of 1920 taught us that we cannot afford to lose interest even for a moment in political action—and from personal association with numbers of veterans, I firmly believe that the eleven million young men and women who served in the armed forces are exceedingly aware of both the dangers and opportunities before us as a nation and as a people.

I have more than faith to back up my belief that we can elect a progressive Congress in November of 1946. In California, for example, such progressive Democratic Congressmen as George Outland, Chet Holifield, Jerry Voorhis, and Helen Douglas ran better in the primaries this year than they did two years ago. In the Democratic Senatorial primaries, George Donart of Idaho, Lief Erickson of Montana, and John Sparkman of Alabama —all progressive—were victorious and will be elected to the United States Senate.

Then let us see how progressive Republican Senators and Congressmen fared in the primaries. Bob LaFollette in Wisconsin, Charles LaFollette in Indiana, and Joseph Clark Baldwin and Augustus Bennet in New York—all good progressive public servants—were defeated by the forces of Republican reaction. The warning is unmistakeable: if we are to have a progressive Congress this fall, it can not be a Republican Congress.



The rejuvenated Democrats in Wisconsin would have welcomed "Young Bob" after he had liquidated the Progressive Party—but he chose instead to return to the Republican Party, which stood for everything against which the LaFollettes had always fought. But the Republicans of Wisconsin spurned this able public servant whose sin, to them, was that he treated laboring men like other human beings. On the same day that the Republicans turned thumbs down on LaFollette, the Democrats of Wisconsin nominated Howard McMurray for the United States Senate. An able progressive, McMurray was one of Franklin Roosevelt's staunchest supporters while he was in Congress, and I am certain that, if elected, he will be an outstanding Senator.

Men of the type of Charles LaFollette are badly needed in Congress—but the Republicans of Indiana sternly rebuked him when he challenged the conservative leadership of his party and sought the senatorial nomination in the party convention. The trend of reaction in Republican primaries was especially emphasized in New York City by the defeat of Joe Baldwin, who time and again deserted the retrogressive Republican leadership to vote for administration-sponsored progressive legislation.

The issues, therefore, between Republican and Democratic candidates are now much clearer—because most Republican nominees are all out against the people's progress, while the great majority of the Democrats who were nominated in contested primary elections continue to stand by the Roosevelt New Deal. Both parties, as a result, have tightened their lines; and we are nearing the happy time when we can have some assurance that if we elect a candidate of one party we will have a vote in Congress for conservatism, and if we elect a candidate of the other we will just as surely have a vote in Congress for progressivism. There is still much work to be done in the South, as elsewhere—but we are well on our way.

I have always contended, and the votes in Congress prove, that on most issues involving the general welfare the majority of Democrats vote right and the majority of Republicans vote wrong. It is equally true that in most primary elections progressive Democrats win and progressive Republicans lose. It is my sincere belief that there is no place in the Republican Party organization nationally for a progressive Republican. Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, will

learn the hard way—as did George Norris, Wendell Willkie, Bob LaFollette, and I and my father before me—that the Republican Party will only break the hearts of those who conscientiously seek to use it as a medium of progress.

The Congress which will be elected this November will have the task of making the Employment Act of 1946 mean something in terms of continued jobs and economic stability. Therefore, it is highly important to elect Congressmen and Senators who sincerely believe that continuous full employment and full production should be our national objective.

We cannot have continuous full employment—even with a full employment act—if a majority of our representatives in Congress are committed to the reactionary doctrine that a soft labor market is desirable. In housing, health, education, and social security for all, just as in protecting the gains of labor, we need Representatives and Senators who think in terms of the national interest and not in the interest of selfish groups. In the shaping of our foreign policy, we must have Representatives and Senators who will recognize and avoid every step which leads to the much-mongered World War III. We must make "On the Alert" a watchword for peace as well as war.

Our most immediate danger is a light vote in November. But if the voters of the United States will go to the polls forty-five million strong on Election Day, I feel certain that we shall have a progressive Congress prepared and able to win the peace.

Intermezzo in Berlin

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 20

TO HOP from Moscow to the Hotel Savoy in Berlin is to live in two different ages within the space of six hours; that is how long the regular daily flight takes, in comfortable American-type planes built by the Russians.

Flying low, with a single stop at Kaliningrad (the pre-war Koenigsberg), I looked out on the rich farmlands of once-great junker estates that had formed the underpinning of Prussian hegemony over Germany, now split up by a very rapid and radical agrarian reform. Here, as everywhere in the Russian zone, the Germans are working hard both in the fields and the factories; they have little free time or energy left to play at werewolf or to plot the coming of the Fourth Reich.

Pausing only long enough to leave my luggage at the hotel, I hurried out into the ruins of Berlin, a city where I once lived for seven years, in search of familiar landmarks: the house on Kleiststrasse where my elder son was born; the house on Nettelbeckstrasse where one of my best friends had lived—the painter Herstein, whose whole family was wiped out in the war; the building on Potsdammerbrücke where I had my office when I was the Berlin correspondent for *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires and where, even in 1924, I had a rough-and-tumble visit from a gang of young hoodlums because of some articles I had written on the growing Hitler movement.

THIS ACCOUNT of life in occupied Berlin by The Nation's *European Editor replaces his report on Russia's new Five Year Plan, originally announced for this week, which will appear in an early issue.*

The street signs were still there, but of the houses only a wall or two stood, and their facades were smashed beyond recognition. Rubble is still piled high everywhere: I could not help thinking that there must be hundreds of cadavers buried in the ruins; it is amazing that no serious epidemic has broken out to aggravate the city's physical problems. No photographs or newsreels can give a convincing idea of the extent of destruction. The city was smashed not so much by American and British air raids as by Russian heavy guns; the battle for Berlin was undoubtedly the greatest artillery battle of any war.

After wandering about the city on foot for several hours, I returned to the hotel completely exhausted. The sight of the dining room quickly revived me. One of the most illuminating stories of the post-war is to be found in this hotel which flaunts its impressive comforts before a fallen city. The Savoy is certainly the best of the hotels requisitioned by the Allied missions in Berlin; the English know how to install themselves—hot running water at all hours, a plain but well-cooked mess, and a wine cellar that proved a constant temptation to one who is a teetotaler only on doctor's orders. There you can drink French wines, confiscated by the Nazis, that are hard to find today in Paris. A few civilians are received as transients, and glancing back a few days on the register I recognized the beautiful diminutive handwriting of Harold Laski. But the hotel is mainly for the use of officers of the British occupation army. I watched them pass in their impeccable uniforms, red braid, and decorations bright against the khaki, looking as if they had stepped out of some old print of Cecil Rhodes's England, with the self-assured air of men

convinced that their Empire is indestructible. Their every gesture revealed ties, hereditary or imagined, with England's ruling class.

In Berlin the British are favorites among the "better" Germans. Despite the ruins there is a distinctive note of elegance throughout their zone. The people wear better shoes than in the other zones; the store windows have little to show, but the quality of the merchandise is far superior to that seen elsewhere in the city. This was always true of the Kurfürstendamm, but the streets in the Russian zone in the neighborhood around the Unter den Linden, formerly the center for luxury shops, now house German workers as do all the old fashionable districts under Russian control. The American zone along the Grünewald is another matter. Here a striking note is provided by dozens of American girls in uniform or civilian clothes who completely overshadow the Germans and their wives. Grünewald spells laughter and jokes and stunning feminine figures such as one sees nowhere else in Central Europe today.

In the British sector the Germans feel more secure and happy—at least that class of Germans among whom Hitler found his greatest support. Of course the English officers, in the Hotel Savoy and outside it, are as distant and unapproachable as they are in their own country, but the Germans get a sense of protection from their correctness and perhaps even more from the anti-Russian attitude they attribute to the British. Germans respond to this gentlemanly behavior with unpleasant servility. In the other zones business is transacted curtly in German. When I went into a bookstore in the British zone, however, the proprietor greeted me most obsequiously in English; I answered him in German. And I paid for my purchase with marks instead of cigarettes which are the preferred medium of exchange. According to my calculations, with five cartons of cigarettes one can live for a month at the Hotel Savoy, drink the best Rhine and imported French wines, go to the theater and night clubs every evening with one of the hundreds of girls who can be seen strolling before the mutilated walls of what used to be the Gedächtniskirche—the church of rich marriages—as far as Fassanenstrasse. The temptation to soldiers of the occupation armies to save their pay and live on sales of cigarettes and chocolates is a story that has been told many times. Just a month ago a journalist and former British officer named Blore wrote a sensational report for the London *Daily Mirror* exposing the high living and consequent demoralization in the British zone.

Naturally I was much more interested in the political story and was fortunate enough to meet three men, two of them Germans, the other a foreign official, who were able to give me detailed information, not only about the capital, but about the four occupational sectors. None of them could be classified as pro-Russian or anti-American or anti-British. They confirmed my own impression that lack of agreement among the occupying powers has made Germany the most critical and complicated problem of all Europe. Whether on the agenda or not, it casts its shadow over every international meeting. There is now a strong move on foot here in Paris, backed not only by the French, to have the Big Four discuss the German issue simultaneously with the peace treaties.

Except in the Russian zone, the German people are obsessed by a single idea—"to wait for the break." They work only the necessary minimum to deceive the occupation officials or get their daily rations. The one topic of political discussion among the population of the American and British zones is when the break between the Russians and the Anglo-Saxons will occur. Phrases like "They [the Anglo-Saxons, of course] will surely ask us to join them" or "We shall have planes again" are heard in all their conversations. And this grim hope is shared by fanatic nationalists and "reasonable" people alike. Some believe that the break may come before the end of this year; others think that it will not happen for another year or two. But all are hoping. An old German acquaintance of mine, who is reorganizing the Socialist Party in the British sector, happened to be in Berlin when I arrived; he said to me, *"Mein lieber Vayo, erinneren Sie sich das Kapp Putsch? Es ist daselbe jetzt; wir sind wie am Vorabend des Kapp Putsches."* ("My dear Vayo, do you remember the Kapp Putsch? Well, it's just like that now; it's as if we were on the eve of another Kapp Putsch.")

The split in the victorious coalition just a year after the end of the war is especially regrettable in so far as Germany is concerned. For a hundred reasons it should never have been allowed to develop in this country where still-powerful Nazi forces have only one chance for revival: the absence of a coordinated occupation program. But even the policy of checking Russia in Germany is filled with contradictions, and its promoters can expect no success if they continue along the path they have followed until now. In order to stop the Russians, the Americans and British must, first of all, strengthen democracy in their respective zones. And for that they would have to support the Socialists and help them get organized.

The Western occupation authorities have done just the opposite. Schumacher, the Socialist leader who six months ago seemed to be in high favor with the Anglo-American officials, has now been practically dropped and is in despair. The few Labor army officers sent in by the Attlee government have little or nothing to say about administration. Colonel Blimp commands here—I saw dozens of him in the Hotel Savoy. And to a Colonel Blimp the Schumachers are not "good Germans." Recently anti-fascist circles in Berlin were stunned by news that the British had authorized a new

party, the "Conservative Movement," in their zone. The names of its leaders are enough to raise the hair of anyone who knows Germany: Hugenberg, Wulle, and Count Westarp. Hugenberg, president of the Krupp cartel until 1918, was the real force behind the notorious "Stalhelm," the paramilitary anti-labor organization which was incorporated into the S. S. in 1934. It would be unfair and false to pretend that what is happening in the British zone pleases the Labor Government. I have seen confidential notes from London asking the occupation authorities to act in a different way toward the Socialists and other democratic forces there. But Colonel Blimp, while giving lip service to democracy, allies himself with Hugenber, demonstrating again the error in allowing the army to control occupation policy.

It is all very well—indeed, an easy trick—to impress world democratic opinion with figures on denazification. Taken as a whole, by people who know very little about Nazi methods of organization, they sound terribly convincing. "Denazification by hundreds of thousands"—what an encouraging headline! But the purge has affected only the small fry and a few top Nazi officials without touching most of the important and potentially dangerous leaders. A typical example of this is to be found in the city of K. Its administrative apparatus consisted of some 200 functionaries; 150 of them have been fired. What more could one ask? But among the 50 who remain are the city's 20 ranking Nazis. As a result, there has been no real change in the administration. The English authorities have forbidden the functionaries, among whom are many Socialists, to organize a union there. An anti-labor law which the Conservatives adopted in Britain after the general strike of 1927 was invoked by the local Colonel Blimp to prevent the reconstitution of a union that might have exercised effective control over Nazis still holding government posts.

In the Russian zone denazification proceeds quite differently. Taking a similar group of 200 Nazis, the Soviet authorities will spare the 150 small fry and root out the leaders. Indeed, the Russians have begun to "rehabilitate" some of the small fry. In the *Sachsischen Zeitung*, published in their zone, I saw a picture of a former Nazi who had "rehabilitated" himself by putting in twenty Sundays of overtime on the reconstruction of a bridge.

Generally speaking, in order to win the favor of the American and British authorities, a German must be in good standing with the church. Politically, the party in ascendancy today is the C. D. U. (Christliche Demokratische Union), the counterpart of the French M. R. P. German anti-fascists have humorously dubbed it the "Club der Untergeschlupften"—the club of chicks nestling under the wing of the mother church. The Germans must support this party if they want to eat, for the hierachy controls in large measure the distribution of food packages from abroad. During the months of May and June, Socialists living in areas where they comprise 80 per cent of the population received only 20 percent of the food packages; the remainder were distributed among the 20 per cent who belong to the Catholic party. That is why German anti-fascists have a saying to the effect that "Catholic food packages from the U. S. A. and Protestant herring from Sweden determine German politics." It is easy to imagine the political effect on the workers and still easier to understand why the Catholic party is growing rapidly.

I am not suggesting that everything is perfect in the Russian zone. Certainly there are many things that can be criticized. For instance, army excesses in the first days of the occupation started a wholesale exodus of Germans into the other sectors; I am told, however, that the soldiers have been ruthlessly disciplined and the situation has improved considerably since the first of the year. What can be said without hesitation is that in the Russion zone one does not find the constant contradictions between theory and practice, between what was promised and what is being accomplished, that characterize the American and British administrations. The foreign expert with whom I talked described the contrast in these words: "In the Russian sector, the Germans say, 'The Russians are not as bad as we thought they would be'; in the Western sectors, they say 'The English and Americans are worse than we expected.' " Recently the Western occupation authorities have begun to complain that large quantities of propaganda literature and newsprint for papers are being smuggled into the other zones by the Russians. They would not need to fear this propaganda if the situation in their zones did not create an audience ready to absorb it. If the big powers fail to achieve a coordinated policy in Germany within the next year or two, nothing can prevent the Russian zone, planned along socialist lines, with its German population working hard yet feeling compensated politically and socially, from extending its attraction and influence to zones dominated by cartels and reaction.

But there is a broader danger that threatens the entire world—that out of this disunity and continuing inter-allied war on German soil, a new, aggressive Germany may emerge. The mistake so frequently made in discussions of a possible Nazi revival is the notion that this depends upon the complete revival of Germany as a nation. The foreigner who sees Berlin in ruins and the rest of the country devastated and largely idle is apt to say, "All this talk of a German come-back is poppycock. Why, it would take twenty years to rebuild Berlin alone." But a Nazi revival does not call for *Reichskanzlei* and a headquarters in Nürnberg restored to the splendor of Hitler's time. It requires only that the Nazi part of Germany become the potential ally of a Western bloc in a general drive to stop the Russians; at that moment the fascist movement will rise again with renewed

force, just as Hitler predicted in intimate farewell talks with close followers during the last days of the Battle of Berlin.

I am convinced that agreement on German policy between Russia, Great Britain, the United States, and France is still possible within the framework of a broad agreement on foreign policy. But such an accord depends not only on the Russians; the Anglo-Saxons will have to make a greater effort than their Eastern ally. I cannot imagine the Russians accepting for all Germany the policy now prevailing in the American and British zones, a policy which is moving not in a socialist direction but toward the reestablishment of the cartels, the power of the Catholic church, and Nazi-reactionary control of industry and government. Under such conditions, no agreement can be expected.

Four-Part Dissonance in Paris

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, August 23

THE Paris Congress doesn't dance. It listens—an uneasily-seated audience—to inharmonious symphonic variations on a single theme: big-power mutual apprehensions. Impregnating the whole protracted procedural debate, wherein the Russians, rightly or wrongly, sensed an Anglo-American plot to utilize the simple majority recommendations as an excuse for repudiating all the points favorable to the Soviet Union agreed on by the four Foreign Ministers, this atmosphere is now poisoning the initial discussions on questions of substance. Observers seriously question the probability of success for the conference whose work (supposedly peace-making) is distorted by considerations relevant only to a third world war.

The conference's psychological divorce from principles of political justice, economic common sense, and human welfare, is strikingly illustrated in the Italy and Trieste issues. Irrespective of the debatable merits of the case eloquently argued by de Gasperi, that treaty imposes harsh burdens on the Italian people. Notwithstanding the worthwhile contribution to the victory of the anti-fascist partisans, Kardelj and Molotov replied antagonistically because it is no secret that Byrnes, who warmly shook hands with de Gasperi when he resumed his seat, is working jointly with Bevin to create an anti-Slav Catholic bloc embracing Italy, West Austria, and Bavaria. In this connection, the arrival in Paris last week of Myron Taylor is regarded as a significant move directed toward securing French Catholic support for this long-planned Foreign Office scheme. Molotov's denunciation of "the economic enslavement of Italy by the Western powers who claim a Mediterranean monopoly" was a logical counter-move aimed at rallying the opposition of working-class anti-clerical Italians against an Anglo-American *cordon sanitaire* blessed by the Vatican and based on a satellite Rome-Vienna-Munich axis. The effect on the common people of Italy and Austria and Germany was totally overlooked in this maneuvering.

Similarly, the deep disagreements in the Trieste commission reflect no genuine Anglo-American concern for the ethnic rights of Istria or the welfare of Trieste workers but simply fear that the Slav bloc intends to absorb Trieste and dominate the Adriatic by circumventing the Foreign Ministers' decision that the free territory of Trieste should have a democratic constitution under a governor answerable to the Security Council. The Russian draft of the Trieste statute proposes a legislative assembly elected by universal suffrage of all present and future citizens, including Yugoslav immigrants whose entry would be unrestricted. The governor would have limited powers enabling him to delay and, in the last resort, refer to the Security Council legislation of which he disapproved; but he could only veto absolutely acts of the assembly "in violation of the statute." A customs union with Yugoslavia is also proposed.

This interpretation of the principles of a democratic constitution is highly distasteful to the British, who foresee a governor impotent to overrule a Trieste legislature swamped by a Yugoslav majority. Hence the British draft gives the governor the absolute right to veto *all* legislation and invests him with overriding "emergency reserve powers." In the British view a customs union is also inadvisable, and only citizens now residents of Trieste should be eligible to vote. The American standpoint is similar to the British, the chief modification being that the American draft empowers the governor to overrule all laws involving the risk of a breach of good order, which in effect means a blanket veto.

It is difficult to see how the conference, in its present ganging-up mood, will bridge these differences. Molotov will criticize the Anglo-American conception of Trieste's independence as an attempt to establish an undemocratic dictatorship denying the Triestines even access to free trade with the neighboring hinterland. This will doubtless be the prelude to an acrimonious debate over what constitutes democracy. The real merits of the issue are likely to be wholly obscured.

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Ernest Bevin's arrival in Paris has not improved matters. The harshly worded British reply to Yugoslav complaints about the treatment of Slovene nationals, followed by the American "ultimatum" on the subject of the forced-down airplanes, has created an atmosphere of heightened tension in Paris. The crisis is not regarded in London with exaggerated alarm. It is believed here that the Yugoslavs will release the airmen with assurances that there will be no repetition of these high-handed tactics of the Yugoslav airforce. It is not believed that the American chiefs of staff would select the European theater for a military clash ultimately involving Russia. Paris opinion, however, which is endorsed here, assumes that the latest exchanges of diplomatic incivilities have rendered the chances for a settlement of the Trieste question increasingly remote. Slav suspicion of Anglo-American intentions are bound to be increased by Evatt's proposal that the free territory be subordinate not to the Security Council (on which the Russian veto could operate) but to a committee which a simple majority, obtainable by the Anglo-American bloc, would control.

Altogether, the conference, as seen from here, is deadlocked before the practical discussions of issues of substance have even begun.

We're Building a Fascist China

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

SHORTLY after General George Marshall left for China last year, an American army officer of long experience in that country, said to me: "Marshall can do nothing so long as Chiang Kai-shek is in power. Chiang is the fountain-head of all reaction in China, and so long as he remains in power there will be no peace and no democracy." Again after January 10, when different Chinese political parties signed their agreement to establish a coalition democratic government under which both Kuomintang and Communist Party armies were to be amalgamated into a Chinese National Army, that same army officer remarked: "Now look out for skulduggery!"

The skulduggery began before the ink on the January agreement, which was anathema to the Kuomintang right-wing, was dry. Headed by the Generalissimo, Kuomintang reactionaries set in motion a long chain of events which wrecked it by March. According to American authorities returned from China, these reactionaries operated according to a strategic plan in three stages. In the first, or preparatory stage, the democratic movement was to be wiped out—bribed into betrayal, terrorized into silence, or branded as "Communist"—so that the China problem might be sold to America as an outright Kuomintang-Communist conflict for power.

During stage two, Kuomintang armies—by then equipped with American lend-lease and financed by American loans—were to launch a war of extermination against the Communist armies. America was to be drawn into this war in support of the Kuomintang, while Soviet Russia was expected to intervene in support of the Communists. This situation was expected to lead into stage three—war between Russia and the United States, with all China as a battlefield.

During the May conference of the Kuomintang in Nanking, reliable reports quoted Chiang Kai-shek as stating that "we have three more months to prepare, and three months thereafter to finish the Communists."

This strategic plan was first whispered about, then dinned into the all too willing ears of high American officers and American monopolists, until today reactionaries of America and China speak of the "inevitability" of a Russian-American war. Neither Fate nor God is responsible for this plot. It is man-made.

In late July, at the end of his three "preparatory months," the Generalissimo issued final orders for civil war. A copy fell into Communist hands and was delivered to General Marshall who, with our new Ambassador, flew with it to Kuling, to which mountain resort Chiang had gone to give the impression that his subordinates, not he himself, were responsible for what was to come. But civil war began as scheduled.

On August 14, Chiang issued his VJ-Day declaration from Kuling in which he tried to absolve himself and his party from all responsibility for civil war, placing the blame on the Communists. Formally addressed to the Chinese people, that declaration was in reality propaganda directed at America whose guns, money, and recognition are the sole support of his regime.

Consider the following lines in that declaration:

> "War-time legislation restricting civil liberties has been removed and amended. . . . Relief is being given to the famine area. . . . The taxation system has been improved."

On August 13, one day before Chiang's declaration, Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan, one-time ardent Kuomintang member, now president of the Chinese Association of Labor

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(C. A. L.), appealed to world labor for help against government attacks on the labor and democratic movements. Government officials and police, he wired, had just seized C. A. L. offices in many provinces, arrested twenty members, and seized the Workers' Hospital and two welfare centers established in Chungking with A. F. of L. and C. I. O. contributions.

In May the Chinese secret police demolished the newspaper plant of the *Chinfeng Jih Pao*, organ of the Democratic League in Sian, beat up its staff, and shot and left its editor for dead. Mr. Wang Jen, a lawyer who dared take the case to court, was arrested and executed, and a cynical notice published that he had been executed as an opium addict!

What happens to the many democrats who have been kidnaped or who have "disappeared" in the past year?

In May twenty-six professional men in Nantung, a city north of Shanghai, disappeared after disobeying police orders not to testify before the visiting American-Chinese Truce Team. A few days later the corpses of four of the men were dragged from the nearby river. They were trussed up with wire, their eyes had been gouged out, and their bodies had been mutilated. Their names: Sun Tien-ping, editor of the local Kuomintang daily; Ku Hsin-yi, member of the local art academy; Li Tien-tse, of the Chinese Writers Association; and Chien Su-fan, teacher in the Nantung Middle School.

Also in May the police closed down all bookstores and cultural organizations in Canton, while an organized mob demolished two liberal dailies which were branded as "Communist." The two papers had exposed government corruption in UNRRA supplies, tracing one big shipment of relief rice to the Fifty-fourth Kuomintang Army. Another shipment of relief flour arrived in Canton with three hundred bags missing and, when asked to explain, the relief official in charge replied: "A strong wind came up and blew them off the boat into the sea."

After the March plenary session of the Kuomintang had unilaterally altered the January agreement so that neither the Democratic League nor the Communists could accept its decisions, the Kuomintang tried to split the Democratic League by bribing its leaders. As the planned date for civil war drew near and these democrats still refused all bribes, the secret police in Kunming on July 11 assassinated Mr. Lee Kung-po (graduate of Reed College, Portland, Oregon), one of the League's chief leaders and editor of its weekly organ in Kunming. At Mr. Lee's funeral ceremony four days later, Professor Wen I-to, graduate of the University of Chicago and for ten years professor of literature in the American-supported Tsinghwa College, delivered a caustic and heroic speech against the secret police. A few hours later Professor Wen and his elder son were also assassinated. Eleven other Kunming professors, also marked for death, and their families then took refuge in the American Consulate in Kunming.

Following these outrages, thirteen outstanding Chinese professional leaders risked death by cabling the Human Rights Committee of the U. N. in New York, reminding it that the assassins had used American pistols with silencers and that only government secret police were armed with such weapons, given them by the United States Office of Strategic Services.

Generalissimo Chiang's remarks on "taxation improvement" must also be considered against a factual background. In May thousands of peasants in Chiang's home province of Chekiang marched to Hangchow and petitioned the government against three new rice taxes, one of them the government "Food Loan" by which peasants are stripped of grain to feed Kuomintang armies and finance local administrative bureaus.

When the Chekiang peasants, having received no relief, rioted, government troops suppressed the uprising, burned down homes, and executed 150 peasant leaders.

Americans blame such conditions on the Chinese government, but the Chinese people cannot forget that when the Japanese surrendered last year the Kuomintang dictatorship was so weak and so universally hated that it could have been replaced by a democratic government had not America propped it up with guns and money. During the war we armed twenty Kuomintang divisions and thousands of Chinese secret police. Within the past year, however, *forty* Kuomintang divisions have been equipped with our lend-lease. In addition hundreds of bombers and fighters, 231 warships, and open and secret loans said to total some four billion dollars, have been given Chiang's dictatorship. Our planes and ships transported Kuomintang armies to battle stations in the heart of Communist-held territory on the pretext of disarming Japanese. At the present moment six thousand Japanese troops in Shansi Province and thousands of Japanese espionage agents, some of them in Peking, still operate under the command of the Chinese government. On the pretext of keeping the railways open, American marines still occupy Chinese territory.

Reading reports of government gangsterism, assassinations, and corruption, Americans say our government has "blundered," or that General Marshall has been "outwitted." Better-informed people insist that in late 1944, when General Joseph Stilwell was recalled, certain elements in our government and certain financial interests decided to turn China into another Spain, and that General Hurley's resignation did not alter their plans.

We may think that our government has "blundered," but the Chinese people know to their cost that our "blundering" has all been in the direction of reaction. For months now a flood of protests and appeals from Chinese from every strata of society has been pouring into this country, demanding the withdrawal of Amer-

ican troops and military supplies from China and asking that no more aid be given until there is a coalition democratic government. The Chinese press in China did not dare publish even Madame Sun Yat-sen's statement.

The State Department has now announced that, despite all such appeals, American troops will not be withdrawn from China—a statement which will merely fan the flames of rising anti-American feeling in China. We Americans will be dangerously wrong if we believe Kuomintang propaganda that this rising anti-American feeling is "Communist-inspired." It is universal—and American actions, not Chinese Communists, are responsible for it. On June 26, John Roderick, A. P. correspondent, wrote from Peiping that "American prestige is careening downhill at a rate so precipitous that it will take most drastic action in Washington to curb it." Not only Communists and liberals, he wired, are anti-American, but "bankers and business men generally."

Late in June the noted Chinese military strategist and educator, General Yang Chieh, told a large audience of students and teachers in Kunming that "the new American imperialism" is "trying to put China in its pocket." The Chinese government, he warned, "is not an independent government," but "everything it does is under orders from America." Listing many events to prove his point, the General stated that the Chinese delegates to the U. N. in New York supported American policy toward Spain, though Franco's regime had been the first to recognize Japan's puppets in Manchuria and Nanking.

With our government sitting tight in its support of the most rotten and corrupt of Chinese elements, it is up to the American people to force action. We can put ourselves in the position of the Chinese people by imagining what we would do if foreign troops occupied American soil, and a foreign power, pretending friendship for us, armed and financed an American government of Rankins, Bilbos, Al Capones, and Ku Klux Klansmen. Our own fate is being fought out in China by the Chinese people. Every Chinese patriot, every Chinese democrat, who falls fighting Chinese fascism, weakens our own democratic forces here at home. If we want a reactionary Chinese quisling government, we can continue as we are today. If we want a peaceful and democratic China bound to us by ties of brotherhood and friendship, we can have it by forcing our own government to reverse its China policy, withdraw all its support for the present Kuomintang regime, and allow the Chinese people to deal with it in the same manner as we would deal with a similar outfit in the United States. For us to permit our government to continue its present policy is an infamous betrayal of the Chinese nation and people, and of the American nation and people.

Palestine: British-American Dilemma

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, August 19

A FEW weeks in Britain, involving endless discussions with British friends on the Palestine issue, make one despair of the possibility of finding adequate solutions for our world problems? One is bound to ask how we shall ever get along with Russia if two nations having as much in common as Britain and America can understand each other so little as they do on this issue.

The primary reaction of Britain to America's attitude on Palestine is one of impatience with what is regarded as our irresponsibility. It is felt that we are quick to give advice but slow to share responsibility. Thus when President Truman did not reject the recent partition scheme out of hand but made counter-proposals, one official said: "It is a relief to have any concrete proposal from America." One is reminded by British friends that the Palestine mandate was originally meant to be jointly held with us and that it was not Britain's fault that we refused. One is told that no American seems willing to consider the embarrassments which British policy faces in the Middle East, though the British are quite willing to admit that some of these embarrassments are caused by contradictory promises to Jews and Arabs. Everyone seems to take it for granted that the offer of joint responsibility has been periodically renewed and rejected. This can only be true if it was secretly done, as it well may have been. My suggestion that Britain was really of two minds on this subject and that in one of its minds it did not really desire joint responsibility was greatly resented, and on one occasion almost broke up a dinner party.

It is of course true that we have never made a public offer of joint responsibility. I have always thought, though my convictions are broadly Zionist, that both Jews and others in America have been mistaken in not insisting that the Palestinian issue be dealt with in terms of a very wide Mediterranean policy, involving economic aid to the Arab world and joint responsibility

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with Britain for both the economic and political implications of such a policy. We were now finally presented with the suggestion of such a policy, but it was associated with an adequate partition scheme. Counter-proposals may improve the scheme, but one has the uneasy feeling that neither this country nor Britain is ready for the kind of joint action which alone would provide both a solution of the Mediterranean problem and a healing of the breach between us.

The uncomfortable juxtaposition of the British loan and the Palestine issue in Congress some weeks ago was, incidentally, a perfect symbol of the real root of the difficulties between ourselves and Britain. For here one nation was asking economic help of the other, while the other was making political demands upon the first. The economically powerful nation feels politically frustrated, and the nation with world-wide political sovereignties which she is no longer able to sustain economically suffers from the frustration of economic weakness; and each is inclined to hold the other responsible for its ills and to resent the ungenerous character of the aid which each offers in answer to the other's demands.

Undoubtedly both nations share blame for not dealing with these issues, and other similar ones, more imaginatively; but on the whole our blame is certainly greater.

Whatever our sins of omission and commission, they cannot dissuade even a sympathetic observer of British political thought from the most critical reaction to the temper of Britain on Palestine. What I found chiefly offensive in that temper was its high moral tone which, it need hardly be added, is almost always a note of self-righteousness. Thus the King David Hotel bombing, terrible as it was, might well have been considered against the background of the tragic history of recent years with its millions of slaughtered Jews. Instead the only note was one of horror at the outrage. Ever increasing severity in the measures of suppression in Palestine are accompanied by pious lectures on the necessity of maintaining law and order. They reminded me of similar lectures by President Hoover, when he trained machine guns on demonstrating ex-servicemen whom the depression brought to penury. It is all very well to affirm that it is the business of a government to govern. But a democratic government might remember that widespread disaffection is not cured by the increase of force; and that the use of such a prescription leads down a very slippery slope.

I have found it equally disquieting that the strategic considerations involved in the Palestine issue are never mentioned, or hardly ever. Winston Churchill blurted them out in the House, when he declared that the government would not be so embarrassed about Palestine if it had not given up its bases in Egypt. R. H. S. Crossman dealt with these issues more responsibly from the Labor side. But the public discussion seldom takes them into account. Crossman, incidentally, a member of the Joint Commission on Palestine, has illumined the issues with great sincerity and wisdom. One is bound to report, however, that his was a very lone voice in the Parliamentary debates. While his position is supported in some Labor circles, it had the feeling that the support was not much larger in the nation than in Parliament.

It is of course no peculiarly British vice to cover political strategy with moral pretension. In so far as it is distinctive, the English-speaking peoples share it. The British left is, for instance, properly critical of the fact that progressive opinion in America does not challenge our moral pretensions in China more vigorously. There is full appreciation of the sincerity and the ability of General Marshall's policy. But the policy has failed and we seem embarked upon a course of giving increasingly dubious backing to an increasingly reactionary Chinese government—all in the name of saving China from civil war. If, say our British friends, the reactionary forces behind Chiang Kai-shek were not so sure of our support, would they dare to be so stubborn?

But we are, for the moment, dealing with Palestine and not China; and one further charge must be brought against British policy. The Labor government has recalled scarcely a single colonial official from the Middle East, and the alliance between British officialdom and Arab feudalism remains unbroken. There is little suggestion in public discussion of the rather sorry realities of the Arab world: the monopoly of "opinion" which is held in it by the overlords, the virtual absence of a middle class, and the miserable and abject poverty of the masses. It is not suggested that a Labor government could quickly change these realities; but it might at least have considered what kind of contribution a dynamic, technical, and democratic Jewish civilization, with solid ground to stand on, could make to the economic life of the Middle East. It might also have refrained from overrating the military potential of the Arab states, more particularly since British officers are in fairly intimate contact with the military strength of this world.

These lines are written before the character of President Truman's counter-proposals are known. There is, I think, a fairly general disposition to go pretty far in making American proposals; and the situation may not appear as hopeless a few weeks hence as it does at the present moment. But the chasm between ourselves and the British on this issue is positively frightening. It forces one to wonder how we can ever establish such organs of intercommunication between nations as would be commensurate with the organs of power which they wield and which make their relations to each other ever more intricate, and the consequent frictions ever more intolerable.

The Mystery of Big Jim

BY NEIL O. DAVIS

IN ONE sense, at least, Alabama next January will have the "biggest" governor in the union—oversized James E. "Big Jim" Folsom, six feet, eight inches of vote-getting young politician. But whether Folsom will be a big man in other respects remains to be seen.

One thing is certain: Big Jim *believes* he is just what the doctor ordered for Alabama. Without any show of conceit, he is quick to tell you that it will take him only the first year or two of his four-year administration to bring "peace, happiness, and prosperity" to every man, woman, and child in Alabama. This thirty-seven-year-old, Cullman insurance salesman is the most confident governor-elect modern Alabama has ever known. His friends tell him he will be called upon to grapple with mountain-size problems once he takes office, but their forebodings have not yet changed his infectious smile to a frown, nor stemmed that stream of small talk which so endeared him to Alabama's voters that they swept him into office with a whopping 60,000 majority.

Big Jim is a plugger. He is not easily discouraged.

He made his first bid for major political office in 1936 when, without success, he opposed the late Representative Henry B. Steagall for the Third Alabama District seat in Congress. He conducted a rather mild, back-slapping campaign. He made no claim to be the liberal candidate, and was soundly defeated. He tried again for Congress in 1938 and ran a poor third. Undaunted, he next sought the governorship and this time surprised everyone by coming in second in the race which saw the nomination of Governor Chauncey Sparks.

Shortly after that campaign he entered the army under the Volunteer Officer Candidate training program but was discharged in 1944 when his wife died following the birth of their second daughter. He made one Atlantic crossing as a member of the Merchant Marine and then came home to run for delegate-at-large to the 1944 Democratic National Convention. He captured one of the four places with ease on the promise that he would work for a fourth-term nomination for President Roosevelt. What he did not tell the voters was that he would also work for the renomination of Vice President Henry A. Wallace. Folsom was one of only two members of the twenty-two man Alabama delegation who voted for Wallace. The rest sought the nomination of the late Senator John H. Bankhead. During the recent gubernatorial campaign his opponents charged that this was a first bid for the C. I. O.-P. A. C. support which he received in the 1946 campaign.

This past spring and summer when Big Jim told his campaign audiences about the old fashioned way of cooking turnip greens and pot liquor, he knew what he was talking about. He was born on a small farm in South Alabama and spent much of his boyhood chopping cotton and shaking peanuts. He had an early introduction to politics, for his father served Coffee County, Alabama, as both tax collector and sheriff.

Jim finished high school and entered the State University in Tuscaloosa, but before his freshman year was over, his funds were gone and he had to drop out. A year later he spent two years at Howard College, a small Baptist school in Birmingham, but again his money ran out and again he was forced to quit school, this time for good. That was in 1931; for the next two years he went to sea as a merchant seaman.

In 1933 Big Jim returned to Alabama and found a county job with the Alabama Relief Administration. His supporters say it was in this work that he developed real traits of human sympathy and a social consciousness. He went to Washington in early 1936 and worked several months for WPA, but he resigned to come home and marry his childhood sweetheart and make his first unsuccessful race against Representative Steagall.

Following his two unsuccessful tries for Congress, Folsom moved to Cullman, in the northern part of the state, and began selling insurance for a small company that had been founded in his home county. He still operates an insurance agency in Cullman.

Folsom offered an entirely new campaign appeal when he took the stump early in the past spring. With the assistance of the "Strawberry Pickers"—a string band playing catchy hillbilly tunes, a sound truck, and a new line of homespun philosophy, Big Jim took to nearly every crossroads and hamlet in Alabama his promise of "a new day for the common man." In his 350 campaign speeches he promised to run the politicians out of the state capitol and turn the government back to the people. He promised $50-a-month old age pensions before 1951, the paving of every farm-to-market road in Alabama, an $1800 minimum salary for public school teachers, a new constitution to replace the state's present outworn one, poll tax repeal, reapportionment of representation in the legislature, and aid to farmers and small businessmen.

However, Jim Folsom never talked very much about

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his platform. As a matter of fact, he often said, "We really have no platform only a program for the people." Sometimes he seemed to say anything that popped into his mind, such as "We ought to get rid of this excess-profits tax." He generalized about the things he proposed to do, never said how he would do them. His pension plan alone, if Alabama had to bear the whole cost, would require three-fourths of the state's annual income. His farm-to-market road-paving program would require more than a billion dollars. He did not say where the money will come from to finance any of his proposals. On several occasions, though, he did suggest that if the British loan could be defeated, there would be enough money saved to pay the pensions and pave the roads. He never said which constitutional provisions he would throw into the discard, which he would rewrite, or whether there would be any specific new provisions.

Folsom did say he would ask for repeal of the poll tax. He did not, however, emphasize that point. In fact, many people who voted for him do not even now realize that he opposes the poll tax.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Governor Handy Ellis, Folsom's run-off opponent, painstakingly outlined his platform from one end of the state to the other, and told how he planned to accomplish his program for "a greater Alabama."

How did Big Jim beat him? Everything about Folsom's campaign captured the fancy and the imagination of the people. He had no county campaign committees or county chairmen; as he told his audiences, his was a "people's campaign." Only once during the race did he have a local bigwig introduce him from the platform. He appeared to be lone-wolfing it. But as a result his four opponents paid him little attention in the first primary, while they slugged it out with each other for a second try in the run-off. The politicians had the race doped out to see Handy Ellis and State Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole in the run-off. These two called one another every name in the book; they reserved none of the epithets for Folsom. The result was that they knocked each other out, and Big Jim coasted into first place by a neat plurality.

By this time the snowball was rolling. People sensed victory for the young man with the big feet, hearty laugh, and homey manner, and they began to climb on the bandwagon. The only question in the run-off was the size of the Folsom margin. It was more than 60,000 votes, the largest ever given a candidate in Alabama.

Jim is a fine-looking, black-thatched man who can talk two hours without once making the mistake of telling people what they don't want to hear. The voters were tired of war and post-war problems—so Jim told them about how he was their only friend in the race, and how he was going to fashion an era of real peace, happiness, and plenty for all. He said it was simple. All you had to do was clean out the old-line politicians and run the state government as a servant of the people. Then he would tell them, with demonstrations, how his poor old mother washed turnip greens. Next he would call on the "Strawberry Pickers" for a catchy tune. There would be some more talk about his desire to serve the common man. Then Jim would hold high his corn-shuck mop, which he promised to use in cleaning out the capitol, while the "suds bucket" was passed around for campaign funds to make this cleanup possible. Then the show was over except for a round of kissing all the girls in the audience amid laughing and thigh-slapping by the male members of the throngs which gathered wherever he spoke.

Big Jim Folsom

It is a mistake to say that the C. I. O.-P. A. C. put him over; P. A. C. had very little to do with it. The masses of Alabama voters are still anti-labor. Folsom ran strongest in the backwoods, rural, non-union counties where there has been no political education. In the first primary he failed to carry the big cities—Birmingham, Mobile, and Montgomery. Representative Luther Patrick, C. I. O.-P. A. C. endorsed, lost in Jefferson County, while Folsom won there in the second primary.

The liberal-progressives in Alabama did not nominate Folsom. They were split. A number of enlightened progressives supported Ellis because of the doubts and fears raised by the Folsom candidacy and because of Ellis's strong record in support of public education.

Included in the small circle which tried to help Folsom map campaign strategy (he master-minded his own campaign, in the main) were men of varying shades of political opinion and interests. At one extreme was Horace Wilkinson, race baiter, corporation lawyer, and brilliant political strategist of Birmingham, whose enemies claim that he is an old-time Ku Kluxer (though they have never proved the charge). Undoubtedly, he taught Big Jim plenty about the business of conducting a successful state-wide campaign. He is an old hand at gathering votes. At the other end were such intelligent, capable, earnest liberals as Gould Beech, young editor of *The Southern Farmer*. Beech traveled with Folsom during the run-off and wrote many of his speeches and statements to the press. But such supporters as Beech say: "Jim made his own decisions and ran his own campaign."

The big guy ran first because he is a genius at know-

ing the mind of the people, and because he diagnosed as none of the other candidates did the hopes and aspirations of the small farmer, the country storekeepers, the rural school teachers, the thousands of workers. He knew the people were tired, restive, and wanted a change. He knew that the people were sick and tired of domination by the old-line politicians. Folsom realized that plain homey talk about government "by all the people" instead of by a few political hacksters would ring the bell. His promise of a "break for the common man" had much the same tremendous pulling power as did Huey Long's "Every Man a King" slogan.

The liberals who supported Folsom believe he feels genuine concern for the little man. They think he believes he can make good on the majority of his ambitious promises and is, therefore, honest. Supporters like Wilkinson, on the other hand, evidently believe that Folsom made the promises he did and talked so much about the common man simply to get votes, and that he will be amenable to their suggestions once he sits in the governor's chair. There can be no doubt but that there will be a gigantic behind-the-scenes tug of war between these two sets of backers once he is in office.

Folsom is lacking in experience which would equip him to deal with the affairs of state government. He has a good heart, but his chances are questionable of succeeding in measuring up to the hopes and expectations of the people who drove out the old gang and turned to a man in whom they believe.

Folsom will need all the help he can get. Practically all the enlightened newspapers (as well as the unenlightened) supported Handy Ellis in the run-off. Whether Big Jim will seek their support and that of other right-minded groups who opposed him in trying to carry through a people's program remains to be seen. The legislature is already nominated and it is an Ellis legislature; there are signs that a "Stop Folsom" movement is already underway in its ranks. The vested political interests are already seeking a way to the governor, and if, when the legislature meets and the going gets rough, Big Jim turns to Horace Wilkinson and his cohorts, who admittedly are masters at dealing with legislators, everything that has been gained by the people's victory at the polls will be lost.

Much, practically everything, will depend upon who has Folsom's ear.

Thoughtful, progressive Alabamans are worried but hopeful. One factor in which they find considerable encouragement is the congenial working relationship Folsom will have with Senator Lister Hill and Senator-Designate John Sparkman. Forward-looking people will give Folsom all the effective support they can, and that will help. "He will have to proceed to be governor intuitively, by ear," they say. "That means he must have men about him who can tell him the best thing to do. No one knows who these men will be." They are not ready to make any forecast on what is in store with Jim in the driver's seat.

Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

VI. Wharton, Texas

THE last hanging in the town square at Wharton, home of the White Man's Union, took place in 1904. The finest monument now in the square is a white limestone cenotaph honoring Sheriff Hamilton Dickson, shot by a cornered outlaw in 1894. Following the "zoot suit" riots in Los Angeles and elsewhere, men said to be deputies of Sheriff "Buckshot" Lane stood on Wharton street corners armed with knives and slashed yellow checks and green stripes from young Negroes as they passed. When, many years ago, a group of men opposed to the construction of a new courthouse rode off to get a federal injunction against it, a Whartonian politico who controlled a large group of Negroes blew his shrill, distinctive horn to assemble his gang and ordered them to move the county records and files into his back shed. Then, also under orders, they swarmed like locusts over the old courthouse and in one day left the town square level and neat as a pin. "They did everything but plant grass," says one who watched. When the opposition got back there was no doubt about it—Wharton needed a new courthouse.

These events are among the more interesting in Wharton's history. Immortalized by native son Horton Foote in a Broadway play that drew critical acclaim, it is exactly what Foote called his play—a "Texas Town." But it is an east Texas town, and that is very different from the cattle communities of west Texas populated with ten gallon hats and galloping cow ponies. East Texas has been touched by the roughness and decisiveness of the old west, but culturally it is an extension of the old South. The town's leading citizens live in white houses, drink mint juleps, play bridge, and support the White Man's Union. The Negroes live on the other side

of the Texas and New Orleans tracks and are not part of Wharton.

The White Man's Union is generally regarded as Wharton County's greatest contribution to political science. Mr. J. C. Armstrong, a great, white-haired man who came to Wharton in 1882 told me about its formation.

"When I came here there were still Nigras in office from the Reconstruction period," he said. "One of 'em was county treasurer, and three out of four county commissioners were Nigras. Lots of 'em were justices of the peace. They had the same situation up in Big Bend County north of here. I forget if it was 1892 or 1894 when a bunch of men got together up in Richmond, Texas, and organized the White Man's Union Association.

"Only white residents of the county can belong. By gentleman's agreement, association candidates will not be opposed in the election. The White Man's Union votes downstairs in the courthouse and the regular state primary goes on upstairs."

In practice, only the White Man's Union primary is considered important, the other being pretty much a formality. The Negro office holders were ousted in the first election and have never come back. The union carries on, undaunted by the Supreme Court except that its activities have recently been restricted to county offices.

Mr. Armstrong says the White Man's Union is just as it was when it was organized, except that a few years ago a large sulphur company tried to win an election by running their large numbers of easily-intimidated Mexican workers through the voting chute. The union, a flexible organization designed to meet any emergency, was unruffled. It calmly changed its rules. Mexicans, starting forthwith, could not be members. Naturally, the sulphur company lost.

Wharton is a hot, flat town on the banks of Texas's Colorado River. It has a prosperous appearance except for the Mexican quarter and the Negro quarter across the tracks. It is square and neat and paved and has many churches. In Rugley's drug store well-dressed men and women sip cokes and make small talk. Into Al Foote's haberdashery come both whites and Negroes for a joke and a pair of socks or a hat. Al, keen and good-natured, always a leading citizen, won great favor with the town's Negroes when he cancelled unpaid bills for zoot suits destroyed by knives in the town square.

On hot Saturday nights the main business street leading into the town square is jammed with a mixed crowd. The Bohemian farmers, blond, industrious, and cheery, who are working themselves from tenancy to land ownership by main force, mix with Mexicans who work in sulphur or follow the crops, and with the town's many Negroes. Some think the town's record of good race relations (that is, no riots and few lynchings) can't last forever. The caste system here is too involved. Many whites consider Mexicans lower than Negroes. And some of the older Southern white families, whose men have never really worked and whose women have never lifted a hand to do anything more strenuous than eat, are aghast at the Bohemian women, who work long and hard beside their men in the fields without even the careful distinction between male and female duties which is adhered to by the Negroes. Bohemians, they say, are really the lowest of all.

It is a very Southern town. It is the sort of community where a large plantation owner cannot understand his eighteen-year-old son's desire to get married when "he can have any nigger on the place for two bits!" It's in a county where a grand old lady who has spent much time abroad avoids a nearby Negro settlement because so many of the children have features amazingly like her husband's. When war jobs and army allotments dried up the traditionally plentiful supply of household labor, and some Negro women took it easy at home and saw more of their children for the first time in their lives, it was suggested by some of Wharton's outraged and abandoned white ladies that Buckshot Lane ought to go out and bring them in to work. If they refused to come, it was agreed, then Buckshot ought to take and horsewhip them.

Whites say they accept full responsibility for Negroes who work for them. By this they mean that so long as their workers do as they're told and make no trouble, they can count on a bare living, a roof (it may leak), a minimum of medical care, and a small supply of old clothing. When, after the Beaumont race riots early in the war, Negroes in Wharton were dubious about going on with a planned celebration of Emancipation Day, Sheriff Lane adhered to this tradition of responsibility by telling them to go ahead with it, saying he would guarantee protection in case of trouble. They went ahead, and there was no trouble.

The Wharton *Spectator* carried not a single foreign item on the front page while we were there, and the Wharton *Journal* can't brag of its overseas coverage either. Most people in Wharton think little about what goes on abroad, are uninterested in the U. N., and don't believe in labor unions. Yet before the death of OPA many of the town's merchants telegraphed petitions signed by themselves and their customers, pleading for the preservation of OPA without change.

Wharton, generally speaking, is pleased with itself, with its clean, prosperous air and its white courthouse surrounded by green grass and shrubs. It is pleased with the sleek surrounding farmland and with the enormous stockpile of sulphur pumped from under the earth and standing there to be shown proudly to visitors. And, of course, there is always the White Man's Union.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Historian's Politics

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING, 1932-1940: A STUDY IN RESPONSIBILITIES. By Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press. $4.

THE title of Dr. Beard's new book is misleading if it makes anyone expect an account of the forces shaping United States foreign policy between 1932 and 1940. The preface tries to put it more precisely: "This volume deals with public statements of foreign policy (1932-1940), not with pronouncements on international morality, or with secret negotiations, offers, and promises in foreign affairs." But this is misleading, too. Broad sections of United States foreign policy, such as the Good Neighbor policy, are hardly mentioned.

The book really is an examination of "the thesis that locates in the United States the responsibility for the policy that eventuated in World War II"—a thesis whose sources are never very systematically investigated but which, Beard implies, was invented and disseminated by persons favoring an internationalist policy. The first two chapters, appraising this hypothesis with respect to the League of Nations, question whether either a small bloc of Senators or the American people as a whole brought about a second world war by refusing to follow through on Wilson's plan for world peace. Beard then sets out to "test the validity of the thesis of popular responsibility" as it has been applied to the period from 1933 to 1940.

The internationalist thesis, he writes, has created the picture of public opinion during the Roosevelt administration insisting on a policy of isolationism, of Roosevelt and Hull endeavoring to put over an internationalist policy, and of public opinion, misled by the isolationists, sabotaging that effort. The isolationists, according to the thesis, lulled the country into a false sense of security and so "must bear the responsibility for the progress of aggressors in Europe and Asia which finally and inevitably 'drew' the United States into the war in spite of President Roosevelt's warnings and his efforts to maintain peace."

This general problem is set forth in the third chapter, "Problems Posed by Charges of War Guilt," which is billed in the preface as describing the "nature and limitations of this work." The remaining seven chapters consist of a straightforward compilation of public statements by Roosevelt bearing upon the large general issues of internationalism and isolationism. The last chapter recites the peace promises made by Roosevelt and Willkie in the 1940 campaign and, without further philosophy or morals, the book comes to an abrupt end.

In terms of its ostensible historical purpose, the book is surely weak. What does Beard mean by foreign policy? He says in his most explicit statement, "Policy is a definite design which has meaning in the concrete terms of the actions necessarily signified and conveys to common understanding the practical purport of the language used in expressing it." If this means what, after due meditation, I think it means, Beard tends to regard foreign policy as essentially a matter of words and not of operations. Now any serious historian, or experienced politician, knows that public statements bear the same relation to foreign policy that the visible part of an iceberg bears to its concealed bulk. This is not the result of the special iniquity of the Roosevelt administration; it is true of all governments anywhere. The thing that matters in foreign relations is what governments do, not what they say. An examination of "foreign policy in the making" which confines itself to citations of public record is drastically inadequate. The thesis Beard sets up for attack simply cannot be tested by such a limited range of materials.

A second point—equally familiar to the serious historian and the experienced politician—is that foreign policy is not made in a vacuum, and that the policy maker in his public pronouncements does not have quite the same freedom as the scholar in the library. This condition also existed before Roosevelt became president or Willkie became candidate and, though disappointing to idealists, it can hardly be ascribed to any specific internationalist depravity.

These defects in method impair the value of Dr. Beard's book as historical inquiry. They are points, moreover, on which no one can presume the need of instructing Dr. Beard; and the question inevitably arises whether the book should be considered as historical inquiry. What, after all, is Beard arguing? That Roosevelt's foreign policy was often confused, impulsive, disingenuous? That official rhetoric in a democracy often turns out to be "campaign oratory"? What serious student would dispute these things?

Indeed, Beard is hardly arguing against serious students. Professor Bailey comes in for a few raps in the discussion of Versailles; but the main foes thereafter turn out to be Senator Pepper and the State Department. It would be naive to regard Pepper's speeches or the State Department's thoroughly tendentious "Peace and War" as serious historical accounts, and Beard is not that naive. They are political documents. After noting Beard's somewhat cavalier attitude toward historical method, one must conclude that for all its scholarly wrappings "American Foreign Policy in the Making" is a political document too.

Since no one in the trade has argued more eloquently than Dr. Beard that objective history is impossible, we may assume that the factual manner of this work is not to be taken too seriously. Indeed, Beard, the philosopher of history, would require us to search skeptically for the premises and conclusions of Beard, the historian. Occasionally in this book the deadpan slips, and we catch a glimpse of the author's own convictions, as when he points out that in 1934 "I came to the conclusion that the Roosevelt administration would eventually involve the United States in a war with Japan" (which is, I suppose, one way of describing Pearl Harbor). But

throughout most of the book the air of objectivity is bravely sustained.

Fortunately it is not necessary to read between the lines, since Beard's position on these matters, like Roosevelt's, is largely a matter of record. "American Foreign Policy in the Making" points out that Roosevelt was inconsistent; it never says explicitly that he was mistaken. But is not error, rather than inconsistency, Beard's suppressed major premise? For Beard certainly thought Roosevelt was mistaken in 1939 when he wrote "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels." He thought so in 1940 when he wrote "A Foreign Policy for America" in support of the policy of "continentalism" (which he now, more frankly, calls isolationism). He thought so when he assailed "Wilson's scheme for permanent and open participation in European and Asiatic affairs in the alleged interest of universal peace and general welfare," and called on Roosevelt "to abstain from denouncing and abusing foreign States." He thought so in 1941 when he went down to Washington to testify against the lend-lease bill.

Beard's subtitle for his new book is "A Study in Responsibilities." Among other responsibilities he might have considered are those about which he has written powerfully elsewhere—the responsibilities of the historian to acknowledge his basic presuppositions. (This is not to speak of the responsibility of a great and deservedly influential scholar to the many persons, particularly college students, who were affected by his pre-war isolationism.) Are we to infer from "American Foreign Policy in the Making" that Beard sticks by his isolationism? That he seriously believes in 1946 that the maintenance of strict neutrality in 1940 "would favor, not hinder, the coming of peace"? That he still regrets the passage of the lend-lease bill? On this type of question, which Beard has elsewhere taught us is the fundamental type of question to ask when reading historians, his new book is silent and evasive. An obligation attached to his isolationist activity in 1941, one would think, would be to cast the balance of the competing policies today, instead of writing a book which hides Beard the publicist's own beliefs and seeks instead to discredit his opponent by convicting him of sins which Beard the historian knows to be largely irrelevant. This is work for Flynn, O'Donnell, Chamberlain, not for Charles A. Beard. You can prove that any democratic leader was opportunistic. The significant thing is to prove that he was wrong.

Another responsibility which the Yale University Press might have spent five minutes considering is the problem of the title and the jacket. The title is manifestly deceptive. As for the jacket, it raises a number of fundamental questions about the bearing of official pronouncements on the actual conduct of foreign affairs and the feasibility of popular control over foreign policy. It even says, "Does membership in the United Nations Organization itself determine American foreign policy and render obsolete the historic relations of the United States to the other powers of the world?" These are doubtless fascinating questions, but the book does not happen to discuss them. The Yale Press's exercise in promotional sleight-of-hand is really more blatant than anything Beard can pin on Roosevelt or Willkie.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

An Academic Bohemia

THE LITTLE MAGAZINE: A HISTORY AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich. Princeton University Press. $3.75.

MR. HOFFMAN and Mr. Allen have taken a first-class subject and produced a result that may compassionately be termed third-rate. This study of the "little" magazines, the first full-length account to appear, should offer illumination of a sort to those who have never looked at, subscribed to, read, or written for them. Probably the chief distinction of the book, concerned as it is with the magazines that first expounded every advanced idea and technical innovation of the last thirty years, is that its authors should sound as though they had just returned, rather limply, from red-pencilling a C plus on a theme about freshman hazing. When they rally from this state, they approach their subject with all the undiscriminating enthusiasm of a phrenologist for cranial irregularities.

To put one's finger on the places Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Allen go wrong would entail a wearisome pointing at page after page. Without any general theories of culture, fresh or borrowed, to give meaning to their sequence of events, the careers of the magazines they chronicle with varying degrees of thoroughness but with a steady naiveté—*Poetry, Blast, The Little Review, The Criterion, This Quarter, The Dial, Hound and Horn, Partisan Review,* and all the others—are only interesting phenomena. A good many muffin-headed notions about *avant-garde* publications are weighed here and found decidedly worth keeping. The impulse behind the origins of the little magazine in English (the authors have patriotically restricted themselves to periodicals in this tongue) was one symptom of the cultural lag that slowed down the importation of "modern" nineteenth century attitudes, of which the most heroic exponents were Flaubert, Rimbaud, and Baudelaire. (Hoffman and Allen have a reference to Rimbaud—as a contributor to Mr. Laughlin's Poet of the Month series.) Other predecessors, here at home, were Henry James and Henry Adams, with their lips curled at the mention of local editorial opinion. But Hoffman and Allen give us, instead of roots and continuity, the familiar introductory story of Harriet Monroe, in 1912, brooding about *Poetry* in Chicago, an intent modernist Adam. They can later enlist their gifts as goggled tourists to string together the following set of words: "[*Poetry*] carries on today with the same high spirit and intelligence that has made its past record so brilliant."

The authors have gifts for relieving a reader's irritation with even finer comic touches. I would not willingly keep back these few examples, among their best:

> The poet's trumpeting for a political and military cause may very well improve the quality of radio and cinema fare.

> Indeed, there is much truth in Pearl Buck's observation that our literature has always been regional . . .

> The poetry of Herbert Read has always been a credit to left-wing literature.

If "The Little Magazine" were merely a foolish or ac-

curately academic affair, it would be easy to be merely unkind. But Hoffman and Allen have not even exploited the meagre source material available. They have remained undefiled by the spirit of such lively personal accounts as those of Pound, Wyndham Lewis, McAlmon, Cowley, Margaret Anderson, and Ford Madox Ford. Some of these, along with pieces that are first-rate contributions, by Ford, Clement Greenberg, and Parker Tyler, are not even included in their list of sources. (Pound's article on the little magazine, in *The English Journal*, tells more in six pages than our present historians do in 230.) Their vigorously affirmative attitude toward errors has made possible, on page 208, the compilation of a charming little treasury. They deftly manage to misspell the name of Lincoln Kirstein's novel, remark that *"The Hound and Horn* did not discover any noteworthy writers," thus confidently settling the hash of James Agee, and refer to a mysterious *Hound and Horn* contributor named "Ellery Larsson." Going on the reasonably safe assumption that this is not Ellery Queen, I take it to be Raymond E. F. Larsson in one of his frequent appellative rearrangements; but with Hoffman and Allen one is never sure.

Their method of historical sequence, combined with a tasteless eclecticism—the editor of *The Midland*, John T. Frederick, gets more searching attention than T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, and F. M. Ford as editors, combined—can only result in disconnected accounts of "tendencies" and the destinies of individual magazines. The "changes" thus revealed are mere links in the "progress" of literature. This may enchant progress-enthusiasts, who are welcome to their enchantment. Unmentioned, and perhaps unmentionable, is the key issue of bohemianism, which provided the main scaffolding for the little magazine, and bohemianism's bizarre convolutions from a serious origin to its dead end today in professional bohemianism and the warmed-over *"avant-garde"* productions of—dare one invite the anger of *PM?*—Mr. Patchen. In the same way that a little magazine becomes dull without a program as well as taste and brains—most of those published today serve goulashes of "modernism" and the academic—so does a history of them.

Miss Ulrich is a reliable bibliographer and her section is valuable, reasonably complete, and mainly accurate; its usefulness would have been enhanced by a listing of the number of issues brought out by each magazine. The index, in keeping with the text, is poor. WELDON KEES

The Medea of the Rocks

MEDEA, FREELY ADAPTED FROM THE MEDEA OF EURIPIDES. By Robinson Jeffers. Random House. $2.50.

THIS is an interesting experiment with the "Medea" and a far more successful piece of drama than most versions of Greek plays. As its subtitle suggests, it makes little effort to retain either the dramatic technique, the background, or the tone of Euripides' play when there is any danger of confusing a modern audience or interfering with Jeffers' reading of Medea's situation.

The magnificent choruses of the original play are, for the most part, cut, as are the long, beautifully organized, and, in their own way, highly dramatic narrative speeches. Medea's dragon-drawn chariot is eliminated, and Jeffers' Medea does not, as does Euripides', reveal to the audience beforehand her plan for the murder of Kreon and his daughter. All these changes make the action more "realistic" and, certainly in the introduction of suspense, and perhaps in other respects, make it a cruder play. For the same practical reasons Jeffers has either cut, simplified, or explained the allusions of the play.

He has also made the language extremely colloquial. Some of this is quite successful in its naturalistic way. For instance, the opening lines of the play, in the Loeb Classics translation, read: "Would God that Argo's hull had never flown through those blue clashing rocks to Colchis-land." This is pretty bad, with its poetical "Would God" and "flown," its fumbling, with "Argo's hull," for an idiom which does not exist in English, its pedantic literal translation of "Symplegades," its musical-comedy "Colchis-land." In Warner's fine transliteration these lines read:

> How I wish the Argo never had reached the land
> Of Colchis, skimming through the blue Symplegades . . .

In Jeffers they come out:

> I wish the long ship Argo had never passed that perilous channel between the Symplegades . . .

Poetical effects are almost always added out of Jeffers' own romantic supply:

> I wish the pines that made her mast and her oars still waved in the wind on Mount Pelion, and the great fishhawk
> Still nested in them . . .

The pines and the oars are Euripides' but the waving in the wind and, of course, the fishhawk are Jeffers'.

Just as he has imported the fishhawk, and later on a mare which attacks a stallion, so Jeffers has invented a new meaning for the play. Jason is made into a sort of Rotarian, intent on being practical and crudely successful, and Medea—"She is Asiatic and laments loudly," as a stage direction says—into an exclusively passionate and proudly revengeful woman. Jeffers stresses the purely physical horror of her act, in a way Euripides never does, and stresses his sympathy with it. The result is to destroy what I suppose is the conflict of the play, the clash between the profound Greek respect for normality and Euripides' acute sense of the reality of deep, disturbing passion ("When love is in excess," as the chorus says, "It brings a man no honor"). Jeffers' play has no conflict; it is an exhibition in which Miss Judith Anderson may make the most of Jeffers' romantic nihilism. ARTHUR MIZENER

The Impressionists and Proust

PROUST AND PAINTING. By Maurice Chernowitz. International University Press. $3.75.

THE intimacy with which the arts in France intruded upon and cross-fertilized each other between 1848 and 1914 still appears remarkable. The confusion of the arts against which Lessing warned was here realized on a basis and with results that he could not, of course, have foreseen. For how could he have possibly anticipated that the arts, in

their isolation from bourgeois public life, would be, "legitimately," driven in upon each other for sustenance?

The basis of this confusion, or fusion, was a community of production and consumption nowhere better exemplified than in the person and work of Marcel Proust. It was the obligation of the French artist of his period to be at home, at least as a consumer, in arts other than the one he himself practiced. Witness therefore, before him, Delacroix's sensitivity to music and literature, Gautier's and Baudelaire's to music and, particularly, to painting.

Proust's familiarity with music and the influence of Wagnerian form upon his great novel have already been dealt with in many an article. But now for what is, as far as I know, the first time, his relations with painting are examined in some detail by Maurice Chernowitz in "Proust and Painting," a conscientious and inevitably provocative, yet pedestrian and over-literal book that, while presenting the essential elements of the question, fails to sift and manipulate these with any real intellectual vigor.

On Mr. Chernowitz's deposition, painting, and especially Impressionism, played an even greater role than music in forming Proust's sensibility and style. If music governed the larger formal aspects of his work, painting seems to have controlled him even more pervasively in the smaller aspects. Proust took in more of the world through his eyes than through his nose, ears, or epidermis. (Compare him in this respect with Joyce, for instance, who seems to have been all ear.) And, as Mr. Chernowitz and others show, the Impressionist pictorial aesthetic influenced his content and such elements of his style as diction and syntax.

The question of syntax is particularly important, for it raises deeper issues. As much as he was influenced by Bergson's ideas, Proust appears to have found the diametrically opposed "metaphysic" of the Impressionist painters equally attractive. (And in so far as it is one of the functions of art to keep contradictions in suspension, unresolved, he was entitled to the inconsistency.) Bergson's "duration" may have justified Proust's notion of "permanent memory" and hence the way in which he fictionally organized the passage of time; yet the attempt, expressed in the delaying syntax of his long sentences, to immobilize and protract the instant by subdividing it infinitely, by spreading and, so to speak, spatializing it, bespeaks the mathematical, atomic, Eleatic materialism of the Impressionists, precisely that "mechanical" materialism against which Bergson argued.

It is in its attitude toward time that the Symbolist and Impressionist aesthetic of the nineteenth century differentiates itself most vividly from that of the Renaissance, Baroque, and Romantic past. Instead of shaping, organizing or elegiacally celebrating the flow of time, as previous art has done, it halts and fixes discrete moments; without faith in the future, without faith in the external reality of the past, it seeks to grasp the instant as if it were all—*"Verweile doch, du bist so schön"*—and treats the past as if it were a bundle of so many underived moments unified only by the identity of the subject who experienced them. In this desire to arrest time and movement in their flight, in his aversion to or incapacity for the dramatic, Proust, it seems to me, was most profoundly of all an Impressionist.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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MISS MILES'S talent is that of the virtuoso. Her way with words is brilliant: the control of rhythm, the arrangement of rime and assonance, the answering of stanza to stanza—everything is elaborately and even intensely worked out. And there are unquestionable triumphs: "Flag Level," "Funeral," perhaps "All Hallow," certainly "Denial," strike against the mind with the vigor of true poetry. Yet something is clearly wrong, for these successes are all too infrequent; and it is my impression that the fault lies mainly in the poet's extraordinary preoccupation with technic.

Miss Miles's themes are commonplace enough, but they are developed at a height so rarified that the reader—this reader, at any rate—is left fighting for breath. Nothing is more forbidding than the Perpetual Epigram, the wit that never relaxes. I am not concerned here with obscurity: no one could complain with worse grace that a lyric does not speak with the confiding flatness of Wordsworth's "We Are Seven." A poet has every right to be as enigmatic as he pleases; but his enigmas should attract, like Yeats's in his old age; they should be dynamized somehow—a life, a passion, a compassion—and so tease the reader into speculation and ultimately, one hopes, solution. But Miss Miles's too often repel investigation. *We must not be ordinary,* her verses seem to say, *we must coruscate*—even, perversely, where (as in "Loser," a particularly Eleusinian utterance) coruscation deliberately assumes the guise of Hodge-like awkwardness. It is as though she were perpetually on guard against being found out enjoying something as ignoble as a firmly shaped conviction. And it is, unhappily, possible to refine a poem to death: that is to say, beyond the point of credibility; and when this happens the audience, dazzled by the Czernyan arpeggii and the octave trills, but bored and baffled for all of that, is likely to fold its tents like the Arabs.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

FOUR songs from Mahler's cycle "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" are on Columbia's August list, sung by Carol Brice, contralto, with the Pittsburgh Symphony under Reiner (Set X-267; $2.85). They are early works, in which one hears the feeling and idiom that are developed and richly elaborated in the later ones; and those who have the taste for Mahler's music will find them lovely and moving. Miss Brice, when I first heard her at the Museum of Modern Art a few years ago, produced tones of incredible opulence throughout her range with complete ease; now the ease is gone, and with it much of the opulence. The low tones are still voluminous; the high ones are thin and shrill most of the time in the first three of the songs. But in the fourth, where she sings with more freedom and assurance, the low tones are richer, the high ones lovely; and they form phrases that carry more musical and emotional impact. Reiner's excellent orchestral contexts have a stylistic authority that is an additional pleasure in and for itself. The performances are well-reproduced; and both German texts and English translations are provided.

Prokofiev's Sonata Opus 94 for violin and piano, which Szigeti introduced to us a year or two ago, is still another of the works that sound to me as though Prokofiev had set his technical apparatus in motion while he read his mail, dictated to his secretary, took his dog for a run, read the newspapers, and at the end of a morning had a sonata movement to try on the piano. Szigeti has recorded his performance with Leonid Hambro (Set 620; $3.85); and the contrast between the vitality of his playing and the quiet smoothness of Hambro's is exaggerated by recording which makes his playing much louder than Hambro's, and which also makes the sound of his violin a little brash.

Stravinsky's Four Norwegian Moods are sour-sounding and rhythmically involved and pointless Stravinskyan manipulations of simple materials. They are well-performed by the New York Philharmonic under his direction, and the performances are well-reproduced (123-71-D; $1).

A number of opera arias are sung by Bidú Sayao, soprano, with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Fausto Cleva (Set 612; $4.85). They comprise *Non so piu cosa son* and *Voi che sapete* from Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro"; *Ah! non credea mirarti* from Bellini's "Sonnambula"; the *Roi de Thule* and Jewel Song from "Faust"; Manon's entrance aria and *Adieu, notre petite table* from Massenet's "Manon"; and Mimi's Farewell from Puccini's "La Bohême." Sayao's voice is lovely, and she sings most of the pieces very beautifully; but I find her delivery of the sustained phrases of the Bellini aria excessively mannered, and Cherubino's *Non so piu* is sung with the exaggerated pertness and coyness of Sayao's Susanna. Only brief English summaries are given instead of the texts.

Act I Scene 3 of Wagner's "Walküre" is sung by Helen Traubel and Emery Darcy with the New York Philharmonic under Rodzinski (Set 618; $3.85). Taubel's voice is thin, cold, and tremolo-ridden; and Darcy's is constricted; but the orchestral part is well-performed; and the sound of the orchestra on the records is not only good but properly balanced with the voices. Both German text and English translation are provided; and one can roll on one's tongue such delectable items of Wagnerian dramatic poetry as "Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond, in mildem Lichte leuchtet der Lenz; auf linden Lüften, leicht and lieblich, Wunder webend er sich wiegt"—almost, but not quite as good as "Schweigt eures Jammers jauchzendes Schwall" in "Die Götterdämmerung."

Now it is Columbia that issues still another recording of Brahms's First Symphony—this one made by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic (Set 621; $5.85). It is a fairly straightforward performance, which is well reproduced—though without what would make the tremolos of muted violins under the horn solo in the introduction of the fourth movement distinct.

The tricks that the Don Cossacks do under the direction of Serge Jaroff in the volume "Russian Fair" (Set 619; $4.85) I find it impossible to listen to.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"BRIEF ENCOUNTER," an expansion of a one-act play by Noel Coward, is a story about two decent middle-class people who fall in love outside their marriages and, beset by guilt and unable to stomach the enforced deceit and humiliation, give each other up. It is my impression that the same story, with fancy variations, is told once or twice in every issue of every magazine for housewives—often with a certain amount of sincerity, almost never with enough insight, detachment, style, or moral courage to make it better than wretched. Here, I must grant, there are several tricks of over-artifice and some of ham. But because in this case the story is written, filmed, and acted with a good deal of the positive qualities I mentioned, the picture is both a pleasure to watch as a well controlled piece of work, and deeply touching. Even an unforgivable formula such as the lover's Looking Like A Little Boy when the woman's attentiveness reawakens his idealism, becomes remarkably real when

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McCabe's THE MEANING OF EXISTENTIALISM contains four chapters, as follows: 1. WHY PARIS BEGOT A NEW PHILOSOPHY. 2. THE ANCESTRY OF THE CREED OF EXISTENTIALISM. 3. THE THEORY OF PROFESSOR SARTRE, FOUNDER OF EXISTENTIALISM. 4. IS ANY PHILOSOPHY NECESSARY?

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it is handled tenderly and cleanly. I particularly like the performances of Celia Johnson and Trevor Howard as the lovers, and the things that are done with their faces and with the various ways they walk, at various stages of the affair. If, in my opinion, the movie at its best suggests merely all that woman's-magazine fiction might be at its own best, that it is not intended as a back-handed compliment. For it seems to me that few writers of supposedly more serious talent even undertake themes as simple and important any more: so that, relatively dinky and sentimental as it is —a sort of vanity-sized "Anna Karenina"—"Brief Encounter" is to be thoroughly respected.

"The Big Sleep" is a violent, smoky cocktail shaken together from most of the printable misdemeanors and some that aren't—one of those Raymond Chandler Specials which puts you, along with the cast, into a state of semi-amnesia through which tough action and reaction drum with something of the nonsensical solace of hard rain on a tin roof. Humphrey Bogart and several proficient minor players keep anchoring it to some sufficient kind of reality. The picture is often brutal and sometimes sinister, and *PM* is probably correct in rating it as a new high in viciousness; but I can't bring myself to mind this sort of viciousness, far less to feel that it shouldn't be shown. I know it's a dream world, and doubtless it stimulates socially undesirable appetites in me and in others, but beside the really bottomless vileness of films like, for instance, "To Each His Own," which walk the streets unchallenged and never even pass a serious medical inspection, it seems to me about as toxic as a package of Tums.

"Two Years Before The Mast" would be fair enough as a piece of straight sea-melodrama. The performance of Howard da Silva as the Captain and the presentation of the claustrophobia that is developed aboard ship—made in wartime, entirely ashore, the film grants few relieving views even of a process wave—are better than fair. What I object to is Paramount's presenting this heavily hopped-up picture of what a merchant seaman was up against, a century ago, as if it were historical fact, vouched for in Richard Henry Dana's book. Dana, if they'd care to tell the truth about it, said that he would have hated to command a crew of that sort unless the law gave him flogging-rights.

"Monsieur Beaucaire" turns Booth Tarkington's story inside-out and dresses Bob Hope in it. Some of it seems to me such rock-bottom Hope formula that whether you yawn or rather wearily laugh depends chiefly on your chance state of mind. Bits of it, however—Hope's reception in the Spanish court, his minuet, and his duel with Joseph Schildkraut—seem funny enough to take anyone, regardless of state of mind. And for what the minor role is worth, Schildkraut understands how to make and control his points, in this sort of

(*Continued on page* 251)

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Hillman Memorial

Dear Sirs: The Pioneer Youth Campus again stepped into the forefront through the spontaneous efforts of its alert civic-minded campers who were quick to recognize the meaning of the loss of Sidney Hillman who died July 10. At a camp memorial meeting the next day the campers voted to put a memorial plaque on our bell tower. The dedication will be held August 28, to which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. William Killpatrick, Dr. E. C. Lindeman, and Dr. John Dewey have been invited. While Mrs. Hillman is unable to attend, she has arranged for a representative to be present. This will be an occasion to re-emphasize the trade union background and philosophy of Pioneer Youth Camp.

AGNES MORGENTHAU NEWBORG

New York City, August 21

True Representation

Dear Sirs: On matters of racial prejudice the difference between a Southern congressman and a Northern one is that the former's wrong ideas on the Negro are so firm and deep that he cannot act against them, even though he nearly recognizes their absurdity, while the latter, though perhaps holding the wrong ideas almost against his reason, can act for the removal of intolerance through law. Thus, gradually, the evil is controverted and successive generations are corrected in their thinking and behavior. Bilbo is wrong when he obstructs this movement, but so are almost all Southern and many Northern legislators whether they speak their people's minds or not.

It is time to stop execrating Senator Bilbo and to get to work on the American people. Bilbo is probably a more faithful representative of the people than any other man in the Senate; he is a valid part of the conscience, not only of Mississippi, but the United States; he is the spokesman for the evil in us, and we would have a false and misleading legislature if one like him were not in it. How many in the North are without stain of racial prejudice? How many persons reading Bilbo's public addresses must admit that their views are almost identical? Perhaps Bilbo does good in expressing the bad thoughts that are entertained secretly by so many, for under reasonable examination they must disappear.

JOHN ILLO

Atlantic Highlands, N. J., August 7

Found: A Leader

Dear Sirs: I have just read David Lilienthal's profound and amazing Science and Man's Fate in the July 13 issue of *The Nation.* I have also read Samuel Grafton's syndicated column for July 16 in which the current "dark moment," when the "passion of the American people is dormant, waiting for the touch that will arouse it," is cited.

May I nominate Lilienthal as the man who is capable of giving to the now inert mass of liberal and independent voters of our country that "reaffirmation of world accord" of which Grafton speaks, and who is capable of eliciting the "similar reaffirmation" from the Russian people? Lilienthal is the man Grafton is looking for who could "blow the lid off the next elections," assuming that he could have an adequate vehicle of public relations and organization—the man who could express "the silent, aching hope for a future of more peace and dignity, at home and abroad, than now seems to lie ahead of us."

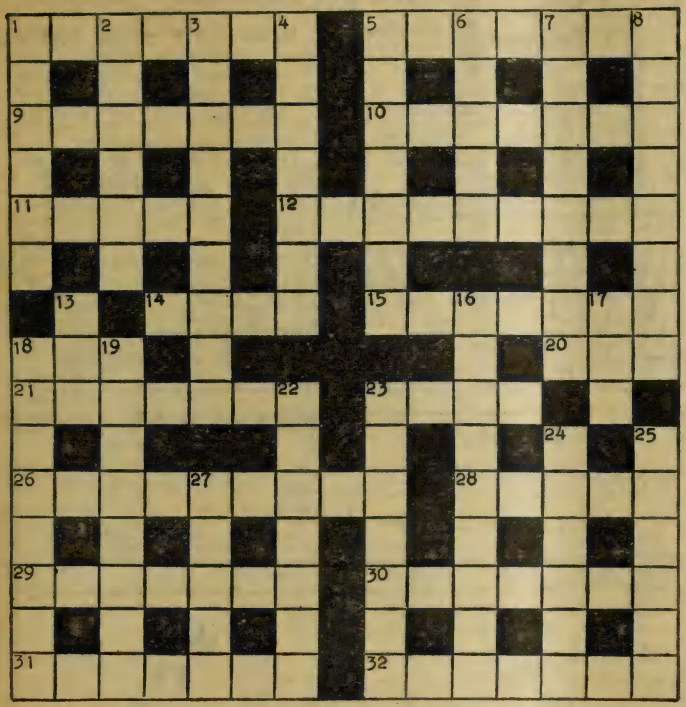
What is needed to set up such a tremendous chain-reaction in the world community at this juncture is for some liberal leader to pass the word quietly from one to another among the various liberal organizations, starting with The Nation Associates. The message of Lilienthal as printed in the current *Nation,* so arranged as to play up the high points of it, would be the truly effective document for the purpose. If a specific national policy is needed, I suggest the economic program presented by Irving Flamm, president of the Lawyers' Guild.

EDWIN S. POTTER

Arden, Del., July 16

Crossword Puzzle No. 176

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 What the Rising Sun may now be regarded as doing
5 Piece of furniture that is not what you'd think it was
9 We read of him in Genesis XVI, 12
10 Less plentiful
11 A pipe, not a knife
12 To hit back on a horse is of first importance
14 Go on a hunger strike
15 Mullion (anag.)
18 Diogenes went abroad in one
20 She has a sheepish look
21 Red ears gives you a clue to them
23 One Dumas
26 The scrubwoman has a front seat in this motor coach
28 There is a number here
29 Waiting for the word to sail (5 and 2)
30 Something to be imitated — or avoided
31 Ken's rat is strongest smelling
32 Rates on in the Upper House

DOWN

1 Pain that goes through you like a needle
2 Chief of Pacific Society group
3 No special container required (2, 3 and 4)
4 Got a lip (anag.)
5 Walter's a profligate
6 Not necessary perhaps on Wake Island
7 A musical evening should include this
8 Choke
13 Hugh sounds colorful
16 American author who might have signed his name: X X (4 and 5)
17 Possess, or confess
18 Flies for Free France
19 A vain Arab becomes a German national
22 Rio de Janeiro is the one with the finest harbor
23 Ship-shape parcels
24 A munition dump?
25 Superficial charm
27 Corner fish

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 175

ACROSS:—1 MISPLACE; 5 IMPEND; 10 DROOP; 11 REVOLVERS; 12 ASTRIDE; 13 DEMESNE; 14 ROUGHS; 15 SUNDAYS; 18 RINGLET; 21 EFFIGY; 24 VEHICLE; 26 GIRONDE; 27 STEERSMAN; 28 FLIES; 29 ERASER; 30 BABY FARM.

DOWN:—1 MY DEAR; 2 SHORTHORN; 3 LAPWING; 4 CAREENS; 6 MILKMAN; 7 EWERS; 8 DISPENSE; 9 EVADES; 16 ARGENTINA; 17 CREVASSE; 19 LUCERNE; 20 THERMS; 21 EUGENIA; 22 FIREFLY; 23 JETSAM; 25 HYENA.

(*Continued from page* 250)

show, much better than the star does.

In an elevator the other day—a hell of a place to bring such a thing up—an acquaintance rebuked me for liking "Caesar and Cleopatra." As it turned out, he simply doesn't like the play much, whereas I simply do; and he minded the gaudiness, whereas I still don't; but I found I was close to agreeing with him about Claude Rains. He flatly thought Rains was a ham. I think he is, but has a saving ironic understanding of his hamminess; I also think Shaw's Caesar is, among other things, a conscious ham. Watching Rains again as Caesar, I realize that he plays nearly everything much too broad, to be as right for the role as I had thought. I now think he was adequate, and skillful, and amusing, but in second gear.

I speak of this now partly out of my duty towards myself, my God, and my neighbor, chiefly because I was unable to do anything but mumble about it in the elevator. Ground floor.

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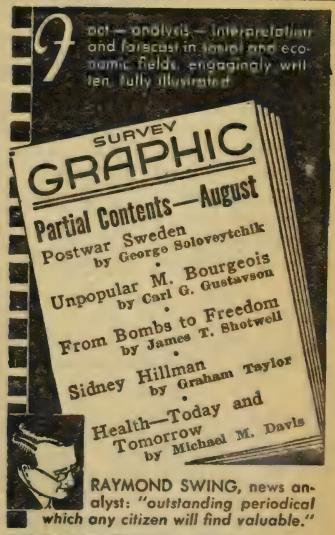

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Atomic Alternatives

WITH every insult flung across the Paris peace-table, with every needless veto in the Security Council, every international "incident" and every diplomatic impasse, the unthinkable draws closer to the inevitable.

A year ago, with the world still awed by the vast horror that had fallen on Hiroshima, millions consoled themselves with the thought that the atomic bomb might mean the end of war—that naked fear would at last bring peace where individual intelligence, organized religion, and ages of bitter experience had failed. It is clear now that peace-by-fear is the least hopeful, the least tolerable, of any of those interludes by which men mark off their wars.

We know of no better gauge for measuring the distance we have slid down the slope to catastrophe since Hiroshima than the recent remarks of Dr. Harold C. Urey, a leading member of the Manhattan Project. Pleading for an effective international control of atomic energy, Dr. Urey does not confine himself to the usual warning that failure will inevitably lead to a "civilization-destroying war." He goes on, in the grimly practical fashion of scientists, to state the logical corollary: to head off such a war the United States might have to declare war itself, while the atomic bomb is exclusively ours, "with the frank purpose of conquering the world and ruling it as we desire, and preventing any other sovereign nation from developing mass weapons of war."

Dr. Urey is not a Russophobe, or a xenophobe; he is a man of peace and a democrat. The appalling alternative to international control which he suggests is one that he "cannot contemplate with any pleasure, but one which may be a strict necessity." The reasoning is clear: either international control or certain war; if war, then it is better, not merely for the United States but for the world, that the war be one-sided and short rather than evenly-matched, protracted, and resulting in mutual extermination.

Taken aback by the reaction to his views, Dr. Urey made it plain that his words were not intended as a threat, but rather as a warning. They are a warning to us as much as to the Soviet Union. For a preventive war would have devastating consequences to the United States. Morally it would lay upon the conscience of the country a strain that might well be insupportable. Politically it would change us overnight into a military dictatorship, permanently constituted to impose on a rebellious world a Pax Americana through force of arms.

No American—probably not even Colonel McCormick—can tolerate the thought of such a "solution." Yet the alternative, in the absence of international control, is still less tolerable. It has become so commonplace to speak of the "destruction of civilization" that the words already have a hollow sound. In a single year men have grown to live with the thought of doom, not by facing it but by letting words take the place of imagination. We speak of the atomic bomb now almost as we once spoke of poison gas or bombardment from the air—as horrors to be borne in wartime rather than the possible end of the human race. To freshen the perspective, to replace the dried-up phrases of the cliché-mongers with the searing picture of atomic war as it really is, we recommend to our readers the current issue of the *New Yorker*. The issue contains no cartoons, no stories, no bright and brittle comment on the minor foibles of men; its entire content is devoted to John Hersey's simple and magnificently detailed account of what happened to six citizens of Hiroshima who were lucky enough—if that is the word for it—to survive the tiny bomb that fell on their city on August 6, 1945.

We do not believe that the time has come to choose between Dr. Urey's preventive war and an ultimate clash of atom-armed powers, in which the Hiroshima bomb will have swelled to twenty times its potency and been duplicated by the thousand. The time for that decision may never come, but it is the blindest sentimentality to assume so. The Atomic Energy Committee of the United Nations, so far as the public knows, is still far from reconciling the differences between the American and Soviet approaches. The American representatives, in our opinion, have traveled much farther along the road to a sane solution than the Russians. Technically, the Baruch plan, as we have pointed out before, is vulnerable; but the Gromyko plan is impossible. In spirit both the Lilienthal and the Baruch reports are hopeful and intelligently resigned to an ultimate surrender of American

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sovereignty in the field of atomic controls. Gromyko, on the other hand, insists that "sovereignty is one of the cornerstones on which the United Nations structure is built" and objects to the American view that the whole question of atomic energy is of "international and not of national importance."

We understand that behind Gromyko's extreme remarks is the fear of a control body in which the Soviets might be outvoted. Similarly, behind Baruch's refusal to surrender the "know-how" and the stockpile until a control system is set up and in working order lie suspicion of the Soviets and the fear of political consequences at home. But in the light of the hideous alternatives, these considerations are not enough to justify the prolonged deadlock. The bargaining must go on.

Much as we have already yielded, we can and should make at least one more concession. We should stop making atomic bombs while the negotiations are in progress. Whatever our intentions might be, the continued manufacture of bombs can only look to the rest of the world like coercion, blatant enough to sow indignation and too ineffective to prevent even little Yugoslavia from shooting down our planes. As for the Russians, they have a wide gap to span between the archaic nationalism of Mr. Gromyko and an effective system of international control. It is inconceivable that they will make no effort to bridge that gap, but the choice is theirs—and they know by now what that choice really is. The time is running short, and as Mr. Baruch bluntly puts it, "The bomb does not wait upon debate. To delay may be to die."

The Shape of Things

A MORE SENSITIVE MONARCH THAN KING George II of Greece would long ago have concluded that he was unwanted by a people that had twice shed blood to get rid of him. He would also have had qualms about returning to a country on which he had saddled a dictatorship as brutal as any in pre-war Europe. But he is going back to Athens now, the beneficiary of a plebiscite dominated by terror from the right and fear of the left. Notwithstanding the two-to-one vote, nobody imagines that this mean and colorless failure, lacking even the traditional symbolism of British royalty, is what the Greek people need and want in a desperate moment of their history. They are a proud and politically sophisticated nation, and probably not even the violence of government-protected Royalist bands, the presence of two British divisions, and the subtle pressure of a "courtesy call" by units of the American fleet would have persuaded them to vote for George's recall if they were not ridden by even stronger fears. Assigned to the British sphere in secret talks between Stalin and Churchill, Greece has nevertheless become a key to the satisfaction of Soviet ambitions in Eastern Europe. Through applica-

tion of what has come to be known as the "Azerbaijan formula," northern and eastern Greece could be neatly sliced off: an "independent" Macedonia closely allied to Yugoslavia, Eastern Thrace to Bulgaria, and Epirus to Albania. Turkey then would be effectively cut off from the west and Greece isolated, a harmless isle in a Soviet sea. Given the prevailing power politics of "the peace," British anxiety over the Eastern Mediterranean sector of the imperial lifeline is not hard to understand. What is incredible is the persistent and dangerous fallacy of British governments that Russian encroachments can be headed off only by blowing a semblance of life into decaying feudal remnants. Greece deserves something better than a choice between commissars and royal riff-raff.

*

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY congress that ended last Sunday in Paris reaches beyond the area of internal party disputes into the entire domain of French politics. To begin with, the congress will have an immediate effect on the new Constitution which in its present form depended upon the combined support of Socialists and Mouvement Republicain Populaire (M. R. P.) to counterbalance the more and more belligerent opposition of the Communists in the Assembly. It will also destroy some of the hopes entertained in moderate circles that the next elections might bring about a government of Socialists and M. R. P. representatives with some additions from the Radical-Socialists and other minor groups, but leaving the Communists outside. If one thing has clearly emerged from the congress, in the midst of all kinds of reciprocal concessions to avoid a split in the party, it has been the uncompromising will of the majority to rule out any flirtation with the party of M. Bidault. The M. R. P. was the main target of the delegates from the provinces where the traditional anti-clericalism of the French masses had been aroused by the creation of a Cabinet under Catholic leadership. With his experience of so many years in the labor movement, Léon Jouhaux had already warned the Socialist leaders not to allow themselves to appear as "the allies of the priests." Since the elections this feeling, strongly expressed at the Montrouge meeting in May, has swept every regional and local pre-congress gathering. It is not any personal objection to Bidault, whom everybody likes; it is fear of the Vatican smuggling itself, against all logic, into the France of the Liberation. From the point of view of personalities, there is not one among the new members of the National Executive Committee who can compare with the defeated leaders. Neither the young though successful Minister of Agriculture, Pierre Tanguy-Prigent, nor Guy Mollet, in spite of his excellent record in the Resistance, has the authority of a Léon Blum or a Vincent Auriol, but they have become the voice of the Socialist youth and the Socialist workers who, while favoring collaboration with the Communists for limited ends, demand party independence and leadership—leadership in directing France toward socialism and checking the increasing aggression of the reactionary forces.

*

NEHRU'S ALL-INDIAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT has taken office despite the continuing threat of a Moslem revolt. Two and a half centuries of uninterrupted British rule is at an end. The new government has been drawn from all sectors of the Indian community, includes some Moslem representation, and appears to be about as strong as it can be without Jinnah's cooperation. While some reports indicate that the Calcutta massacres had weakened Jinnah's influence with the Indian public—including many members of the Moslem League—his utterances remain as bellicose as ever. Few expect him to reverse his stand and accept Viscount Wavell's invitation to name five members of his group to the provisional government as replacements for the present Moslem members. Moreover, the new disorders in Bombay arising from the Moslem protest of the government's inauguration presage trouble ahead for Nehru. But the Attlee government has wisely and courageously decided not to let Moslem intransigence upset its timetable for Indian independence.

*

IF YOU WEREN'T IN THE ARMY YOU CAN learn a lot about the army from the Lichfield trials. Colonel Kilian and his subordinates were responsible for the extraordinary brutality and inhumanity of Lichfield, that concentration camp where "Work him over—just don't break too many bones" was a customary order, and where a guard was promoted for shooting at a prisoner who looked out of the window. It is a common belief in the army that Lichfield was no different, essentially, from other army prison camps in France and Italy; one of the defense attorneys made this clear when he asked for a directed verdict of acquittal, on the ground that the trials are "really a war on the army and its methods." This attorney did not understand or did not dare admit that these trials are really a part, a very disgraceful part, of the army and its methods: the defendants have been tried, convicted—they have not been punished. The jail sentences handed out to the first two defendants were promptly suspended; the other defendants have been punished by small fines or reprimands—a guard, for beating a prisoner with a club, was fined fifty dollars. Colonel Kilian was responsible for this beating and for many others—because of him Lichfield convinced most of its prisoners that they could expect neither justice nor mercy from the army they fought in and the country they fought for. For these offenses Colonel Kilian has received a $500 fine and a reprimand. Two privates, because they struck Colonel Kilian,

are serving prison terms of six and seven years. This is army justice—the same justice that, time and time again during the war, sentenced enlisted men to life imprisonment, and dismissed officers from the service, for the same crime: rape.

*

THE TRIAL OF GENERAL GREGORI SEMENOV and seven other White Russian counter-revolutionaries on charges of treason and espionage carries us back to the all-but-forgotten days of the early 1920's when unofficial wars were under way at various places around the periphery of Red Russia. Although we have become accustomed to view with suspicion the confessions in Russian state trials, there can be no doubt of the authenticity of Semenov's admissions. His exploits as a leader of one of the most notorious of the White Guard bands were documented by American as well as Soviet observers. General Graves, head of the American expeditionary force in Siberia in 1918-20, declares that "there was only one worse criminal than Semenov, that was Kalmikov" (another notorious White Guard leader). The followers of both of these men, according to General Graves, "were roaming the country like wild animals, killing and robbing the people." In view of his known record, it is not difficult to believe his further admission that he had plotted to kill Lenin, and had accepted Japanese aid in setting up schools to train spies and terrorists for counter-revolutionary work in the Soviet Union. The only suspicious element in his testimony concerned his alleged change of heart after his capture by Soviet forces in Manchuria.

Pacific Coast Conference

THE annual fall conference of The Nation Associates will be held this year on September 21 and 22 in Los Angeles. Planned and organized by members on the Coast, the two-day meeting will take up a wide range of topics grouped under a compendious title—"The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement." One session will be devoted to the election campaign, with special attention to issues and men of particular interest to the West; another to United States foreign policy, keyed to the problems directly menacing peace (the first subject discussed will be the dangerous two-world approach to security—America and Britain on one side, the Soviet Union on the other); a third, to economic security as an essential factor in the maintenance of peace; and a final session on the question of chief importance to our time and nation: Is liberalism capable of providing the dynamics necessary for the defense of democracy?

As is usual at conferences of The Nation Associates, the sessions will end with a dinner forum to be addressed by persons whose names stand for national leadership in progressive thinking and acting. Among them will be Thurman W. Arnold, former associate justice of the United States Court of Appeals; Bartley C. Crum, president of the National Lawyers Guild and, recently, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine; Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon; Dore Schary, leading Hollywood producer; and the editor of *The Nation*. A full announcement appears on page 276 of this issue.

One of the features of the occasion will be a special Pacific Coast supplement to *The Nation*. It will be edited by our staff contributor, Carey McWilliams, published in Los Angeles, and circulated among members of the conference. A distinguished group of Western writers will contribute articles relating to the region and to the subjects under discussion. A limited number of copies may be available for members of The Nation Associates and Western subscribers.

We consider this conference one of the most important The Nation Associates has held and we urge all members and readers on the Coast who can possibly do so to attend and take an active part. The value of such a discussion depends quite as much upon the participation of an intelligent audience as upon the topics and speakers appearing in the program.

Anderson Must Go

SECRETARY ANDERSON'S action in setting beef and pork ceilings far above the June 30 levels was unexpected and disturbing. Its economic and political implications are obvious. Combined with the order of the Price Decontrol Board lifting ceilings on grains and dairy products, it threatens to dynamite the Administration's stabilization efforts. For it should be evident even to the most rock-ribbed member of the N. A. M. or the farm bloc that we cannot have a further sharp increase in the price of such vital products as meat, cereals, and dairy products without immediate demands for higher wages on the part of labor. Already there are intimations of a new wave of strikes that may prove even more crippling than those we have lately experienced.

The extent of the rise in living costs since June 30 shows that inflation is here, and in an extreme form. During the long Chinese inflation, in which prices have risen to 4,000 times their pre-war level, the average rate of increase has been approximately 10 per cent a month. In the two months since expiration of the OPA, food prices in this country have risen more than 30 per cent. The new meat ceilings will raise beef prices by approximately 10 per cent and pork prices more than 5 per cent. Cost-of-living figures do not yet reflect the price rises granted by the OPA in recent weeks on a multitude of manufactured goods, but when the figures are available,

the advance in the cost of living is bound to be close to the 10 per cent rate.

In justification of his action Secretary Anderson declares that a substantial boost in meat prices is essential in order to assure adequate production. Referring to the recent heavy marketing of livestock, he declared that an increase in price is essential to bring cattle and hogs into the feeding lots. Without doubt there is truth in his contention. But it is based on a type of reasoning that views a temporary shortage of meat as a greater evil than the wrecking of the American economy through inflation. This was virtually admitted by an official spokesman of the Department of Agriculture in a revealing statement to a Washington newspaperman the day after Secretary Anderson issued his order. "Our interest," the spokesman declared, "is primarily in the American producer . . . the interest of the Department of Agriculture in the consumer is only academic."

When the department's objectives are stated in these terms it is easy to understand why Paul Porter was unable to persuade Mr. Anderson to restore the June 30 ceilings. But there remains the question of how it is possible in a supposedly national Administration for the interests of the majority of the population to be thus rudely overridden by the representative of a single sector of the population. Admittedly, Congress gave the Secretary of Agriculture power to fix meat ceilings. Voters will do well to recall this fact at the November elections. Nevertheless, the Administration is supposed to be a team responsible to the President and through him to the people as a whole. If there is conflict within the team, the President should step in and make the final decision. The Secretary of Agriculture has clearly violated the basic principles of the stabilization program as established by President Roosevelt and reaffirmed by President Truman. He should be asked to resign and the President should appoint a successor who is willing to carry out the Administration's policy.

Week-End Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HAVING no vote in the Security Council, I delayed making up a rather disheveled mind about the merits of the candidates for admission to the U. N. I tried to remember what sorts of qualities we insisted upon in my high-school fraternity. Members had to be congenial and nicely dressed, as I recall, and not too serious-minded. Our motto was, "As one lamp lights another nor grows less, so nobleness enkindleth nobleness," but you weren't expected to live up to that until you got in. And afterward—well then it was too late to do much about it.

But today, somehow, these excellent requirements seem hardly sufficient. There may even be too many well-dressed, unserious members of the U. N. already. As I looked the candidates over, I kept remembering something Cordell Hull said toward the end of the war. (Anti-fascism was still in style then.) Mr. Hull said, "There can be no compromise with fascism and Nazism." He said the Allies were agreed that "even after the defeat of the enemy there will be no security unless and until our victory is used to destroy these systems to their very foundations." Those words, I thought, could be made into a pretty good test of eligibility. I decided, too, that members of the U. N. fraternity ought to be more or less independent—at least not cut out of whole cloth by some other nation. By applying these rather unofficial criteria and taking a quick look at the Charter, I tentatively marked a ballot: Transjordan, no; Outer Mongolia, no; Portugal, no; Albania, yes; Eire, grudgingly, yes; and yes for the others. But then, nobody asked me and it didn't come out at all like that. . . . Never mind, America welcomes its new fellow members—Iceland, Sweden, and Afghanistan—and offers them its brotherly devotion and possibly a loan. As for the fraternity secrets, I'm afraid we cannot share those for a while. Initiation must wait until the atom commission has finished its work.

The Mufti is as fine a scoundrel as the Middle East has ever produced. He is unscrupulous, cruel, treacherous, crafty, able, and attractive. He has the magic of leadership and so the capacity to do harm on a big scale. If the British had allowed him to come to London with the Arab delegation to the Palestine conference, they would have been forced, in honor and consistency, to ask for the acquittal of all the war criminals in the dock at Nürnberg. (Of course, if they and the French had done their duty he would be there, too.) For the Mufti is not only an old hand at the sport of political assassination and plotting on his own grounds, but during the war he carried his activities first to Iraq, where he organized a pro-Nazi coup whose failure was not his fault, and finally to Germany itself. There he established offices, with branches and correspondents in Rome and Tokyo, and spent his time organizing Arab support for the Axis and having his picture taken with top-rank Nazi chieftains —even with Hitler himself. History may give the Mufti credit for the highest service to his master's cause. Documents unearthed in Germany indicate that Haj-Amin el Husseini may have actually invented the idea of the mass extermination of Jews. At least we know he advocated it in his regular broadcasts from Berlin.

In any case, whether for his crimes against humanity or for his operations against the Allies, the Mufti has been ruled out and the Arabs of Palestine, who acknowledge him as their spiritual as well as their political leader, have decided to boycott the London conference. The Arab states, however, have so far stood by their

decision to send delegates and this suggests that the Mufti is less potent in areas where he has been unable to eliminate political opponents as thoroughly as he has done in Palestine. The Jews, too, are reconsidering their decision to stay away from London; and for the first time since the Anglo-American Committee made its report we have some excuse for optimism. The barring of the Mufti, the commutation of the death sentences against eighteen young Jewish terrorists, and above all Britain's apparent willingness to accept the Jewish Agency's proposals as a basis for discussion indicate a slow conversion in London toward the ideas British Labor has always professed. If the Jewish leaders are wise and firm they will take full advantage of this shift without abandoning the precautions every subject people must observe in dealing with their rulers. This is a moment when decency has a small chance to succeed. It had better not be lost.

So You Want a New Car

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, August 29

IN these dull summer days there is always one place restless with problems and bulging with news. It is the big converted warehouse in the sagging slum district where the OPA lives.

Working there in their shirt sleeves in the August heat, a group of men are trying to break a billion-dollar black-market racket whose chief victims are veterans. It is the black market in automobiles. One-fourth, perhaps more, of the cars sold since the OPA went back into business were sold at above-ceiling prices.

The bonuses paid for cars are fantastic—$500, $1,000, $2,500, a diamond ring, a city lot. Prodded into action by the outraged squawks of the veterans, the OPA is just beginning to swing into a highly organized enforcement and educational campaign designed to crack this spreading racket.

A specialized group of enforcement agents—men who smashed the big-time operations in counterfeit ration coupons—have been augmented by new agents from other government agencies. OPA top officials have given the go-ahead signal for the agents to concentrate on the automobile black market.

Last Monday a number of special agents moved into the sleepy Southern town of Leesville, South Carolina, a community of two thousand persons. To a stranger there was something very curious about this town. The shady streets and vacant lots were jammed with cars, hundreds of them. Leesville was the hub of what the OPA claims was a one-hundred-million-dollar ring operating in black-market cars. Its fingers allegedly spread all over the Southwest and up into the North.

On this day the OPA agents walked casually among the salesmen in a huge open-air sales lot a short distance from the town. They stopped to look at cars and haggle over prices. They noticed that one-fourth of the autos were new models. Other agents roamed the streets jotting down the license numbers of visitors. They would follow these leads later to surprised dealers who patronized the sales every Monday.

With the evidence all gathered, the agents struck. They arrested six alleged salesmen. Using marked money the OPA officers had bought five cars at over-ceiling prices, according to the allegations. Two of the cars were new and three were used. They paid approximately twice the ceiling price, it is claimed. The OPA says the agents could have bought scores more if they had had more money.

This raid had been carefully planned for weeks. It was appropriately named "Operation Circus," because of the gala atmosphere of the open-air market. This, however, was just one of the many alleged organized black-market centers spotted all over the United States. Sales lots are ingeniously hidden away in small country towns.

Another alleged ring worked out of Murray, Kentucky, a small town near the Tennessee border, and, according to the OPA, included dealers in the South and Midwest. Its operation was well organized. Spotters were hired in large cities—busy legmen hanging around bars, movies, even churches looking for good buys, preferably new cars. These scouts would stop owners as they entered their cars; often they jumped on the running-board. The driver would be offered a fancy price for his car. The standard rate was $500 over the ceiling price for a new car. The spotters got $25 for each car they brought in.

The OPA says that the cars were then taken either to Murray or to Cairo, Illinois. The alleged ring advertised to dealers throughout the Southwest that cars would be offered for sale at auction. According to the OPA, these "auctions" were merely a blind, and the deals were consummated before the automobiles ever went on the block.

TRIS COFFIN is a Columbia Broadcasting System commentator. He writes a weekly Washington report for The Nation.

There is some evidence in the OPA Washington offices that the gangsters who always follow the easy-money rackets have moved into the car black market. One man picked up by the agents had a record of forty-one previous arrests. Robert Ehrlich, in charge of the OPA special agents, prefers to call many of the men linked up with the organized gangs "shadowy characters."

The strategy of the OPA is twofold. The most publicized campaign is against the organized black-market gangs, with a quick follow-up on the dealers who have been spotted at the sales. But a hard day-in-and-day-out job is being done by agents in every part of the country, picking up dealers who are cashing in on the easy money of the black market. These agents have been averaging arrests or suits against three violators every month. The practice of selling over ceilings is so widespread that the OPA doesn't have a chance to pick up all the violators. The technique is to spot the enforcement activities regularly over a wide area and hope that the publicity will scare other dealers into being good boys.

No dealer can be sure when he offers a car at an over-ceiling price that he is not talking to an OPA agent or a citizen who is cooperating in the campaign. The OPA has a fund to make buys. It is also enlisting the help of enraged consumers.

The rackets are many and ingenious. One is the trade-in deal. The prospective buyer with a car to trade in will be offered $600 less than it is worth. If he objects, he doesn't get the new car.

There is the overhaul racket. The consumer buys a used car at the ceiling price and then is charged $250 for an overhaul job he does not want or need.

There is the finance racket. The car is sold at the ceiling price, but the buyer is required to finance it through the dealer, who tacks on exorbitant extra charges. There is the gadget racket. The consumer is forced, if he wants a car, to pay for trinkets and extra equipment which he would ordinarily never put on the car.

Another racket is for a dealer to accept "gifts." As mentioned above, the OPA discovered dealers taking in diamond rings and even city lots.

A complicated procurement system was uncovered in an Eastern city. The racketeers had stooges put their names on dealers' lists; when the stooge got his car, it went to the ring for a $1,000 bonus. Another $600 was added to the cost to the ultimate consumer.

The most lucrative and most dangerous of all the car rackets is to smuggle automobiles across the border into Canada or Mexico and into the export market, where even more fabulous prices are offered for American-made automobiles. The OPA has the cooperation of other interested federal agencies in trying to stop this operation.

The enforcement campaign has been so widespread that little publicity has been given to it. Nineteen were indicted by a grand jury in Newark. An agent in New York bought a used station wagon allegedly at almost $1,200 over the ceiling. A Des Moines dealer was accused of gypping twenty-six customers by low trade-in allowances. A Springfield, Missouri, salesman was charged with asking $2,200 over the ceiling for a new Buick. In Evansville, Indiana, a veteran led agents to a dealer who, he claimed, had offered a car at above the ceiling. In Detroit, twenty-two pleaded guilty of running a $3,000,000 used-car racket.

The veterans have been the chief victims of the auto black market. Many veterans sold their cars for a nest egg for the wife and family when they were inducted; when they are discharged, they look around for a replacement. They put their names on the dealers' lists. But many veterans have complained to the OPA that they have seen "war profiteers" riding around in that shiny new car while their names have been passed over on the lists. The OPA has encouraged veterans to sue, and ask for an injunction against the offending dealers.

Other veterans, desperately in need of cars, have had to plunk down their savings and their terminal-leave pay to buy one. In at least one community, Houston, Texas, veterans have organized to help the OPA break the racket. In many other isolated cases, veterans have walked into the local OPA offices and led agents to the dealers.

The consumer, if he only knew it, has the law on his side and can trim the racketeer. The first step is to report to the local Price Control Board. The buyer who has been charged over the ceiling not only can collect the amount charged over the ceiling; he can also sue for treble damages and get three times the amount of the overcharge plus attorney fees and court costs. Scores of these suits, encouraged by the OPA, are being filed every week. A good many shamefaced dealers have settled on the spot rather than be dragged into court.

There is no danger of the buyer losing that precious new car. The OPA emphasizes that.

The OPA needs the help of the consumers to smash the racket. The automobile assembly lines which produced three million cars a year were shut down or converted to war for four years. The current rate of production is two million cars a year. It will be a year, maybe much longer, before supply meets the demand. Then will come that wonderful day of justice when the buyer can walk coldly by the dealer who was selling cars at double the price.

There are a few simple facts the prospective customer should know before he goes car shopping. All cars—both new and second-hand—have OPA price ceilings on them. The local Price Control Board has these figures, as well as legitimate costs for extra equipment. It is against the law for any dealer to sell above ceilings. It is illegal for a dealer to require any kind of "side pay-

ment." The buyer cannot be required to make extra cash payments that are not shown on the sales record. It is illegal for a dealer to require the buyer to purchase anything he doesn't want in order to get a car. No law requires him to trade in one car to get another. If you do trade in a car, you are entitled to a reasonable value. The OPA has ruled what a "reasonable value" is. The customer cannot be required to buy the car "on time." He can choose any finance company he wants. With the sale of every new car, the dealer must prepare and give the buyer a certificate of transfer showing all charges.

One weapon which would go a long way toward smashing the black market would be for the manufacturers to take away the franchise of any dealer convicted of over-ceiling sales. The franchises are worth thousands of dollars, and dealers would think twice about making an easy profit now if they knew they might lose their franchise.

Thus far, the OPA has heard only a grapevine rumor that one manufacturer, Ford, is considering using this weapon to clear an ugly stain from the reputation of the automobile industry.

Can France's Empire Survive?

BY ANDREW ROTH

Marseilles

UNDER the impact of insurgent colonial nationalism, France's own material weakness, and the jealous interest of rival powers, the French empire would seem to be in danger of dissolution. Actually, however, it is not; for France seems to have learned a timely lesson—that only a more liberal empire can survive.

None of the "Quiz Kids," or "Brain Trusters," of France can yet define the structure of the "French Union"—the phrase which has now replaced "French Empire" in describing both the forty million people of France proper and the seventy million in its overseas territories. Its precise structure is still being worked out. But it is already clear that the new structure will not be the highly centralized, assimilationist empire of the old-style French imperialists. In their scheme France held an industrial and economic monopoly, and its colonies were bound to it by a dependence on its manufactures, markets, and great monopolistic banks like the Bank of Indo-China. Each territory was prompted in its allegiance by the French army and police and a colonial élite which—whether of Arab, Negro, Indo-Chinese, or West Indian background—was educated in France and assimilated to French culture.

World War II soon spotlighted the fatuousness of this policy. Once France, the industrial center, was overrun in 1940, Indo-China fell like a ripe plum into Japanese hands, and the African territories were of little use by themselves as a base for anti-Nazi resistance.

The pre-war policy is even more ridiculous in the cold light of the post-war world. In most French territories the inhabitants are asserting a desire to develop their own national personality rather than become merely imitation Frenchmen. In the most recent elections in Algeria the Moslem electorate voted overwhelmingly for the Algerian Manifesto Party, whose program can be summed up in one of their slogans: "We do not want to be bastard sons of France!" The strength and popular support of the Indo-Chinese movement for independent nationhood has been enough to compel the French government to recognize the Viet Nam Republic as a free state within the French Union.

Even if it wanted to, liberated France does not have the economic and military strength to suppress all the nationalist stirrings in its territories. According to official estimates France emerged from the war a trillion francs (or eight billion dollars) poorer than in 1938. Factories which cannot provide reconstruction material for France itself cannot underwrite extensive colonial expeditions. It is estimated that Indo-Chinese military operations have already set the French treasury back some $200,000,000. Short of man-power, the French at one time recruited criminals, and later German P. O. W.'s, to strengthen the Indo-China garrison; and according to American military authorities, French troops which recently left Marseilles for Indo-China apparently felt themselves so underequipped that they stole more than thirty American jeeps and stripped them for spare parts.

The French are not only fully cognizant of their own material weaknesses but—particularly after being edged out in Syria and Lebanon by the British—are sensitive to the possibility that other powers may offer better terms to France's dissident territories. It is significant that last winter a *Nation* article of mine, somewhat sympathetic

ANDREW ROTH, a regular contributor to The Nation *and author of "Dilemma in Japan," is en route to Asia via Europe and the Middle East. He has recently been broadcasting from Cairo for the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is his third report on the present condition and future prospects of the great pre-war colonial empires.*

to the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese, which was reprinted in the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune*, brought forth the accusation in the rightist press that I was "an advance agent for American capitalists." This sensitivity toward encroachment on French interests is also strong on the left: both Communists and Socialists emphasize the necessity for winning the loyalty of the Arabs in French North Africa to prevent them from gravitating toward the British-influenced Arab League.

FRENCH SOLAR SYSTEM

Under the pressure of nationalistic demands, their own material weakness, the possibility of better terms being offered by other powers, and the heightened respect for freedom in a France that itself has been liberated, the French government has been moving toward better relations with its colonies with enough speed to provoke shrill screams of anguish from diehard imperialists in the colonial service and most colonial businessmen. In general the movement is toward decentralization: the new arrangement will resemble a solar system with France as the sun and the other members of the French Union revolving about it at various distances from the parent body. The orbit of the Viet Nam Republic—which is pushing toward full dominion status—will be on the outermost periphery. French Equatorial Africa—where national consciousness is at a minimum and the chief current goal is full French citizenship—will revolve close to the parent body. The orbits of the other territories will be found in between, varying according to the attraction of France, the repulsion of native nationalist forces, and the drawing power of other countries. No simple pattern is possible because the French Union embraces peoples in many stages of development and has the additional complication of over a million Europeans implanted in overwhelmingly Moslem-Arab North Africa.

The first timid step toward decentralization and greater local autonomy in the territories was taken at the famous Brazzaville Conference which was opened in January, 1944, by General De Gaulle and numbered among those present the heads of all the African colonies, as well as delegates from the Consultative Assembly which had just been established in Algiers. Brazzaville recommended considerable decentralization of political power—to be wielded by governors-general in consultation with local assemblies—and decentralized economic planning, including greater industrialization and improved agricultural techniques. Although Brazzaville marked an advance in colonial thinking, it was hardly an "anti-colonial revolution," as some describe it. It is not *necessarily* an improvement for the colonial peoples if their French governor-general has more power, particularly if the government at home is more liberal than the official in the field—as is frequently the case. Furthermore, while the conference advocated extended education, it specified the language used should be French and suggested a delay of five years before forced labor should be abolished. It was silent on the important questions of the economic domination of the colonies by the giant trusts and banks, and of whether the colonial peoples should have freedom of speech, movement, assembly, and organization.

The real improvement in French colonial policy began last winter when General de Gaulle was replaced by Socialist Félix Gouin as Premier and Socialist Marius Moutet assumed the portfolio of the Ministry of Overseas France—formerly the Ministry of Colonies—a post he held in Blum's Popular Front cabinet and which he holds today under Premier Bidault. Soon after Moutet took office he declared in a speech to the Constituent Assembly that the French government could no longer act as a lord or master, but only as a friend and partner. Actions proved that this was more than good French rhetoric. On March 2 a general amnesty in Algeria freed virtually all of the nationalist leaders who had been imprisoned in the wake of severe riots in May, 1945. Four days later the way was paved for peace in Indo-China by the recognition of the Viet Nam Republic as a free state within the French Union, entitled to its own parliament, army, and foreign representation. In April the French Constituent Assembly abolished forced labor in the colonies. In May a law was passed to make French citizens of all —rather than merely the elite—in overseas territories. Furthermore, a number of other measures, including the elimination of discrimination in justice and civil service appointments have been put through. And the successful application of these liberal measures is made more likely by the emergence of a number of very liberal career officials in the Ministry of Overseas France, headed by able, energetic Director of Political Affairs Laurentie, who made his reputation as a progressive governor of Madagascar.

MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN

However, many important problems still remain virtually untouched. In some of the meetings held in West Africa in July to celebrate the granting of French citizenship to all inhabitants of overseas territories, rope barriers still divided the audiences into Negro and white listeners. French social-security legislation and other social laws do not even apply to Algeria—which is technically part of France—much less the other territories. In North Africa the Arab language, although the mother tongue of the great majority, is not recognized. In Martinique, "Pearl of the Antilles," the economy is still monopolized by the "Ten Families" while the majority of the population earns about $75 a year cutting cane. Throughout the overseas territories the power of the giant banks and commercial companies still remains strong, while the voice of the impoverished landless cultivator can only be heard feebly.

Even worse than these unsolved problems are those

cases where, having taken two steps forward, the French seem to be trying to take a step backward. The outstanding case is Indo-China where in March the French agreed that the boundaries of the Republic of Viet Nam should be determined by referendum. Yet, on the day after the Viet Nam delegation left for Paris to work out a detailed solution of their status, the local French authorities inspired and "recognized" an anti-Viet Nam Republic of Cochin-China, headed by wealthy collaborationists, and also hastened to sponsor secessionism in the rich mountain plateau of South Annam. In terms of traditional "divide-and-rule" colonial politics this may be a smart maneuver, for these southern areas are the granaries of Indo-China, and if the French hold them, they will be able to impose severe restraints on the development of the Viet Nam Republic. But it bears no resemblance to the brave spirit of the new French colonial policy.

It was a survival of the old, unilateral colonial spirit which moved the local authorities in Indo-China to call a conference of the "Indo-Chinese Federation" at Dalat on August 1 before the organization of this federation had been discussed in the French-Viet Nam negotiations at Fontainebleau. Quite naturally, the Viet Nam negotiators suspended their participation, while the French Socialist and Communist press attacked the Indo-Chinese authorities for their "two-faced game."

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Part of the reason for such contradictions between words and deeds lies in the existence within the present French government of very different strains of thought on colonial policy. The High Commissioner in Indo-China, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, who doffed his vestments as head of the Carmelite monks to reenter the navy, is close to the M. R. P., the party of Premier Bidault. The M. R. P. is very conservative on colonial affairs, and contains in its leadership people with colonial interests such as Max André, former director of the Franco-Chinese Bank, the second biggest bank in Indo-China. It is noteworthy that when the Viet Nam delegation objected to Admiral d'Argenlieu as head of the French delegation negotiating with them at Fontainebleau, Premier Bidault replaced him with André.

In the current Constituent Assembly discussions on the French Union, the M. R. P.—with the support of many conservative colonial officials—has favored the immediate imposition of a constitutional structure which will, in effect, limit overseas representation before the tide of nationalism gets into full swing. It favors siphoning this representation off into a separate chamber (Assembly of the Union) and a separate cabinet (Council of State) both of them heavily loaded with French and representatives of French puppets such as the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco. The M. R. P. favors action on these proposals by the present Constituent Assembly without further consultation with colonial peoples beyond the minority of representatives they have in the present Assembly.

Against these M. R. P. plans the Communists have put up a stiff, if somewhat opportunistic, opposition. They are pushing hard for the extension of political rights in the colonies, for almost everywhere that impoverished colonials have the opportunity to vote, they vote left. Both representatives of Catholic Martinique are Communists, and the delegation of the Algerian Manifesto Party, which swept the Moslem electorate, is seated in the Constituent Assembly between the Communists and Socialists. The President of the Viet Nam Republic, Ho Chi Minh, was a charter member of the French Communist Party. As a result of this strong leftward current in the colonies, the Communists favor the representation of overseas territories directly in the National Assembly, rather than in the separate, loaded chamber proposed by the M. R. P. They also advocate that statutes for the French Union be written by a separate Constituent Assembly with major participation by the overseas majority and that greatly expanded powers be granted to popularly elected overseas legislatures.

The Communists are curiously circumspect about their colonial position. I canvassed the main Communist bookshop twice and could not find a book or pamphlet on the subject, merely a very general article in a recent issue of their theoretical magazine *Cahiers de Communisme*. When I confronted stocky, confident Communist leader Jacques Duclos with this fact he grinned broadly and said that this was "a matter of tactics, not of principle;" the colonial question is "very delicate," and (shades of Earl Browder!) the French Communists have no intention of losing any votes in the coming election by telling Frenchmen they are imperialists.

As in most French political matters, the balance of power on colonial affairs is in the hands of the Socialists, and, although lately they have voted with the M. R. P. on a number of subjects, on colonial matters they have recently swung close to the Communists. After remaining somewhat aloof on Indo-Chinese questions for some time, on July 23 *Le Populaire's* editor, Oreste Rosenfeld, swung into a sharp attack on the "duplicity" of French activities in Cochin-China, "where the chief interests of colonial capitalism are concentrated," and strongly supported the position of the Viet Nam delegation, including their demand for representation in the United Nations.

In the same week veteran Socialist Charles Dumas, after attending the Congress of North African Socialists at Algiers, urged upon the French Socialist Party all possible haste in extending to Africa all French social laws, improved education, industrialization, and agrarian reforms. "France will only be able to maintain its position," he warned, "if it brings social justice as well as liberty."

Russia's Next Five Years

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

PERHAPS the best yardstick of Russia's strength today is the new Five Year Plan. The potentialities of the plan, its achievements to date, its shortcomings and proposals for correcting them occupy a prominent place in the Soviet press and, one suspects, in the reports of foreign ambassadors in Moscow to their governments. The Five Year Plan is being discussed by experts and laymen, by soldiers and sailors, in the factories and on the collective farms, at rest homes and sports clubs. Its promise and daring have roused the imagination of the young; for them it is a sequel to the exciting story of the war, and the names of Stalingrad and Magnitogorsk, city of steel and city of electricity, spell new adventures in a continuing chapter of Soviet history. Even foreign journalists from more or less hostile camps, remembering previous experiences, are wary in their predictions; rather than risk skeptical criticism, they accept at least the fact of Russia's determination to succeed. Thus, Emile Magnus, who recently returned from the Soviet Union, commented in the conservative *Monde Illustré* of August 10: "People talk of miracles. The miracle is the socialist state's capacity for work."

I have my doubts about supernatural explanations. The churches in Russia are open and well frequented these days, but the Soviet Union bases neither its politics nor its economics on miracles. What distinguishes the new Five Year Plan from similar projects being tested with limited success in other parts of Europe is its realistic approach: the essential trait of Soviet planning has always been a healthy empiricism. This time the starting point is a recognition of the limitations revealed by Russian industry during the war. Taken by itself, the record was impressive—factories had doubled, some had even tripled, the production quotas assigned to them. But the fact remains that, despite the spirit of sacrifice displayed by the workers on the home front, the Red Army received twice as much equipment from the Allies as it did from Russian war plants. Moreover, it was not only a question of amount; even before the war the Russians had the greatest respect for American industrial techniques, a respect that increased when American equipment first arrived on the Eastern front and when the magnificently armed American soldiers appeared on the battlefields of Europe. To my surprise, I heard little talk about the atomic bomb in Moscow, but the Russians are acutely aware of American leadership in technical accomplishment.

Stalin did not blink at the conclusions to be drawn from the lessons of the war: that the tempo and scope of Russian industrialization must be increased in order to insure the country's economic independence in a period of international crisis. According to the Premier's statement, the aim of preparing Russia for any emergency will be achieved only when production of iron, steel, and coal is four times greater than pre-war output and oil production has been doubled. That will take many years, perhaps two more five-year plans, but the present plan, even if it should not be fully achieved—though most serious observers are convinced that it will be—justifies the assertion I made in my first article that Russia is daily growing stronger.

The factor of security, of safeguarding the country against any future attack, is as evident in Russia's Five Year Plan as in its foreign policy. But it would be a mistake to interpret the plan exclusively in terms of military preparedness. Should genuine universal disarmament become a reality tomorrow, the U. S. S. R. would still have a Five Year Plan, equally ambitious in purpose though, of course, different in emphasis. The fierce will to repair the ravages of Nazi aggression, to resume the immense effort of socialist construction interrupted, after twelve years of progress, by the war, would produce the same tempo now being displayed.

If the present troubled situation of the world—which has ended the war but not yet found peace—forces the Russians to put production of iron, steel, and coal before that of consumers' goods, still a good part of those resources are being used to build a country in which life will be more enjoyable and exciting for the average man; side by side with the billions of rubles allocated to heavy industry are enormous appropriations for new cities, parks, workers' rest-homes, theaters, cinemas, libraries, and schools.

The five main headings of the report submitted by Mr. Voznesenski, chairman of the Gosplan, give a good idea of its multiple objectives:

1. Increase in industrial production of almost 50 per cent over pre-war levels.

2. Revival of agriculture and consumers'-goods in-

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, European editor of The Nation, *here describes Russia's new Five Year Plan in the last of four articles reporting his recent visit to the U. S. S. R. Other aspects of Soviet life will be dealt with from time to time in Mr. del Vayo's regular page, soon to be resumed.*

dustries in order to guarantee the material well-being of the Soviet peoples.

3. Guaranties of new technical progress in all branches of the national economy, providing a strong impetus for increased production.

4. Guaranties of a rapid accumulation of socialist capital, with a total, centrally-administered investment of 250 billion rubles for the reestablishment and development of the national economy.

5. Further increase in the defense potential: the army to be equipped with the most modern material.

In the devastated regions the Five Year Plan has already begun to demonstrate its possibilities. When the Germans swept through White Russia, they destroyed practically every industrial plant and business house, leaving mountains of rubble as reminders that here had stood busy cities like Minsk, Gomel, Vitebsk, and Orsha. The number of farmhouses made uninhabitable exceeds 350,000. The entire area has been reduced to the level of 1913. German occupation authorities themselves estimated that it would take ten years, at the very minimum, to rebuild White Russia. Today it is certain that it will be accomplished within the life of the present Five Year Plan. Industrial production in the last quarter of 1945 had risen to twice that of the first quarter. But as in the rest of the country, the plan is not limited even in the devastated areas to reconstruction; it calls for new construction on a much larger scale than before the war. The achievements in the electrical industry since the start of the plan indicate that by 1950 White Russia will be producing twice as much power as in 1940.

The push given to already existing industries has meant the rapid expansion of new developments, particularly housing. A fever of building, which started in the devastated districts, has spread to all parts of the country. Local authorities in cities like Leningrad are swamped with requests for living quarters—a family of five will modestly ask for a single room. Moscow has been literally invaded by people from other regions left homeless by the war. The suffering inflicted by the scorched-earth policy of the Germans—which immunized me against any sentimental grief at the sight of shattered Berlin—together with the desire to compensate the people for the new, tremendous sacrifices demanded of them, has led the Soviet Union to set aside 42.3 billion rubles for housing.

In rebuilding White Russia, the planners intend to utilize the region's own raw materials in order to keep costs as low as possible and impose no extra strain on the transportation system. With much of the rolling stock destroyed in the war, the problem of providing Russia with an efficient system of communications—a problem that drove some of the best administrators of previous five-year plans half crazy—has again assumed critical importance. The present plan provides not merely for resumption of pre-war operations, but a big increase in the production of locomotives and railroad carriages: 7,585 locomotives as compared with 5,960 produced under the second Five Year Plan; 472,000 freight cars as against the former record of 255,000. In addition to repairing destroyed lines, the Soviet Union will build 7,880 additional kilometers of track; not only are major lines, like Donbas-Krivoi Rog, to be restored, but new railroads will link the powerful industrial centers of the Urals, Russia's great war arsenal, and push their way across Siberia. The plan has allocated 40.1 billion rubles to these projects.

Simultaneously with the development of railroads, provisions have been made for the expansion of the automobile industry; under the Five Year Plan 500,000 new cars (428,000 trucks, 65,000 passenger cars, 6,500 autobuses) will reach the market. The Russians are terribly proud of their latest passenger-car models, especially the streamlined ZIS-110 turned out by the Moscow Auto Plant, and the "Pobeda" (Victory) launched by the Gorky factory. Here again praise for American techniques is heard; an engineer points to a model and asks with a broad smile, "Quite American, isn't it?"

While in devastated regions like White Russia the Five Year Plan admirably combines reconstruction and construction, it is in the areas untouched by the war that the effort to build a strong, prosperous Russia is seen at its most impressive.

The Ural range is one of the world's richest mountain chains, and the variety of its mineral resources have made it possible for the Russians to perfect an extraordinarily hard steel. It was with special reference to this region that M. Quaroni, the Italian Ambassador to Moscow, told me that not even a tenth of Russia's industrial potential had yet been tapped. The Ambassador, who speaks Russian like a native, is a veteran diplomat, with an open mind to everything that is happening in the Eastern countries where he has spent most of his career. It was not until after the October revolution that the Russians began the systematic exploitation of this area whose fabulous riches had been described in Russian legend and poetry as far back as the fifteenth century. During the war the smelting furnaces of Magnitogorsk poured out a steady stream of steel for Russian guns; today they are producing it for reconstruction. By 1950 Magnitogorsk alone will be turning out 70 per cent more cast iron and 110 per cent more steel and subsidiary products than in 1940. The Ural region as a whole will be producing 2.5 times more cast iron than in 1940; coal and petroleum output will be respectively 2.7 and 3.2 times higher than pre-war levels. Under the Five Year Plan the Urals will become self-sufficient in electrical power through the construction of a new hydroelectric station on the Kama River near Molotov City and of eight other stations along the Ufa River. A new housing development for metal workers at Magnitogorsk is being built

in record time; individual units erected last winter in 40 days, were put up in the spring in 27 days.

Apart from Magnitogorsk, new steel mills are going up in Nizhni-Tagil and Chelyabinsk, while the one at Orsk-Khalilov will soon begin to manufacture a new metal containing a high percentage of chrome and nickel. The Five Year Plan for the Urals also provides for the maximum utilization of the big aluminum factories in Uralo-Bachiro. To make all this possible, forty-nine new coal mines will be opened during the next five years.

While White Russia and the Urals illustrate the application of the Five Year Plan in typical devastated and undevastated areas, a survey of the immense Soviet territory tells the same story with minor variations. A single figure reveals the breadth of this industrial effort: the total volume of industrial production for the last year of the Five Year Plan is set at 205 billion rubles (based on 1926-27 prices), in other words a general increase of 48 per cent over pre-war figures.

Although the greatest concentration is on heavy industry, generous provision is made for the producers of consumers' goods. The textile industry is expected to turn out 4.5 million meters of cotton, 150 million meters of wool, 141 million meters of silk, 240 million pairs of shoes, and 580 million pairs of socks and stockings. And while agriculture has been pushed to the utmost limits, the Soviet administrators are none the less hoping to achieve an annual 17 per cent step-up in the food industry. At first it was thought that rationing could be lifted this year, but in the light of the 1946 harvest, the Council of Ministers decided to continue it into 1947.

Figures on its output of goods for consumers have little intrinsic meaning, however, because Russia plans to augment its own production by large purchases in neighboring countries as the result of bi-lateral trade pacts. While I was in Moscow a delegation from Prague headed by Gottwald and Masaryk was putting the final touches on an agreement which will secure to Russia much of Czechoslovakia's production in light industry. Nor are these arrangements limited to the Soviet Union's area of influence. In Stockholm I found the Swedish Socialist government, hardly to be accused of partiality for the Bolsheviks, much pleased with its new pact, which will enormously expand Swedish business in both machinery and consumers' goods. The same is true for Switzerland.

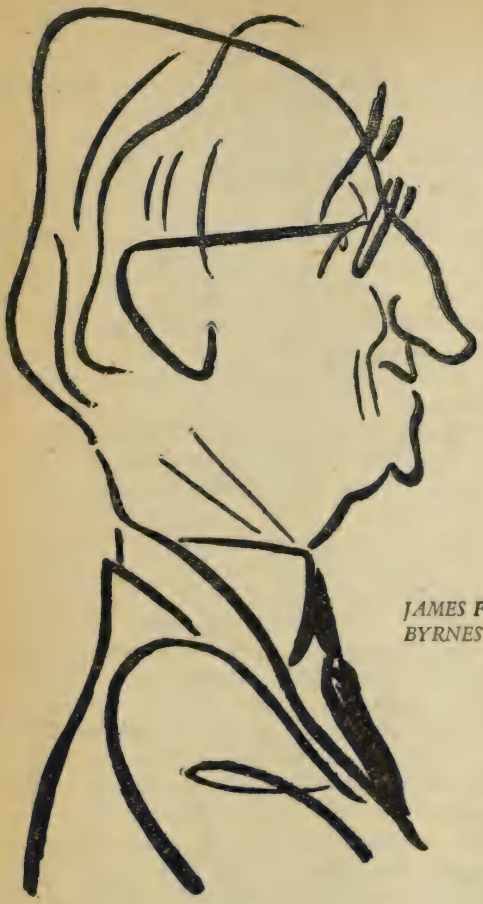
In the cultural field Soviet planning seems to recognize no boundaries. I heard leading officials say that when the mass-education program of the Five Year Plan is completed, the Russians will be the most literate people in the world. I arrived in Moscow just after the close of the school term; 555,000 students and 50,000 scientific workers had received degrees. By the time the Five Year Plan has reached the mid-way mark, between 120 and 130 thousand specialists will have graduated from universities and technical schools.

The Soviet Union has just emerged from a battle for survival that ended with the Red Army's victorious entry into Berlin. Now it faces as hard an ordeal—the battle of reconstruction. But the Russian people are tackling this fight with the same confidence in ultimate success. Many casualties will be registered in the course of the Five Year Plan; from time to time we shall read of replacements in the leadership, of shifts from one post to another, or of wholesale dismissals, as, recently, in the Ukraine, which may give the impression that Russia is on the edge of an internal crack-up. In many cases these reports will mean simply that the principle of "the right man for the job" is being ruthlessly applied, alike to the highest-ranking official and the unskilled worker in steel mill or factory. Given the nature of the human race, perhaps we must expect industrial fraud and corruption. But in Russia these are dangerous games, not only because the socialist state is rigid in such matters, but because in the popular conscience there is a latent revulsion against anyone who seeks personal benefit in a common endeavor. Riding in the Moscow subway one day, I sat beside a young Russian soldier. He glanced at the book I was reading, noticed that it was in Spanish, and told me proudly that he had learned that language by himself. We got to talking, and when he discovered that I came from the United States, one of his first questions was, "Is it true that war profits are allowed in America?" He could understand profits in peace time, but the idea of making fortunes from war contracts while soldiers were dying at the front seemed to him incredible.

One should not, however, lay disproportionate emphasis on the difficulties the Soviet Union is likely to encounter in carrying out the Five Year Plan; Hitler made that mistake in evaluating Russian internal developments from 1937 to 1941—and it cost him Germany. Selling the Five Year Plan to the Russians is not as difficult a job as people imagine in countries where the working class is not in power. It would be ridiculous to deny the element of compulsion that accompanies any attempt at a planned economy, especially when the demands on the people are of such extraordinary magnitude. But it would be equally foolish to ignore the difference in attitude between a worker in a socialist country and one in a country of free enterprise. As far back as 1918 Lenin predicted that socialist competition would play a decisive role in the transformation of society. "Capitalism," he said, "produced a working capacity entirely unknown in the era of serfdom. Capitalism can and will be ultimately overcome because socialism will produce an even greater working capacity."

This is the attitude that inspires the Five Year Plan. And in this crucial period, when the most urgent task is to prevent the crystallization of two hostile continental blocs, those who forget the socialist factor will never understand the source of Russian strength.

Paris



JAMES F. BYRNES

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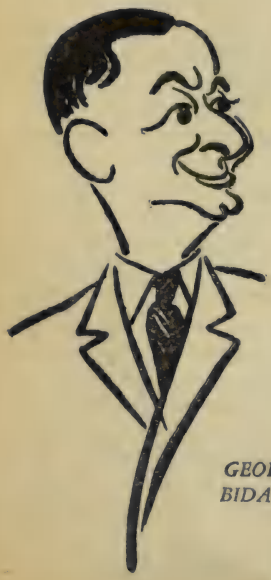
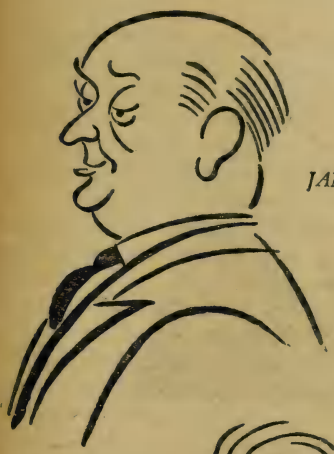


GEORGE BIDAULT

ERNEST BEVIN

Profiles

BY OSCAR BERGER



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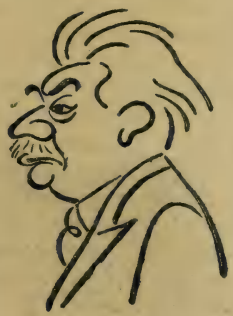

DMITRI MANUILSKY

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK

VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV

Democracy in Manhattan

BY PAUL KLEIN

ON August 20 a primary election was held in Manhattan's Second Assembly District—held, that is, by the machines, and lost by the people. We have heard much in the past years about the disappearance of election frauds, the clean-up of city politics, the new, pure era in New York City voting; but Tuesday's exhibition is unrivalled in local political history.

John J. Lamula, father of New York State rent control and constant supporter of liberal measures both in private life and during his tenure as State Assemblyman in 1943-44, was entered in the primary races of all three parties. Denied backing by the regular Republican organization for his failure to follow reactionary party lines, he was indorsed by the Young Republican Club. (Lamula, by the way, was the only Republican ever to be elected from this traditional Tammany district, which brought up Al Smith.) In the American Labor Party and Democratic primaries Lamula faced Louis di Salvio, incumbent; in the Republican, Alfred D. Licato.

In the pre-primary electioneering, when Lamula was making street-corner speeches, malpractices began to appear. Thugs threatened storekeepers who let him use electricity for his loudspeakers; false issues were raised; local citizens were intimidated. Mayor O'Dwyer had to send extra police protection into the area. Two days before the election a brother of the local Republican leader was arrested for defacing posters.

It was on primary day, itself, however, that the democratic process was trussed-up and laid aside by the machine politicians. The story was unfolded in the Lamula headquarters that night as his official watchers despondently returned with their district tallies; it was a saga of every modern and old, sly and open, domineering and wheedling trick known to ward-heelers and their gutter familiars. Most of the Lamula watchers were well-meaning but inexperienced young people; they knew their rights generally, but were unprepared to cope with the connivance of officials appointed by the Board of Elections, and the apathy (in some cases this was a euphemism) of the police. Although a large portion of the crooked operations occurred during the counting, enough went on during the voting to shock the watchers. Several attempts were made to ring in "floaters" to vote for people who had died since the last election, or who were away for the summer. One gentleman who returned from the country just to exercise his franchise found that he had already voted!

THE AUTHOR of this article was an official watcher in the recent New York City primaries. "I emerged disgusted," he wrote, "and determined to help clean up local politics. Such a clean-up depends on an informed citizenry—and for that reason I have written this article."

Many boards did not have the required two Republican and two Democratic inspectors at each table; several complaints were made by watchers that only three inspectors attended. Two watchers were even impressed into inspection duty in the absence of regular officials. At one board a young man had his life threatened by a "lady" inspector who resented his insistence that he be allowed to carry out his official privilege of inspecting signatures. Another watcher asked that an arrest be made when an inspector offered a voter money for his carfare (plus a little extra for his trouble); however, because the voter didn't take the money (saying, "What? With a cop here? Later!"), the policeman on duty didn't think the incident warranted an arrest. It was at the same poll that an inspector "helped" aged voters who were having trouble with their ballots, by opening them up—*outside*, not in a booth with an inspector from the other party, as the law requires—and dismissed the watcher's complaint with "Well, see? We're so honest at this board that everything can be done out in the open!" Another watcher was kidded for taking his duties so seriously—kidded by a Tammany ward-heeler who remembered that "in the old days the boys used to crook elections, but no more. You might as well go home, get some rest. It don't pay to crook elections these days." This was the same inspector who was caught a few hours later, during the counting, marking up the ballots he was tabulating. When challenged, he drew the pencil quickly back towards himself, thus adding another illegal X to the ballot right in front of him, and said: "Naw, you got me wrong. See, I pulled the pencil away from the table like that just so you could see I wasn't marking up the ballots."

It was the same story in all thirty-eight election districts. At one, they counted half of Lamula's votes void—sometimes slyly adding some blotch to back up their story, and sometimes, in districts where the audience and/or cops were their own men, not even bothering to make it look good. At another, they counted blank votes for Licato or de Salvio. In another district, ten blank ballots were put aside to be handled separately; the watcher looked at something else for a moment, and when he turned back there were only eight blank ballots and the machine candidates had acquired two more votes. In all the districts the watchers were bullied and harangued for exercising their right to challenge or protest votes. In the districts with the most experienced inspec-

tors (hence, with the greatest number of crooked votes)', the inspectors would hold a phony plebiscite and then "compromise" with the watcher—that is, allow him to officially register three or four out of twenty-four or twenty-five protests.

In one district that will long be remembered by Lamula supporters, dishonest counting was so rampant that the young lady watcher, unable to cope any longer with the threats of the hostile inspectors, called headquarters for aid. Lamula, himself, went straight to the poll in question, where he was informed that his watcher was merely having hysterics, and that he had been given a most careful and fair count, especially evidenced by the fact that in the disputed count—the Republican—he had *won*, twenty to sixteen. After a few words with the far-from-hysterical, but very angry, watcher, Lamula demanded and got an immediate recount: somehow the vote changed from the previous twenty-sixteen to twenty-three-eight in favor of Lamula!

Consider the financial outlay necessary to the campaign of a non-machine candidate and you will see why the thousand-dollar cost of a recount is prohibitive. Consider one more thing: the temper of citizens, although slow to kindle, is a difficult thing to control when once aroused. We need only look at the recent events in Tennessee to see what may happen in other sections if the officials themselves do not change local political practices. Our citizens, many of them young and returned from the war, want and demand fair and peaceful elections, but if these are not forthcoming they will demand and seize merely *fair* elections. Let us not force violence. Let us make these allegedly outdated practices be, in fact, outdated; let us have the voice of the people a true voice, not a reproduction through a mouthpiece.

A Crisis at Fisk

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

THERE is a crisis developing at Fisk University which is of more than local or even just racial significance. Fisk is at Nashville, Tennessee, and is one of the oldest institutions for the higher education of Negroes. Its body of alumni form a distinguished group, numbering today perhaps 3,500 living graduates.

As long as segregated colleges are necessary, a colored man, if properly trained, should head a school for colored students for obvious social and psychological reasons. But presidential timber among Negroes is rare because of limited education of opportunities, lack of cultural contacts, and, especially, lack of business and administrative experience. Gradually, however, Negro presidents are being selected, as witness John Hope at Atlanta, Mordecai Johnson at Howard, and Horace Mann Bond at Lincoln, Pennsylvania. In other words, while it is difficult to find the right colored man for the presidency of a Negro college, it is no longer impossible.

When a vacancy in the presidency was imminent at Fisk, an ideal Negro candidate for the position was presented, who had the practically unanimous backing of the alumni. Charles Harris Wesley was born in Kentucky in 1891. He is a graduate and trustee of Fisk; a doctor of philosophy from Harvard in history (1925); teacher and professor of history at Howard, 1913-1938; and dean of the Howard graduate school, 1938-1942. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow and has received an award from the Social Science Research Council; he has written books and articles, among them an outstanding history of Negro labor in the United States. For the past four years he has been president of Wilberforce University, in Ohio, and has conducted its affairs with marked success, reducing its debt, increasing its enrollment, and raising its scholastic standards.

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But the Board of Trustees of Fisk University at its June meeting postponed the election of a new president, although no other candidacies had been seriously advanced. The alumni charge that there were two reasons for the delay: first, an objection to giving a Negro a voice in the financial affairs of the university; and second, the white South's fear of encouraging intelligent and liberal leadership of Negroes by men of their own race.

Fisk has an endowment of about three million dollars. No Negro trustee is on the finance committee, and the financial affairs of the university are known in detail to only a few trustees. It has been charged that university funds are wastefully administered. One trustee is said to receive some $22,000 annually for handling the portfolio of investments, and it is alleged that the office of the vice-chairman of the board receives $12,000 annually for "promotion and publicity." The auditors in their last report declared that they had not examined the portfolio of investments.

But an even more serious matter is now at hand. In May the campaign of the United Negro College Fund was launched in Nashville by the retiring white president of Fisk University. At this luncheon, of course, no Negro

could appear. There were present, according to the Nashville *Banner* (May 2, 1946), Nathan Adams, of the First National Bank of Dallas, Texas, "who is a leader in the fund campaign"; Edward Potter, Jr., Southerner and vice-president of the Fisk trustees; and several other whites, Northern and Southern.

Potter explained that the white Nashville members of the Fisk Board "have not approved of some things" at Fisk but thought it was better "to try to improve situations drifting into bad directions" than to desert and let the school "go to rout—to the left wing." President Jones complained that the attempt to name Wesley was precipitate. And then, according to the *Banner*, Adams, the Texas banker,

> strongly denounced the present federal administration, communism, and Eastern meddling as confusing the racial problems of the South. "The Negro won't work as long as Mr. Truman gives us Santa Claus in every community," Adams charged. He said he wondered "how many of us know how far to the left we have already gone" and predicted that solution of present-day problems is impossible "as long as we remain blind to the left wing." Pointing out that adoption of FEPC philosophies would mean we have come a long way from freedom, Adams warned, "Don't let them take the Democratic Party completely away from us. What are we, a bunch of morons?"

Obviously, it would be impossible today to find in the United States many educated Negroes who did not believe in the FEPC, and very few who were not eternally grateful for the forward-looking social work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If it is the policy of the United Negro College Fund to deprive such men of leadership among their own group, it is time that this was clearly stated.

There can be no doubt as to the present situation: the Northern white trustees hesitate to put a Negro into the presidency; they would prefer a complacent, even if second-class, white man. The white Southern trustees would consent to a Negro president provided he was a Negro amenable to their guidance and not "radical"—that is, not an advocate of the FEPC, the abolition of the poll tax, or any New Deal policies. It is rumored that they are in partial agreement on a man of this sort.

Perhaps the time has come when Negro higher education can no longer depend upon gifts from the North or cooperation with the white South but must be supported by the students and alumni themselves. It would be a hard task, for education today is costly, and the alumni and students of Negro colleges are almost entirely in the lower-income brackets. But whatever the cost, Negro education cannot be dictated to by uncandid financiers in the North, and by so-called "liberal" Southerners who are trying to stop the Negro from thinking.

California's Central Valley Project

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

FIVE hundred miles long and a hundred miles wide, California's great Central Valley Basin is about half as large as England. Containing over 6,000,000 acres of irrigable land (twice the amount actually under irrigation, the valley has about 50 per cent of the state's cash farm income. Although many streams flow through the valley, it remained a semi-arid area until comparatively recent times. The northern part of the valley has about one-third of the land and two-thirds of the water. Floods in the north, drought in the south. Most farmers in the southern end of the valley pump irrigation water from wells which tap underground seepage from local streams. Over a period of years the underground water level has fallen at an alarming rate.

Since 1874 the people of the valley have been looking for a development plan that would harness the energies and integrate the resources of the basin. Central Valley Project is, finally, that scheme. It consists of a complex system of water works and power facilities designed to furnish irrigation water to areas now having none or not enough; to develop hydroelectric power; to prevent floods; to improve navigation on the Sacramento River; to repulse saline waters now intruding on some 400,000 acres of rich land in the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers; and to furnish water to local industrial plants and municipalities. A multiple-purpose project, Central Valley demands a delicate and complex articulation of all phases of the development, since all are part of a basic plan. No single phase of the project, whether it be a dam, a canal, a recreation site, or a scheme to replenish the supply of salmon in the Sacramento River, can possibly be thought of except in relation to every other phase of the project.

The Bureau of Reclamation has recently completed its master plan for the development of Central Valley. If the plan is carried into effect, the Central Valley project would provide jobs for 18,000 for the next fifteen years; save existing acreage vitally dependent upon irrigation; provide water for 2,000,000 acres now irrigated from

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inadequate underground water sources; save 360,000 acres in the delta from saline intrusion; provide irrigation for 3,040,000 acres not now irrigated; and generate a total of 8.1 million kilowatt-hours of power annually.

Despite the fact that the people of California have repeatedly demonstrated overwhelming support for the Central Valley Project, a real danger exists today that it may be sabotaged. The opposition stems from two sources, or more precisely from two corporations: the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the Kern County Land Company. While the two corporations have different reasons for opposing the project—the one to protect its present monopoly on the distribution of power in northern California, the other to protect its vast land holdings in the southern part of the valley—they have joined forces in a vicious campaign to obscure issues, hamstring the Bureau of Reclamation, and retard (if possible prevent) completion of the project.

Electric power generated by Central Valley dams must serve a twofold purpose: it must be used to operate the pumping plants, which are a vital phase of the project, and it must be sold to consumers at the lowest possible rates—not merely to pass on the maximum benefits to the largest number of people, but also to attract new markets for the power itself. If a large demand for power is developed, and if the power is properly disposed of, revenue from the sale of power will not only repay the cost of the power facilities but will service at least half the cost of the entire project.

In hoping to sabotage the cheap power potential of the Central Valley Project, Pacific Gas and Electric has two major objectives: first, to prevent the Bureau of Reclamation from securing appropriations for the construction of transmission lines, stand-by plants, and distribution facilities; and second, to prevent the organization of public districts for the distribution of Central Valley power. Without the transmission lines and other essentials the Bureau will be compelled to sell Central Valley power to the only purchaser possessing these facilities, namely, P. G. and E. Thus today the Company is purchasing the power generated at Shasta Dam, since the Bureau's transmission lines extend only as far as Oroville. Continuance of this arrangement will mean, once the project is completed, that the government will be compelled to sell vast amounts of power generated at the dams to a private monopoly, only to turn around and buy a large amount of this same power in order to operate other phases of the project. To date forty-four public agencies have made application for Central Valley power, but the Bureau cannot service them because of this lack of distribution facilities.

In trying to prevent the formation of new public districts, and, at the same time, to force the existing public districts to enter into long-term contracts with it for power, P. G. and E.'s objective is to sew up the market so that even if Congress should eventually give the Bureau sorely-needed appropriations for transmission lines, the valuable markets will already have passed into the P. G. and E. orbit. The price at which municipalities and other public districts could purchase power from the Bureau would be about 40 per cent less than current rates paid to P. G. and E. If the State of Washington's average rates for power in 1944 were applied to the electricity sold by P. G. and E., it would represent an annual saving of $58,569,000 to California consumers!

Granted equal efficiency in operation, P. G. and E. can never pass on to consumers the ultimate maximum of benefits of Central Valley power. In 1943, under regulations of the State Railroad Commission, the corporation was allowed a return of 6.7 per cent of the fair value of all used and useful properties of the company, over and above all operating expenses and fixed charges. The Central Valley Project is being built under laws which require payment to the government of the power features of the project in 50 years at 3 per cent interest. (Irrigation features are to be repaid without interest.) The difference between 3 per cent, the cost of money to public agencies, and the 6-7 per cent allowed P. G. and E. represents the added burden carried by the people of northern California today. With government distribution of power, the initial costs of the power features would be eventually repaid out of earnings, and the rates for power could then be progressively reduced. But the stockholders of a private utility have a perpetual claim against its earnings. To range the irrigators on its side of the contest, P. G. and E. has made what, on the face of it, appears to be a fair offer to purchase Central Valley power. Pointing to this offer, the company says to the irrigators: if our bid, which represents a higher price for power than is required by the Reclamation Act, were to be accepted, the proceeds could be used to reduce charges for water. Of course the catch in this proposition is that the cost of power to P. G. and E. is an operating expense which would ultimately be paid by all consumers of power, including the irrigators.

The opposition of the Kern County Land Company (which owns over a million acres of land, 400,000 of them in California) is ostensibly based on the "excess lands" provision of the Reclamation Act. This section provides that landowners who use water from Bureau of Reclamation projects must agree to sell their "excess lands" at a price which does not reflect the increased

value due to the construction of the project. In the case of Central Valley this increased value would amount to more than $100 an acre. Retention of the excess lands provision would work no hardships on the large landowners in the valley. They could receive project water for even their excess lands for a period of ten years before being compelled to sell these lands. In fact, they are under no compulsion to accept project water. But if they do, they must agree to sell all holdings in excess of 160 acres in single ownership, or 320 acres in community property ownership. Eighty-seven per cent of the farms in the Central Valley are less than 160 acres.

From the inception of the Central Valley Project, the large landowning interests fought to have the project exempted from the excess lands provision. Defeated in this move, they are now seeking to have the Army Engineers given the appropriations needed to complete the project. The purpose here is threefold: first, projects built by the Engineers are not subject to the Reclamation Act and therefore the excess lands provision would not apply; second, projects built by the Engineers generally do not require repayment of construction costs; and third, they are interested in flood control and navigation and have never shown any particular enthusiasm for multiple-purpose projects, of which Central Valley is the classic example. If constructed by the Army Engineers the dams yet to be built would unquestionably minimize the hydro-electric power aspects, and would be built, not as units in a larger scheme, but as separate, unrelated, and uncoordinated projects. I regret to report that the Army Engineers are working in intimate collaboration with the Kern County Land Company and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in an effort to secure control of the project.

The land question, as it relates to Central Valley, poses two additional questions.

For years a debate has raged in California over the relative efficiency of large-scale versus small-scale farming. The issue largely turns on the question of what is meant by "efficiency." Should it be narrowly construed to mean only a dollars-and-cents efficiency as reflected in the profit and loss statement of a particular farm operator? Or should it be broadly construed in terms of *social* efficiency? Studies made in Central Valley by the Department of Agriculture clearly demonstrate that a small-farming community has certain definite social advantages over a large-farming area. The small-farming community has more stability; it creates a more widely shared prosperity; it minimizes farm labor disputes; it has more stores and filling stations, better schools and roads; and it supports more people in independence. The San Joaquin Valley is the "Grapes of Wrath" country: a region plagued for years by intense, bitter, and often bloody conflicts between migratory farm workers and large landowning interests. In view of this record, the argument for the alleged efficiency of the large-scale farm might be more compelling if farm labor were protected by a comprehensive system of social legislation. Since no such protection exists today, the "if" is a very large "if" indeed. As a region, the Central Valley would profit by a breaking-up of these large holdings—more particularly by a diffusion of the great social, economic, and political power which their owners have exercised for so many years.

The second question has to do with underground waters. Even if the project is completed by the Bureau of Reclamation as planned, the following situation is likely to result: the small farmers will promptly sign up with the Bureau for water, but the large operators may elect *not* to use project water. Some of these large companies possess valuable water rights of their own, and, with scarcely a single exception, they all pump underground water. As the small owners receive more and more water from the project, and as the Bureau, as part of its plan, systematically diverts flood waters to fill underground reservoirs, the underground water level will gradually rise. This will then enable the large landowners to pump more water, and to pump it cheaper than they can do at present. Yet left with their large holdings intact, they will not be contributing a dime toward repayment of the costs of the development.

To save the Central Valley Project, the Bureau of Reclamation—not the Army Engineers—must be designated as the agency to complete the work in accordance with the plan which the Bureau has prepared and which has been submitted to the President and to Congress. Participation of the Army Engineers should be restricted solely to the flood-control and navigation features of the plan. Eventually it would be desirable to create a Central Valley Authority and to buy out the P. G. and E. holdings; but, with the lines of battle drawn as they are today, the immediate choice is between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers. In addition the Bureau must be given adequate appropriations to enable it to build the transmission lines, stand-by plants, and distribution facilities called for under the plan. Not only should the excess lands provision of the Reclamation Act be retained, and applied to this project, but the State of California should declare all underground water supplies to be a public resource and should then proceed to regulate the right to pump these waters. At the same time, the California delegation in Congress should dust off Senator LaFollette's farm-labor legislative program, submitted to Congress in 1942, and press for its immediate enactment. This will divert some of the excess lobbying enthusiasm of the Kern County Land Company from the Central Valley Project. Finally, Congress should conduct a thorough-going investigation of the private power lobby, now in more brazen operation than at any time since 1933.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Barnyard History

ANIMAL FARM. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.75.

GEORGE ORWELL, to judge by his writing, is a man, not without imagination, who is never swept away by his imagination. His work as a literary critic and analyst of politics and popular culture runs along a well laid out middle course, kept true to it by an even keel; it is always very satisfying, except when he ventures out into certain waters, as in his reflections on art and poetry in his "Dickens, Dali, and Others," where a deep keel has the advantage over an even one. Even when he is wrong, as he was many times during the war in his political comments and predictions, he is wrong in a sensible way. He stands for a common sense and a reasonableness which are rare today, especially when these virtues are removed from the commonplace, as they are in Orwell's case, though not absolutely.

"Animal Farm," a brief barnyard history of the Russian Revolution from October to just beyond the Stalin-Hitler pact, is the characteristic product of such a mind, both with credit and discredit to its qualities. It puts an imaginative surface on the facts, but does not go far beneath the surface and shows little in excess of the minimum of invention necessary to make the transposition into an animal perspective. The facts are straight, and all the wieldy ones are there; the interpretation, within these limits, is plain and true. The implicit moral attitude toward the real historical events is one of an indignation that goes-without-saying, opposed to the nonsense and chicanery of Party dialectics, and to what has come to be recognized, to a large extent through Orwell's writing, as the well-intentioned, peculiarly liberal act of submission to the tyrant's myth. At least by implication, Orwell again makes clear in this book his allegiance to an older and more honorable liberalism that still holds as its dearest thing the right to liberty of judgment. Nevertheless, this is a disappointing piece of work; its best effort is exerted somewhere on middle ground, between the chuckle-headed monstrosity of orthodox Stalinism and the sated anti-Stalinist intelligence of long standing which already knows all this and a good deal more besides.

In brief, old Major, the pig, shortly before his death, delivers himself of the lessons of his life for the benefit of the animals of Mr. Jones's Manor Farm, pointing out to them how they have been exploited by Man (capitalism) and urging the revolutionary establishment of a better society (The Communist Manifesto). The animals drive Mr. Jones off the farm and hold it against his attempts to regain possession (Revolution and defeat of the Counter-revolution). Led by two pigs, Napoleon (Stalin), more or less in the background, and Snowball (Trotsky, with a soupçon of Lenin—for simplicity's sake, Vladimir Ilyitch is left out of the picture, entering it only as a *deus ex machina* who shares with Marx old Major's identity, and with Trotsky, Snowball's) the animals institute a regime free of Man, based on collective ownership, socialized production, equality, etc. The pigs, who are the most intelligent animals, form a bureaucracy which does not at first enjoy many privileges, this development being held over until the factional dispute over the rate of industrialization and the strategy of World Revolution begins, Snowball-Trotsky is exiled, and Napoleon-Stalin comes to power. Then we have, in their animal equivalent, the important episodes of hardship and famine, growth of nationalism, suspension of workers' rights and privileges, frame-ups, Moscow Trials, fake confessions, purges, philosophical revisions—"All animals are equal" becoming, "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others"—the Stalin-Hitler pact, etc.—all of which is more interesting as an exercise in identification than as a story in its own right.

What I found most troublesome was the question that attended my reading—what is the point of "Animal Farm"? Is it that the pigs, with the most piggish pig supreme, will always disinherit the sheep and the horses? If so, why bother with a debunking fable; why not, *à la* James Burnham, give assent to the alleged historical necessity? But it is not so—for which we have Orwell's own word in a recent article in *Polemic* attacking Burnham. And if we are not to draw the moldy moral of the pig, what then?

Though Orwell, I am sure, would not seriously advance the bad-man theory of history, it appears that he has, nevertheless, drawn on it for the purpose of writing "Animal Farm." There are only two motives operating in the parable (which is already an oversimplification to the point of falsity, if we take the parable as intended); one of them, a good one, Snowball's, is defeated, and the only other, the bad one, Napoleon's, succeeds, presumably because history belongs to the most unscrupulous. I do not take this to be Orwell's own position, for his work has shown that he knows it to be false and a waste of time in historical analysis; it is, however, the position of his imagination, as divorced from what he knows—a convenient ground, itself a fable, to set his fable on. (If Marxism has really failed, the most ironic thing about its failure is that it should be attributed to the piggishness of human nature.) It is at this point that a failure of imagination—failure to expand the parable, to incorporate into it something of the complexity of the real event—becomes identical with a failure in politics. The story, which is inadequate as a way into the reality, also falls short as a way out; and while no one has a right to demand of "Animal Farm" that it provide a solution to the Russian problem—something it never set out to do—it is nevertheless true that its political relevance is more apparent than real. It will offer a kind of enlightment to those who still need it, say, the members of the Book of the Month Club, but beyond this it has no politics at all.

Another way of making this point is to compare "Animal Farm" with Koestler's "Darkness at Noon." Rubashov, also faced with the triumph of the pig, at least asks *why* the pig is so attractive, *why* he wins out over the good. This is a question that can no longer be answered by stating *that* the pig wins out. It is a more sophisticated question, for it realizes that the fact of the triumph is already known, and a more important one, for it leads to an examination of the

pig's supremacy along two divergent lines, by way of a specific Marxist analysis of history, or a criticism of Marxism in general, both engaging the imagination at a crucial point. But Orwell's method, of taking a well worn fact that we know and converting it, for lack of better inspiration, into an imaginative symbol, actually falsifies the fact; thus over-extended, the fact of Stalinist "human nature," the power-drive of the bureaucracy, ceases to explain anything, and even makes one forget what it is to which it does apply. An indication that a middle of the way imagination, working with ideas that have only a half-way scope, cannot seriously deal with events that are themselves extreme. There is, however, some value in the method of "Animal Farm," provided it is timely, in the sense, not of newspapers, but of history, in advance of the news. But this is to say that "Animal Farm" should have been written years ago; coming as it does, in the wake of the event, it can only be called a backward work.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

The Play That Thought

THE PLAYWRIGHT AS THINKER. By Eric Bentley. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

A FEW years ago a weird little satire (at one time called "Foolscap," but it had as many titles almost as performances) appeared briefly on Broadway. The principal characters were George Bernard Shaw and Luigi Pirandello—who, injured in an automobile accident, were taken to the nearest hospital, which happened to be an insane asylum. Recovering, they resolved to write a play employing as characters the inmates and their dream selves. The result was sheer tomfoolery involving God and Cleopatra and a preface by Shaw which was longer than the play, of course, and some hocus-pocus by Pirandello about who was really who. It was an unimportant, rather vulgar play, but it demonstrated clearly the bewilderment of the modern theater and the modern audience at what two of its most important contributors were trying to do and say.

There have been a good many books of criticism which have attempted to remove this bewilderment. Mr. Bentley's is the latest and, in many ways, the most successful. It is clear, straight-forward, and written with enthusiasm. More important, it is not doctrinaire, save in its willingness to consider seriously any genuinely modern development in dramatic art. Mr. Bentley does not resist attempts to break with the well-made play, nor does he believe that any form which makes such an attempt is necessarily an improvement. But "The Playwright as Thinker" is not as dispassionate as its title and its willingness to see both the good and bad in every playwright, might lead you to expect. For Mr. Bentley is following the quest of the modern writer to express in dramatic terms the attitude of his time. It has been a quest as full of blood, sweat, and tears, as ever the life of a tragic hero could be, and that it is not yet ended Mr. Bentley indicates by enclosing his study in the ironical parenthesis of a consideration of the recent offerings of Broadway and the deficiencies of the college and little theaters.

The modern drama begins with the introduction of naturalism into the theater, with such plays as Hebbel's "Maria Magdalena," and with the concomitant discovery that the basic conflict might be a conflict of ideas as well as a conflict between a black villain and a white hero. To be sure in the older drama, in Shakespeare, the conflict between medieval and Renaissance ideas was reflected, but Shakespeare did not feel the necessity of choosing sides. The winds of doctrine began to blow more sharply in the nineteenth century, however, and the modern playwright, like the modern artist generally, felt called upon to choose sides and to fight. The modern dramatist no longer writes a prologue to put his audience in a receptive frame of mind. Instead he writes a preface, after the fact, to defend his world-view or his aesthetic theory which, in some instances, only further emphasizes the gulf between the artist and his intended audience.

With all the good-will in the world, it must be recognized that the playwright as thinker has not been able to put himself en rapport with his audience. It is not enough to say that modern culture—industrialism, capitalism, and the democratic movement—has created a demand that the drama should be obvious if not crude. The older dramatists were able to appeal on several levels when they were willing to subject themselves to the discipline required. After all, Mr. Evan's recent "Ur-Hamlet" was no more popular or successful than his former "uncut" version. And the great popular success of Shaw's "Candida" (which Mr. Bentley's shrewd analysis proves to be a very "unpleasant play" indeed) demonstrates how the toughest dialectical struggle may be dramatized in human terms.

The greatest of the early dramatic thinkers, Ibsen, has been classified as a writer of sociological treatises. But the sociological treatises of a past generation commonly are consigned to the job of collecting dust in libraries. The occasional revival of "Ghosts" or "A Doll's House" shows few signs of dust. Perhaps the problems are antiquated, as immediate problems are apt to become, but the problems of Mrs. Alving or Nora, like the inciting incident in Lear, are, to quote Mr. Bayes, "but to bring in fine things." The terrible story of Mrs. Alving is as universal in its implications as the terrible story of Othello, and therein lies the power and permanence of Ibsen. Mr. Bentley concludes from the practice of our more advanced dramatists that there is something old-fashioned in the "peep-show theater of illusion, suspense, individual psychology, and domestic tragedy." But it is hard to see what the drama is to be if it is not to be the mirror of nature, of human nature.

The unique tool of the dramatist, after all, is the actor, and his chief problem may well be what to do with him. There are plenty of evidences before us today of the unscrupulous use of the living actor to give a sense of life to the one-dimensional shadows of what Mr. Bentley calls commodity drama. There is likewise evidence, though seldom on the stage, of an uninformed use of actors as ideological puppets. This is not progress in art, or modernism, but atavism, a return to the medieval. It is not myth-making, but allegory-making. It took the English drama many generations to shake off the bonds of the dramatized sermon, for lively Vice to crowd deadly Prudentia into the wings. But the Epic Theater—of which the Living Newspaper and the radio documentary are developments—is perilously close to "The Castle of Perseverance."

Every reader must concur with Mr. Bentley as he finds the commercial theater shallow and uninspired. Yet of the major playwrights he selects for discussion and analysis, Hebbel, Ibsen, Wagner, Shaw (the chapters on Shaw are outstanding, in striking contrast with the windy nonsense which the recent birthday celebration evoked), Pirandello, and even the somewhat tricksy Strindberg, each shows inescapably that individual and human forces are at work: representationalism is something which the drama cannot wholly discard without turning to marionettes. The dramatist need not be excluded by his form from the "more philosophical and partisan reasoning of modern art," but neither should he neglect the power of identification which is implicit in the form. One conclusion to be drawn from this study of the modern drama is that the Ibsen of our day, if we are to have one, must surely speak in terms of recognizable men and women, whatever he may be hopefully doing at bottom.

ALAN DOWNER

Nationalism

THE NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGIES. By H. Munro Chadwick. The Macmillan Company. $4.

NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. By Oscar I. Janowsky. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN THE WARS 1918-1941. By Hugh Seton-Watson. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

NATIONALISM AND AFTER. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

IT is not by mere chance that within the last six months four books have appeared which deal with more or less the same problem. Nationalism, this problem child of our age, the foundation of sovereignty and the stumbling block of international relations, has—strangely enough—never cropped up in the discussions of the United Nations; no one wanted to complicate his power politics by conjuring up this specter haunting international peace.

Professor Chadwick calls nationalism a "vivifying and inspiring force" which has an ugly side only when it is associated with aggression. His book is devoted to the history of languages and the formation of the linguistic map of Europe. It was upon historical grounds, we are told, that the Germans based their claim to domination. Yet before the Emperor Joseph II, the Holy Roman Empire, in spite of its adjective *"deutscher Nation,"* was devoid of German nationalism; it took Bismarck to make the Germans nationally conscious. In spite of a one-sided approach and of some errors, the author has made a valuable contribution to the better understanding of a troublesome question.

Less historical is Professor Janowsky's aspect of nationalism, which may be tolerant as in America and England or intolerant as in the "war-breeding zone of East-Central Europe." There is a flaw in his argument that "Americanization is positive, requiring all to learn the English language and to become associated with all embracing American culture." What else did Prussianization or Magyarization require? And it was hardly a comfort to the Irish that the efforts to obliterate their native culture were used "but as a means of countering disloyalty." By praising nationalism in some countries, but censuring it in the "war-breeding zone," the author seems to overlook the fact that nationalism is twofold and aggressive only in its political manifestation. France and Germany fought many wars, but none over the superiority of Voltaire or Goethe. The greater aggressiveness of nationalism in East-Central Europe was partly due to Ottoman and Habsburg imperialism, which retarded its development. It was the overbearing *Drang nach Osten* and the German-British rivalry for world markets that was the real cause of the two wars, not the Sarajevo murder or even "the depravity deeply imbedded in the teachings of respectable *Junkers.*" The most valuable contributions of the book are Professor Janowsky's analysis of the multi-national states, and his suggestion that national federalism be combined with economic unity in the reorganization of this region.

Hugh Seton-Watson arrives at a similar conclusion; but he realizes that any federation in Eastern Europe depends primarily on social changes and relations with the Great Powers. The authority of his thinking is the result of thorough study, of an exhaustive knowledge of the languages and countries of Eastern Europe. His work deals with the struggle of minorities, but within the frame of political history between the two wars. This is, before everything, the history of the peasantry; in discussing the agrarian problem he makes a praiseworthy attempt to escape misleading propaganda, but occasionally without success. It was certainly not the sudden death of Count Bethlen's Minister of

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Agriculture that caused "a fairly generous land reform" to be abandoned (p. 77); the various governments of the counter-revolution had consistently worked against it, as the author himself admits. Slight errors like this one do not mar the detailed and valuable picture of these national and international struggles. Nationalism was the foundation of what Seton-Watson calls "small power imperialism," but nationalism has been the villain in the play which big power imperialism has staged in Eastern Europe. Seton-Watson candidly admits that "Munich was the greatest defeat . . . suffered by Britain since the loss of the American colonies," but forgets to mention that the French system of alliances was wrecked less by Italian policy than by the policy which encouraged the rearmament of Germany and her satellites.

Whether Professor Becker is justified in believing that nationalism cannot be abated or sovereignty curbed remains open to discussion. It has to be admitted that Dante and Goethe have preceded Mussolini and Hitler, and will survive their memory. There is no reason to assume that creative nationalism cannot continue unless one nation exterminates or enslaves others. Consequently the optimistic outlook offered by Professor Carr is most gratifying. His little book once more substantiates T. H. Huxley's dictum: "Size is not grandeur." Professor Carr points to the absence of any trace of national exaltation on the outbreak of the last war, in contrast to the patriotic fervour of 1914. "National hatreds have lost their old spontaneous frankness and mask themselves in ideological trappings." After examining the periods of its development Professor Carr concludes that World War II "may well turn out to have been the last triumph of the old fissiparous nationalism," just as toleration followed the religious wars of the seventeenth century. But stability and security of an international order can be achieved, Professor Carr believes, only by "a balanced structure . . . for the planned development of the economies of geographical areas and groups of nations."

This opinion may be optimistic, but it is certain that war cannot be banned by juggling the traditional idols of national sovereignty, as the League did and as the United Nations still do. Whoever will become the first hero of peace—by explaining to the Security Council that Dante, Cervantes, and Goethe are not the necessary precursors of Mussolini, Franco, and Hitler—will do a greater service to mankind than all the pygmy statesmen and diplomats who protect their sovereignties by hurling innuendos and invectives at each other.

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Letters to the Editors

Jewish Immigration

Dear Sirs: The Byrnes proposal of unification of the four occupation zones of Germany leads to the question why in other administrative matters the British and the United States zones should not be considered as a unit. With the unpardonable delay in executing the recommendations of the Anglo-American Palestine Commission, steps should be taken not only to distribute the displaced persons over a larger area, but also to take out those who are able to leave.

Under President Truman's directive of December 22, 1945, displaced persons under corporate affidavits and relatives of United States citizens with individual affidavits can emigrate to the United States if their residence is in the American zone. Many Jews in Berlin, as well as in Vienna, who have satisfactory affidavits from relatives, are unable to come to the United States because they live in the British sector of the city. It is reported from Berlin and Vienna that it is impossible to find enough Jewish and non-Jewish refugees whose status complies with the Truman directive.

On one hand we are trying to approach the unification of the various zones of Germany, and on the other we do not allow people living in the British section of a partitioned city to emigrate to the United States. Since the British zone can supply immigrants, it is wise to take this advantage.

I believe that we are obligated to encourage these people, who have sacrificed so much during the last five years. We have to open new avenues for them on which to rebuild their lives. If we fail them, we destroy the very foundation upon which democracy is built. Their enforced stay in Berlin, Vienna, and other parts of the British zone, for technical reasons only, must be considered as an unjust punishment.

KURT R. GROSSMAN

Kew Gardens, N. Y., August 5

Los Alamos Approved

Dear Sirs: After reading "Los Alamos, New Mexico" by Alden Stevens (*The Nation*, August 3), I feel like sending you this letter of appreciation.

I lived in Los Alamos for over a year as one of the "tough" machinists mentioned in the article. Thus I am fully qualified to say Mr. Stevens has done a one hundred per cent fair and accurate job of reporting.

It is extremely difficult for any writer to characterize and to generalize without being trite and flat. Mr. Stevens has managed to catch the general mood encountered in Los Alamos, which is hard to describe and which is distinctively different from any other place in the United States.

WALTER GERSTEL

Berkeley, Calif., August 15

Los Alamos Regretted

Dear Sirs: Having just seen motion pictures of the last Bikini explosion, I have still greater regret that Alden Stevens expressed approval of the work done at Los Alamos. The intelligent, cooperative people there, he says, "can take satisfaction in the fact that their work together

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EDWARD S. ALLEN

Ames, Ia., August 21

Opposition to Chisholm

Dear Sirs: Please accept a mild protest against the cosmology and ethics of G. Brock Chisholm which are obviously unworthy of *The Nation's* pages. As an idle mid-summer pastime, this sort of speculation may have its interest, but it offers us cold comfort indeed. If you read his articles carefully (*The Nation*, July 20-27, 1946) you will see that they undermine most of the assumptions on which a liberal journal should operate: namely, that since man has survived so far and is still surviving, what he does, how he lives, and what he believes are of infinite importance to him, and that conscience is not simply a childhood hangover. Life is tough, but don't let *The Nation* lose its nerve too.

R. W. FLINT

Dennis, Mass., August 2

Research on Gissing

Dear Sirs: I am engaged in research on George Gissing and would like to appeal to your readers for permission to see any letters of Gissing's. He spent some time in America, and letters from him may still be in existence. If any reader has such letters, I would appreciate it if he would write to me as soon as possible, my address is c/o Miss Clayson, 60 New Oxford St., London, W. C. 1, England. JAMES PATERSON

London, July 16

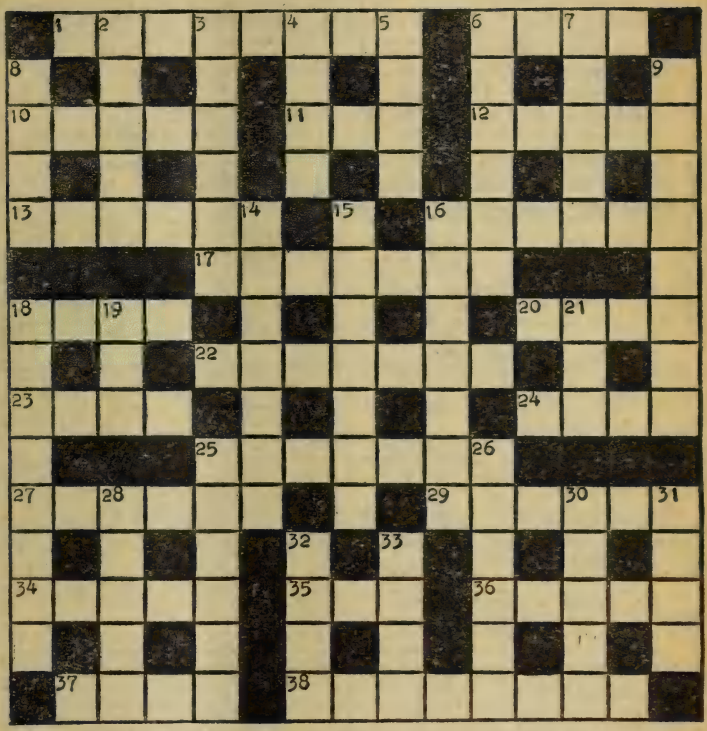
Loan for Palestine

Dear Sirs: Regarding the Palestine partition proposal, if the United States is supposed to put up $300,000,000 for Arab welfare, why not use the money to buy all of Palestine and consider that money as a long-term loan to a new Jewish state? Certainly world Jewry would underwrite such a solution to a thorny problem. LEONARD GORDON

Los Angeles, August 14

Crossword Puzzle No. 177

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The 119th Psalm is in the form of one
6 Wine for a cast iron inside
10 In Capri lovely, and in England
11 Mightier than the sword — you can sign checks with it!
12 It's not done
13 Pass between India and Afghanistan
16 Roman for "bloke"?
17 France's *Cote d'Azur*
18 Carries the horn in the hunt
20 This vehicle needs a "shuvver"
22 Not a rickshaw coolie
23 To come home thus is surely to enjoy more than a walk-over?
24 Very little is needed to make a happy one, said the old Roman
25 Appointed as ruler over (3 and 4)
27 A maker of wheels, ships or plays
29 What 13 is
34 Of birds
35 Pretty cool
36 One who glides over the snows to heaven?
37 Move round and 'round
38 External

DOWN

2 A tasty dish
3 Comparatively greasy
4 Sound sleepers
5 Sealskin? No, rabbit
6 Hun king
7 French tobacco
8 It is the dog-watch on board, no doubt
9 Study a French river: you take it in its course
14 Vile rut with water in it
15 His is the grimmest of crimes
16 Is this one of the reasons why China is not a sea power?
18 Panama (5 and 3)
19 Object
21 French king
25 Kicked up more with leg than foot, apparently
26 A cattleman or poker player, perhaps
28 This sort of building requires no camouflage
30 Ignatius' diminutive offspring
31 Pound of poetry
32 Comb factory
33 A Tory in disguise

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 176

ACROSS:—1 SETTING; 5 WHATNOT; 9 ISHMAEL; 10 SCARCER; 11 CUTTY; 12 PARAMOUNT; 14 FAST; 15 LUMINOL; 18 TUB; 20 EWE; 21 READERS; 23 PERE; 26 CHARABANC; 28 THREE; 29 LYING TO; 30 EXAMPLE; 31 RANKEST; 32 SENATOR.

DOWN:—1 STITCH; 2 TAHITI; 3 IN ANY CASE; 4 GALIPOT; 5 WASTREL; 6 ALARM; 7 NOCTURNE; 8 THROTTLE; 13 HUE; 16 MARK TWAIN; 17 OWN; 18 TRICOLOR; 19 BAVARIAN; 22 SEAPORT; 24 PACKETS; 24 ARMPIT; 25 VENEER; 27 ANGLE.

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The Shape of Things

THE TINY ATOM HAD A BIG WEEK, WITH three major news stories to its credit. In rising order of importance they were the indefinite postponement of the projected third bomb test at Bikini, the announcement that the navy was designing its new ships for service in an "atomic-age" fleet, and publication of a report on the costs of nuclear power production made to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. "Test Charlie," which was to have been the explosion of an atomic bomb two miles beneath the surface of Bikini Lagoon, is well abandoned. It would have cost more than $30,000,000 in money and rather more than that in what is left of international good-will, while adding little to what has already been learned. The redesigning of capital ships, so far as the announcement is not the usual navy bombast, is an ominous but inevitable reflection of failures in Paris and at Lake Success. But both these items shrivel into insignificance when compared with the U. N. survey, which merely states that even now the atom can be put to work producing electrical energy at an operating cost only 26 per cent higher than coal. The implications are too vast to be discussed here, but they raise certain obvious and far-reaching questions: First, if atomic energy can be produced by small powers as well as great, what will become of imperialism, lifelines, and the whole military-diplomatic pattern of struggle for dependent markets? Second, if such energy can be produced in areas now useless for lack of oil, coal, or water power, what barren stretches of the world may not be opened up to settlement? Third, if one pound of uranium can yield the power equivalent of 2,000,000 pounds of gasoline, what oil fields, in the Middle East or elsewhere, are worth a war? And finally, won't this peaceful atom make possible that very decentralization of industry which is a nation's only defense against paralysis by atomic bombs?

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CHESTER BOWLES IS BEING VINDICATED—but too late. The crux of his battle with Congress was the foolish question of whether a dike against inflation could be breached just a little bit and still be a dike. The maritime strike that strangled the ports of all three coasts last week proved more conclusively than any walkout so far that dikes are solid or they are meaningless. Other walkouts have demonstrated the inevitability with which labor will seek to compensate for higher prices by demands for higher wages, but it remained for the shipping strike to drive home to the government the complete folly of its equivocal position. For in this instance the wage demands were so clearly justified that the shippers agreed to meet them in full, only to have the Wage Stabilization Board rule against the increase. The board's ruling may have been well reasoned—as an isolated decision. But that is precisely the difficulty: no case is isolated. Having given the green light to indiscriminate price rises and having allowed corresponding wage increases elsewhere, why stop short with these particular employees? More particularly, why should a union that followed the prescribed course of collective bargaining be denied a hard-won gain? And why should an employer who has conformed to the Wagner Act, not to mention the unfortunate public, be penalized by a drastic strike? Yet if these A. F. of L. seamen are granted their demands, nothing will stop the C. I. O. maritime unions from making a similar request. And so the spiral will continue to mount. The crying need is not for a stern and arbitrary decision at the expense of this or that union or employer, but for a fundamental overhauling of the stabilization program, based on the long view, enforced by determined administrators, and unhampered by Congressmen who can see no farther than the next election.

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ALTHOUGH THE CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE has opened in London under gloomy auspices, close observers insist that a small possibility of success remains. At least the chief interested parties have taken care to provide themselves with pathways of retreat from positions which would rule out all hope of agreement. The Palestinian Arabs stayed away in protest against Britain's refusal to accept the Mufti, but the leaders of the Arab League have arrived; and if they came to London only to repeat their old formulas, why did they come at all? The Jewish Agency has declined to join in discussions based on the federation plan put forward by the British, but it has taken a long step in the direction of compromise by agreeing to consider the establishment of a Jewish state "in an adequate area" of Palestine—in other words, partition, with full rights of self-government. As for the British, they are said to be willing to modify

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their own plan if they can win the Arab League over. Since the Arab leaders undoubtedly share Britain's growing apprehensions about Russian pressure in the Middle East, some observers believe they may prove more amenable than in the past, especially if their feelings are salved by the promise of financial compensation. (But where is the money to come from? Mr. Truman cannot risk any commitments that require Congressional action.) Apparently the hopes expressed in London are based on the possibility that the Arabs will retreat far enough to permit the Jewish Agency to join the conference, and that all three interested parties will then agree upon a modified partition plan with broader provisions for self-government by both Arabs and Jews. The chance looks slim from this side of the Atlantic. It would be greatly improved if the British government would buttress its own efforts by calling off the system of raids and repressions and arrests that takes the place of government in Palestine.

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THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT AS TO who won the Chilean election. Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, candidate of the Radical Party, who had the support of almost the entire left, polled nearly 50,000 more votes than his nearest opponent, the rightist candidate, Eduardo Cruz Coke. However, the Chilean constitution provides that in the event no candidate obtains an absolute majority, Congress shall decide, within fifty days after the election, which of the two leading contestants is to become President. This leaves plenty of time for political intrigues and realignments. One possibility, for example, is that the Conservatives and Liberals, who ran separate slates in the election but now, in defeat, are drawing closer together, may join forces; then Congress might conceivably find an a posteriori argument for an absolute majority—though one unworthy of Chile's democratic record—by lumping the Conservative and Liberal votes. But if the President-makers try skullduggery of that sort, they will find themselves up against a real fighter. Though virtually unknown in the United States, Gonzalez Videla is one of the most courageous progressives of the Western Hemisphere. He received support from the Communists, but he is above all the leader of the Radical Party, and he does not intend to allow his opponents to turn their resounding defeat into a rigged victory. Without losing a moment's time he has called for a mass-meeting on September 8 of "all [his] supporters and all industrial, mining, agricultural, and other workers to reaffirm the leftist triumph at the polls." Gonzalez Videla will be remembered as the Chilean ambassador who during the occupation of France defied Vichy and the Germans in protecting Spanish Republicans who were in danger of being delivered over to Franco.

CHOOSING BETWEEN DEWEY AND MEAD FOR Governor and between Lehman and Ives for the Senate, New York voters will probably keep their emotions well under control. If the election were purely one of contending personalities, the campaign would be one of the least stimulating on record. Dewey's performance as Governor is not highly vulnerable, Mead has put in twenty-eight years as a ploddingly capable and consistently liberal legislator; and both Lehman and Ives would wear the Senatorial toga, if not with dash, at least with quiet distinction. But as the campaign develops, New Yorkers will doubtless have thrust upon them the knowledge that the ballot they cast in November will in a sense be a preliminary vote for 1948. A sweeping victory for Dewey would put him in a strong position for another try at the Presidency, and while he has administered the governorship with at least the competence of an able bookkeeper, Albany is a far cry from Washington. The picture of Dewey on the international stage—or the national stage for that matter—is almost enough to give President Truman, by comparison, the stature of a major statesman. This impression is in no way diminished by a reading of Mr. Dewey's acceptance speech. Unavoidably, he has taken over, almost in its entirety, the social program that Smith, Roosevelt, and Lehman made an integral part of the state's tradition in spite of bitter and prolonged Republican opposition. Yet, taking a full measure of credit for a program he did not initiate, he assails the Democrats for having, through such legislation, taken the country "step by step into a controlled and regimented society."

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THE BEST OF THE CONVENTION ORATORY, which is not as a rule intended for serious consumption, came from a Democrat who unfortunately is not a candidate for office. We refer to Mrs. Roosevelt's challenging keynote address, which neatly disposed of the standard Republican claim that the G. O. P. not only dotes on the progressive measures which it has been fighting fiercely for twelve years but would enforce them with far greater efficiency than the party that fathered them. "Administration is a question of choosing good administrators," Mrs. Roosevelt concluded, "but it is far more important in times such as these to put in office men who have the creative spirit and can accept unknown conditions and find solutions without always harking back to the security they knew in the past." A similar contrast between hollowness and substance is apparent in the platforms adopted by the two parties. The Republican document promises that the party will continue to give the state "the most humane, progressive, and truly liberal government in its history" and sedulously avoids details. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, takes on major issues with abandon—state, national, and international. It is for the Baruch plan and a system of reciprocal trade treaties; it "condemns the policy and acts of the British government in Palestine" and calls for "a just and not a punitive peace for a democratic Italy." With a frankness and courage rarely displayed in intra-party relations, it breaks sharply with the Southern Democrats. Dissolution of the Rankin committee is called for, as well as an anti-lynching law and abolition of the poll tax. And its Senatorial nominee is pledged by the platform to "support measures legally to eliminate Bilbo from federal office and influence." We have yet to hear an unkind word from Mr. Dewey about comparable afflictions in the Republican camp.

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TWO INCONSPICUOUS ITEMS APPEARING IN the last few days raise questions which almost certainly will not be answered. One was A. J. Liebling's story in last week's *New Yorker* about the death of a friend of his, a radio correspondent, who was machine-gunned back in 1943 while traveling in an American transport plane flying off its course over "friendly" territory—namely, Spanish Morocco. The plane, full of bullet holes, managed to get to French Morocco, but Mr. Liebling, then in Africa, assumed that the shooting had aroused great indignation in the United States. When he looked through the *Times* files on his return home, he found only the following notice under the smallest possible head:

> Mrs. Eduard Baudry has been advised of the death of her husband, thirty-three-year-old Canadian Broadcasting Company correspondent in North Africa. It was learned here today that Mr. Baudry was killed by anti-aircraft fire when the plane in which he was a passenger flew off its course and appeared over Spanish Morocco.

It would be pleasant to attribute this almost excessive restraint to the fact that, with the war still going on, an occasional small incident like a shot-at transport plane was bound to get overlooked. It would be more realistic to suppose that the United States wanted, at that moment, to keep Franco in a relatively friendly mood, while it sees no similar urgency about placating Yugoslavia.

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WE WERE EVEN MORE INTERESTED IN AN editorial note appearing in the *New Statesman and Nation* of August 31. After taking up in detail Tito's charge of frequent violations of Yugoslav sovereignty by United States planes (and ignoring, rather unaccountably, his earlier complaints about British violations), the London weekly reports almost casually, "The Yugoslavs state that a third plane was brought down, but that the evidence was so incriminating that no American protest was made about it. . . . " Do the Yugoslavs state this? If so, newspapers and radio in this country have conspired to conceal, or the government has censored, a most important piece of news—so important, in fact, that we cannot believe the Yugoslavs would tolerate its suppression. But the charge alone is enough to confirm

our belief that the Yugoslav-American dispute should be laid before the Security Council or submitted to the new International Court of Justice. The events leading up to the attacks on our army transport planes represent an issue of fact, not to be disposed of by charges and denials or even by apologies and indemnities.

Propping Up Chiang Kai-shek

HUGH DEANE'S article on another page provides *Nation* readers with a comprehensive survey of the political situation in China and gives special significance to recent developments in United States policy toward the National Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

A fortnight or so ago there seemed to be a bare chance that General Marshall might achieve a last-minute miracle in China by persuading the Kuomintang and Communists to set up the coalition regime to which they committed themselves last January. A five-man committee consisting of two representatives from the Kuomintang and two from the Communists was formed under the chairmanship of Ambassador Stuart. But the committee has never met and probably never will. For while these negotiations were under way it was suddenly announced that arrangements had been completed for the transfer of $800,000,000 worth of surplus United States army property to the Chiang Kai-shek government. Thus in a single day the United States threw away the only effective weapon available to General Marshall in his effort to prevent China from being devastated by civil war.

President Truman's directive to General Marshall last December held a promise that if China would set up a democratic unified government, the United States would assist substantially in the country's reconstruction. Armed with this promise, General Marshall was able to beat down the military ambitions of the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang and force Chiang to agree, in principle, to a coalition regime. But while waiting for the new agreement to become operative, the United States made the inexcusable mistake of providing large-scale aid to Kuomintang forces fighting the Communists. This assistance has now been overshadowed by the virtually outright gift of 1,500,000 tons of American surplus goods in Okinawa. With such a huge volume of supplies assured—dwarfing the total amount of aid provided during the war—the Kuomintang is in a position to thumb its nose at Marshall's mediation efforts—which is precisely what it is doing. It is true that the surplus material is supposed to be of a civilian character and that the transfer of war planes and military supplies has been held up. But the power to distribute the goods rests with the Kuomintang, and such power is of immense military as well as political significance in a country like China, where the loyalty of the local military leaders is a salable commodity. Besides, a large proportion of the surplus material consists of trucks, road-building machinery, radio equipment, and other supplies which are adaptable to military as well as civilian uses.

Supposedly these goods were sold to China in exchange for a cancelation of the obligation which the United States incurred during the war for housing, airfields, and services to American troops. Actually the debts are largely fictitious. They were calculated on the basis of an artificial exchange rate which, in some instances, forced the United States to pay from ten to twenty times the market rate for the services rendered.

In support of this betrayal of the President's directive the American people are being treated to a high-pressure campaign picturing Chiang Kai-shek as a bulwark against Soviet encroachment in Asia. Representative Sikes of Florida, spokesman for a House Military Affairs subcommittee, is quoted as saying that Russia is making a bid for the control of all China. *Life* contains an article by a noted church leader, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, which declares that "China in Communist hands would be the most probably . . . prelude to World War III." He concludes "the United States *must* lend every practicable support" to the Kuomintang.

As is usual with such deductions, the fault lies not so much in the reasoning as in the premise upon which the reasoning is supposed to be based. So far there has been no evidence that Russia is seeking to dominate China. Reports from responsible newspaper correspondents agree that Russia is not only behaving with technical correctness in its dealings with China but that it has been leaning over backward even where Russian interests are involved. True, its activities in Manchuria—particularly the wholesale removal of machinery—showed little concern for the needs of its war-time ally, but on the other hand it has permitted the Chinese Eastern Railway, in which it has a half-interest, to be disrupted by Kuomintang military movements without taking action. It made only verbal protests against the murder of Soviet citizens by anti-Soviet mobs in Mukden and Changchun. Despite its sympathy with Chinese Communists, it has made no effort to help them with either personnel or supplies.

Put the shoe on the other foot, and it would be difficult indeed to deny that the United States is actively intervening in the internal affairs of China. We still maintain 50,000 marines in the country, although the pretext for sending them there has long since vanished. We have propped up a decrepit and corrupt anti-democratic regime and supplied it with sufficient arms to crush the liberal and Communist forces within the country. We are rapidly forcing all Chinese who want a better life to turn to Russia for assistance. We may build up Chiang Kai-shek as a bulwark against Russia, but in doing so we shall forfeit the support of 450,000,000 Chinese and sow the seeds of World War III.

The Byrnes Speech

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE chief value of Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech was its positive tone. A coherent policy took shape as he spoke: his plain language carried the conviction that muddle and ambiguity have given way to decision. Briefly, he announced the intention of the United States to stay in Germany as long as any occupation continues, to oppose "vengeful measures" which will obstruct an effective peace, to oppose also reparation levies greater than those agreed on at Potsdam, to support the continued separation of Austria and Germany. He advocated again the administration of Germany as an economic unit and urged the early establishment of a central provisional German government to administer the country, under the Allied Control Council, and prepare a constitution for the "United States of Germany." He proposed that the Allies tell the German people promptly the essential terms of the coming peace treaty and define the boundaries of the new Germany. In this connection he announced that the United States would support the transfer of Königsberg to Russia and a revision of Poland's northern and western frontiers, while reserving the right to modify these territorial changes, as agreed at Potsdam. He accepted the French claim to the Saar but refused to support further "encroachment on territory which is indisputably German," that is, the Ruhr and the Rhineland. He attempted to dispel the fears of those who look upon this great industrial area as a potential war danger by advocating sufficient control over "the whole of Germany, including the Ruhr and the Rhineland, as may be necessary for security purposes." And he added what is undoubtedly one of the most significant comments in the speech: "It [the United States] will not favor any controls that would subject the Ruhr and the Rhineland to the political domination or manipulation of outside powers."

Here at least we have a policy. Leaving behind the sterile controversies about a hard or soft peace, Mr. Byrnes accepts the challenge of the Molotov speech and defines American aims even at the risk of aggravating tension in the East and disappointing our French ally in the West. Clearly, America is now committed to the effort to save Germany from the temptations and pressures of Soviet policy. Or, as Joseph Alsop put it in the New York *Herald Tribune*, Byrnes's speech marks "the formal initiation of the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union which will decide whether this unhappy country [Germany] is to join the free world of the West or become one of the slave states of the Soviet system." One may discount the violent terminology of the right without dismissing the basic truth Mr. Alsop states. Mr. Byrnes has offered Germany an alternative to Russian policy as applied to the eastern zone.

The question which immediately asks itself is what Mr. Byrnes proposes as a substitute for the social and economic plans which Molotov outlined. Unfortunately the answer is not available. Just as the Secretary of State explicitly repudiated the idea of foreign, even international, control of the Ruhr and the Rhineland, so he implicitly rejects or seems to reject any attempt to alter the economic structure of Germany as a whole. He never says so expressly. He does say, however, that "our only job" is to lay down the rules under which Germany can govern itself. He does not specify those rules; but in stating the broad principle that "Germany must be enabled to use her skills and her energies to increase her industrial production and to organize the most effective use of her raw materials," and that the chief "purposes of the military occupation were and are to demilitarize and de-Nazify Germany but not to raise artificial barriers to the efforts of the German people to resume their peace-time economic life," he sets fairly definite boundaries around our intentions.

One may as well admit that a nation so religiously committed to the dogma of private enterprise as is ours is unlikely to abandon its basic creed in a country where it wields temporary power. To expect this would be unrealistic. But it would be just as unrealistic to doubt that our devotion to capitalism presents an immense, perhaps an insuperable, obstacle to Mr. Byrnes's aim of winning Germany for the West.

American business was strongly established in the Reich up to the war. Even Hitler's coordination policy had done little to impair the values represented by the corporations and cartels in which American money was invested. The security of those values depended upon the stability of the entire economic structure. Today their recovery depends upon the rebuilding of German private industry; they will be permanently lost if German industry is socialized.

After the last war the United States, despite its aloof and irresponsible attitude toward Europe, threw powerful weight behind the safe, conservative elements that survived the pseudo-revolution of 1918. Our government supported the Weimar Republic and its exemplary

Last Notice to West Coast Readers!

On Saturday and Sunday, September 21 and 22, The Nation Associates will hold a conference, culminating in a public dinner at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

The subject: The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement.

The dinner speakers will be Hon. Thurman W. Arnold, Senator Wayne L. Morse, Dore Schary, Bartley C. Crum, Freda Kirchwey.

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constitution—then as now we wanted a "democratic Germany"—but we favored in every way those reactionary elements that made a travesty of the mild social democracy of Ebert and his colleagues. Hitler was not entirely mistaken when he condemned the men of Weimar as puppets of the Allies. Then as today, but not nearly so desperately as today, Germany needed a thorough revolution: the division of its big estates, the demolition of its ruling class, the smashing of its trusts, an end to the whole structure of power—industrial, agrarian, military—that degenerated during the bitter inter-war years into fascism.

In the Byrnes policy one finds no assurance that the cycle may not be about to begin again. *The Nation* has never favored the destruction of German industrial capacity as represented in the Ruhr and the Rhineland; we have urged that it be internationally controlled—for some years at least, socially owned, and exploited for the rebuilding of Europe. Factories and mines are as useful or as dangerous as the power that controls them. You can combine democracy with a prosperous industrial economy in Germany; you cannot combine it with cartels and the private exploitation of steel and coal. When General McNarney accused the Russians of smashing free enterprise and establishing socialism in the Soviet zone of Germany, he attacked them for their one great achievement there. And if Mr. Brynes's speech presents, as I am afraid it does, the reverse shield of the McNarney report, his effort to bring Germany into "the free world of the West" will surely fail.

I do not exclude the possibility that the economic coordination of the British and American zones may modify to some extent the capitalist method applied by our authorities. It cannot be said the British government has gone far toward carrying its socialist ideas into effect in Germany, but it has nationalized coal in the Ruhr and has put steel under the British military administration. Left opinion in England is openly fearful lest union of the zones may wipe out these progressive measures and tie British to American policy, since we are clearly the dominant economic partner. But one thing is certain: the Western powers must go beyond even the best efforts of the British so far, if they are to get the support of the only Germans we have any reason to trust.

The prospect of restoring private enterprise in Germany will appeal only to the class which financed the Nazi movement and will provide the respectable backing for the fascism of tomorrow. It will not win the millions of German workers who today sit idle waiting for a shattered system to get on its feet, or to the millions of refugees from the east who do not own a tin can in which to get a ladleful of free soup at the relief station.

Three possible prospects lie ahead for Germany. One: a new fascism, more Catholic than pagan, supported economically by the trusts (refinanced with American capital), and politically by the United States. Two: a planned, socialist economy, resting upon democratic institutions and following the broad leftward tendencies of Western Europe. Three: a planned economy integrated with that of Russia and controlled by the German Socialist Unity Party. Nothing in Mr. Byrnes's speech suggests that America will encourage the second course; our record in Germany so far, our own economic position and beliefs, our immediate economic interests all argue against that hope.

Shadows by Gaslight

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 5

THE shadow of things to come falls over a small, shabby hearing room two blocks down the street from the White House. The dry, technical words of gray-haired lawyers mask a powerful struggle over a revolutionary economic development. A new fuel, natural gas, is trying to invade the established market of coal, oil, and artificial gas. The prize is Detroit and Detroit's great automobile industry.

Two lusty young giants, Panhandle Eastern Pipelines Company and United Light and Railways Company, are scrapping for the market. Grimly lined up against both of them are the established fuel interests, the businesses dependent on them, and their workers. They are wailing, "Economic displacement."

This hearing before the Federal Power Commission foreshadows an even greater struggle which will take place when atomic power can be economically used as industrial power: the Federation of Atomic Scientists estimates that within two years an experimental pile will be generating power economically.

The atmosphere in the hearing room is drowsy. The FPC examiner, looking like a country judge, stares at the two long tables of lawyers through half-closed eyes. Three bored reporters sit listlessly at a little table. Forty-five lawyers are involved in this case, but only a fraction attend all the hearings. The lawyers patiently take their

TRIS COFFIN is a Columbia Broadcasting System commentator. He writes a weekly Washington report for The Nation.

turn asking repetitious questions of the witnesses. What is the coal displacement of natural gas? What are the proposed rates? What are the costs?

Two separate struggles are going on. One is an old-fashioned economic slugging match between two $100,000,000 corporations. Panhandle wants to expand its pipeline from Texas to supply industries in Michigan directly. United owns and operates the distributing company which buys natural gas from Panhandle under a contract expiring in 1951. United wants to build its own pipeline to serve Michigan and Wisconsin.

Panhandle gets its natural gas from fields in the Southwest and distributes it to industrial users throughout the Middle West. It already has one big customer lined up among the automobile makers—Ford, at Dearborn, Michigan. Joined with Panhandle in the conflict is another economic empire, the Commonwealth and Southern Company, which has contracted to buy unlimited gas from Panhandle. The two corporations plan to store gas jointly in Michigan in the off seasons. United is trying to prevent Panhandle from invading its territory and taking its customers, and wants to expand its own service in the Middle West.

The big prize is Detroit's potential consumption of 27,000,000,000 cubic feet of industrial gas a year, and the even larger market of 90,000,000,000 cubic feet that all of Michigan offers.

The city of Detroit is interested in the outcome of the fight. It wants cheap natural gas for both house heating and business use, and does not particularly care where it comes from. The states where the natural gas fields are located are worried about the steady outflow of a rich natural resource. States along the pipelines crawling up from the Southwest are afraid that the pipeline companies will forget customers within their borders when the big Detroit industrial market can be served. They have asked the Federal Power Commission to order the pipelines to share their fuel with all points on the system.

The army and navy have not yet appeared at the hearing, but the Federal Power Commission has word of their interest. Natural gas is a source of synthetic gasoline. It may be needed if the clash of power politics in the Near and Middle East slows the flow of oil from those areas.

Natural gas is the youngster in the fuel field. Pipelines transport it cheaply from fields in the Southwest to the industrial centers of the Middle West. Ninety million people and twenty thousand factories now use this fuel. Pipelines stretch as far as Philadelphia. Plans are down on paper for bringing natural gas to the East Coast and New York by utilizing the Big Inch and Little Inch pipelines. Hence the second struggle complicating the hearings.

The railroads which haul coal and oil are objecting. Forty-six lines have intervened in the case. Another petition lists the railways unions, the conductors, engineers, firemen, and switchmen. The National Coal Association and John Lewis's United Mine Workers are together on a joint intervening petition. Among other unions mixed up in this economic conflict are the Associated Coke Plant Employees, the International Chemical Workers, the Coal Yard Employees, the International Association of Machinists, and locals of teamsters, painters, boilermakers, firemen, oilers, electrical workers, and operating engineers. The Lake Michigan docks are worried. Their revenue from coal barges might be cut off.

The hearings are one of the last stages of the battle. It has been fought in full-page newspaper advertisements, in state courts and utility-commission hearings, by lobbyists and politicians. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been tossed into public relations. After the Federal Power Commission makes its decision, which will probably be in December, the case may go on to the Supreme Court.

The FPC attorneys regard the issue as a fundamental one. They are aware that it may be the faint handwriting on the wall prefiguring the struggle to come when atomic power threatens all the conventional fuels, including natural gas. That is why they are asking the painstaking, minute questions that jam the record with figures and apparently obscure facts. As the Power Commission officials see it, there are several basic questions that must be answered. Shall an economic development be allowed to proceed without restraint? Or are all facets of our economy so closely interrelated that the evolution must be checked and slowed down? Should government protect the workers and officials and bondholders of an economic group threatened by the use of a new kind of power? Should the benefit to consumers be considered first? Is there a compensating factor? Would natural gas —or atomic power—offer as many jobs as coal and oil?

The answers to these questions will serve as guides to the new Atomic Control Commission, which President Truman has not named thus far. When atomic power invades the industrial field, the question of government monopoly of power will be argued in Congress, on the political stump, and in hearing rooms. And this invasion is not far off: scientists are working on several different approaches, any one of which may suddenly lead to cheap, controllable atomic power.

Plans for use of atomic power are misted over with official secrecy. But according to the best information, the government will experiment with atomic power in out-of-the-way places not now served by any reliable power system. There is talk of using atomic piles to provide a source of power for Alaska. Officials of the Manhattan District have testified before the Senate Atomic Committee that Oak Ridge, which took so much power out of TVA, is now ready to put power back in that giant, government-operated power system.

Europe, Russia, and America

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, August

THERE is very considerable difference in the climate of opinion on Russia between Europe and America. Attending a worldwide Protestant conference on international relations here in Britain, I had assumed that the Continental fear of communism would be strongly expressed and might be similar to Roman Catholic sentiment. I found this far from being the case. The fear is present, but there is no hysteria. On the other hand, many suspicions were expressed by both the British and the Continentals that Catholicism or "big business" or preoccupation with the atomic bomb had made America hysterical.

If the difference between European and American opinion on the Russian issue were to be defined succinctly I should say that Europe is less certain than we are that the United Nations has much value, but is more certain than we are that it neither desires another war—this time with Russia—nor holds it inevitable. Several times I heard the suggestion that Europe must bend all its efforts to avoid a Soviet-American conflict, which, some fear, will be touched off by our friction with Russia in China. The British discount our enthusiasm for the United Nations as similar to their devotion to the League of Nations two decades ago and rather hint that the one will prove as irrelevant as the other. They would maintain the U. N. as a bridge with Russia, but they believe that if Russia refuses to cooperate in an international atomic authority, the United Nations can serve only very minimal ends.

Despite this skepticism there is a much stronger disposition in Europe to leave no stone unturned to avoid conflict with Russia. At the international conference I attended, the thesis propounded by a Swiss delegate that Nazism and communism were identical was rejected. The moral implications of this thesis were rejected because many delegates insisted that communism possessed creative aspects and no purely nihilistic ones, like Nazism. It was not denied, of course, that the Russian system is totalitarian or that one of the hazards to peace lies in the fact that the Russian leaders are giving the Russian people a very false picture of the West and completely obscuring the almost pathetic desire for peace of the Western world.

The political implications of the thesis were rejected on the ground that Nazi dynamism, with its narrow geographic base, was driven by a demonry and by political necessities almost completely absent from the situation in the Soviet Union. I found a general disposition to attribute Russian truculence to Russian fears; a good deal of evidence was adduced by delegates from nations contiguous to Russia that this is the case. Some delegates were certain that Russian policy shifted after our dropping of the bomb without making them privy to the secret —that is, to the secret of our having the bomb and not the secret of the bomb itself. This opinion is also held in informed circles in Britain. It should be added, however, that Russian fears and mistrust expressed themselves secretly during the war in almost fantastic terms and that some of our dubious policies, such as the insistence upon "unconditional surrender," were designed to allay that mistrust. To Russian fears one must add Russian stupidities, for it is quite apparent that the Russian leadership has a distorted conception of democracy, partly due to the fact that all things are viewed through the spectacles of an inflexible Marxist dogmatism.

The great dangers which arise from these fears and stupidities and from Western stupidities which feed them are not denied; one could not detect great optimism about the possibility of avoiding catastrophe. There is, on the other hand, a minimal hope that if the Western world remains patient, it may be possible in time to change Russia's attitude. It is believed at least that the stakes are so high that every resource must be exhausted. After innumerable talks in both religious and political circles I have come to the conclusion that this European opinion has much to commend it and is, on the whole, superior to the general American approach both among our conservatives and among our non-Communist left.

One element in the strategy of patience would be to stop futile efforts to change what cannot be changed in Eastern Europe, regarded by Russia as its strategic security belt. It will do things there which will disturb the conscience of democrats. It will do some things, such as breaking up big landed estates, which will arouse the prejudices, rather than the conscience, of conservatives. But Western efforts to change conditions in Poland, or in Bulgaria, for instance, will prove futile in any event,

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partly because the Russians are there and we aren't, and partly because such slogans as "free elections" and "free enterprise" are irrelevant in that part of the world. Our copybook versions of democracy are frequently as obtuse as Russian dogmatism. If we left Russia alone in the part of the world it has staked out, we might actually help, rather than hinder, the indigenous forces which resist its heavy hand. There are indications, for instance, that while Polish foreign policy is completely controlled, Russia is forced to yield on many points to Polish opinion. This is even more true in Czechoslovakia.

It is generally recognized, of course, that a policy of laissez faire in Eastern Europe cannot apply to the West, for it is apparent that a strong Russian drive into the West would ultimately lead to war. Talk of letting Russia organize the whole of Europe is nonsense. For however ambiguous may be what we call "Western culture" or "Western civilization," expressed chiefly by democratic socialism on the political level and by the humanist and the Christian tradition culturally, it is both strong enough and will have a strong enough survival impulse to resist capitulation to Russia. Europe itself could not resist Russian expansion, if it should develop; but Britain and America certainly could. Whether one regards the will to resist as wise or unwise, one must regard it as inevitable.

European criticisms of America, in so far as they are non-Communist, are not directed against this will to resist. They spring rather from a fear that it will express itself unwisely, impatiently, and with too much emphasis upon capitalism or free enterprise as one of the resources of the West, both as a means of survival and as a reason for survival.

It must be clear that, while further encroachments of Russia in Western Europe, or in China, for that matter, might mean war, it is also apparent that the effort to keep Russian power in bounds must not be primarily military. The way to save Western Europe is to give it a sound economic basis for a sound political life. While it cannot be said that Britain has seen this fact too clearly in the past, the Labor Party is increasingly aware of the necessity of supporting the German Social Democrats and also of socializing property in western Germany, as part of a program of creating a viable economy. Many Europeans fear that America will resist or oppose this process of socialization—with how much justice I do not know, though obviously American opinion has never come to grips with the issue.

A policy of socialized property in western Germany is, of course, not enough by itself to restore health in Europe. No clear sense of direction is apparent in any Western political or social policy, apart from a gradual resistance to stubborn Soviet bargaining on every borderline issue. Although no one suggests that we should yield to Russia on the bargaining front, it is obvious that we shall not gain our ends by following only a negative course of action. Progressive opinion in America must recognize that the West will have to develop a positive social strategy and not merely a military and negative one. If western Germany remains an economic desert and Western Europe an economic chaos, communism will spread despite the present unpopularity of Communist parties.

Molotov's recent about-face on the German issue undoubtedly sprang from the conviction that Germany is ultimately more important to Russia than is France. For Molotov was not afraid to alienate French opinion by insisting on the need of German unity. No equally bold comprehension of the situation has been shown on our side. Incidentally, the extreme fear of Russia in Germany is being gradually dissipated, not only because the Russian army has been brought under discipline and the plundering stopped, but also because the Russians have decided to harness rather than to destroy the industrial power under their control. They will, of course, not join Britain and America in uniting Germany economically today, preferring rather to exploit German industry for their own purposes and relying on their promise of ultimate unity to win German support. These Russian objectives may not be too plausible, but they make more sense than anything projected from the Western zones.

I think that on the whole the British left is correct in feeling that American labor and liberal opinion is too much preoccupied with strategic issues concerning Russia, and too little aware of the kind of social policy which must be applied if we are to save Western Europe. Perhaps America is not quite the wilderness of laissez faire political thought which the British left imagines it to be. There is more power in our progressive movements than is understood in Europe, though it is rather difficult to prove that after the recent costly "victorious defeat" on the OPA issue. But on foreign policy Europe is right in discounting us. American progressives and labor have no foreign policy. The C. I. O. cannot have one because the Communists are able to veto any policy which is more concrete than an expression of a fervent desire for Big Three unity. The A. F. of L. and many liberals are too filled with a simple Russian phobia to develop a constructive policy.

The sentiment in democratic Europe has convinced me that nothing is more important than the elaboration of a creative, progressive foreign policy for America which will neither play the militarist game of preaching war against Russia nor repeat the slogans of the fellow-travelers. It must above all help the nation to contribute to an economically healthy and politically sane Europe; and it must resist a policy in China which gives the reactionary elements in the Chinese government a new lease on power under the guise of American and Chinese partnership against communism.

Depression Round the Corner?

BY SEYMOUR HARRIS

THE United States has had a hundred years of alternating economic booms and depressions. We are now in the midst of a boom—and the depression is not far behind. Moreover, history shows that the greater the boom the greater the depression—which is an extremely discouraging thought, since the present boom has exceeded all others in duration and magnitude. Congress and the public must be awakened to the dangers that lie ahead, for only less complacency and more preparation to avert the crash will save us from another experience like that of the thirties. Economists now know much more about the causes of depressions—and the ways to prevent them—than they did two decades ago, but theirs, unfortunately, is once again the vain role of Cassandra. Congress and the public pay little attention.

What has the Administration done to avoid economic collapse? What to invite it?

Against the most immediate danger, inflation, the obvious defense is to keep demand down and increase supply. A powerful factor in creating demand is our $300,000,000,000 of liquid assets—in 1939 we had only $85,000,000,000. The correct policy would be to try to immobilize these assets for the present, to delay their use until the fifties and sixties, when there will almost certainly be inadequate demand. What is spent now stimulates inflation; what is used later will help stave off deflation.

Yet by weakening price control, prematurely removing control of demand (by relaxing priorities and the like), and cutting taxes, the government is encouraging spending now. Such measures make people increasingly aware that prices are rising and increasingly anxious to exchange liquid for illiquid assets. Various surveys have assured us that the fortunate holders of liquid assets will keep them as insurance against future distress, or to buy a home or a farm with later, or for the children's education, and that they will not use them for buying goods today. But history and common sense both tell us that as prices begin to rise 2 or 3 per cent a month, the public will realize that to buy now is to conserve the goods value of money and to buy tomorrow is to lose.

The results of a mistaken policy or of no policy at all are already apparent in inflated demand. Investment is now running at the rate of $25,000,000,000 a year. The country needs consumer goods but is getting an excess of capital goods, including rises in inventories. (I recall that at a WPB meeting in the fall of 1945 where the possibility of dropping inventory controls was being discussed, one of the country's leading bankers said that business would never again build up inventories recklessly. Business and bankers, he said, had learned their lesson in 1919-20—he had apparently forgotten about 1937.) This excess of investment could have been prevented if top officials in the WPB had not been disposed to turn our economy back to private enterprise prematurely. Free bidding for labor and materials to expand plants that are not greatly needed at the moment could have been averted.

Veterans want homes and should have them. Yet it is estimated that all residential construction will amount to only $4,000,000,000 in 1946 and to $6,600,000,000 in 1947—the total construction for those years is put at $15,000,000,000 and $20,000,000,000. The large unfilled demand for houses is bound to send the price up. We need housing, but we get department stores, office buildings, and hotels. One important reason for this is the suicidal and irresponsible lifting, in 1945, of L-41, the WPB order which allocated the use of building materials. In March, 1946, control was reestablished by Order No. 1 of the Veterans' Housing Program, but much damage had been done by then. In many cases, if excavation had begun, non-housing projects costly in the use of essential materials were allowed to proceed.

So long as demand greatly exceeds supply at reasonable prices, recourse must be had primarily to controls. Budgetary surpluses, however welcome *now*, can make only a minor contribution to the anti-inflation fight. But something might be accomplished through monetary controls. Why not, for example, sterilize the excess liquid assets—that is, government securities—held by banks? The Committee on Economic Development, Marriner Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, and others have made suggestions along these lines, but the men responsible for policy have not acted on them.

Bank profits have risen disproportionately: from 1940 to 1945, according to the National City Bank, member banks' profits as a percentage of invested capital rose from 6.2 to 11 per cent, while all business showed a decline of from 7.8 to 7.6 per cent. Banks perform a simple function and take little risk: they manufacture money as the agent of the government. Why is it neces-

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sary to pay them an average rate of 1½ per cent on government securities and allow them to exchange these assets for cash, thus further increasing their abnormal earnings and further strengthening the inflationary forces? Why not issue to them securities yielding one-half or one per cent and require them to hold these securities largely against deposits? In this way further expansion of money and demand could be prevented.

Another solution for the problem of large security holdings by banks is also being urged upon the Administration: this is to raise instead of reduce the rate of interest. The theory is that the banks will then be able to dispose of securities to genuine savers, with a resulting contraction of monetary supplies. This seems a most unwise suggestion since the cost of the debt would be greatly increased and large profits would ultimately accrue to its holders (two-thirds of the securities are held by financial institutions and 10 per cent by corporations).

Not only should demand be curtailed, but much should and might be done to increase supplies. Speeding up the tempo of government sales would help. As late as April, 1945, the government had sold only $271,000,000 worth of the plants in which it had invested some $15,000,000,000. Only one-third of the surplus to be disposed of had been acquired by the government disposal agencies; only a small fraction had been sold.

More important is wage policy. Somehow or other the Administration will have to work out a way to prevent major strikes in industries affecting the whole economy. Such interruptions to work are a threat to any stabilization policy. They keep output low and unit costs correspondingly high and create an element of uncertainty which further reduces output and encourages price-spiraling.

The government's long-term policy is even more censurable than its failure to cope with inflation. Virtually nothing has been done to prevent the large collapse which now seems inevitable or to prepare the country to meet it. Congress is much more to blame than the Administration, which, if it has not urged appropriate measures with adequate vigor, has at least proposed them. Most of these measures would presumably raise demand in the coming decades of deficient demand. An adequate social-security program would raise demand by providing low-income groups with more purchasing power. More adequate coverage, liberalization of benefits, extension of federal aid, health and sickness insurance—these are the more important proposals. So far little has been done; and so long as action hinges on the approval of the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee as at present constituted, little can be expected.

After seven years of extremely favorable business conditions the Unemployment Compensation Fund has reserves of about $7,000,000,000. A ten-year depression on the scale of that of the thirties would wipe out wages totaling $250,000,000,000, or thirty-five times the reserves. And we assume a war will not pull us out this time. Even a depression only one-half as severe as the previous one would wipe out $125,000,000,000 of wages. Obviously unemployment compensation alone cannot make up for the losses resulting from unemployment; it can, however, make a much more substantial contribution than it promises to now. Benefits are geared in many respects to the wage scales and prices of the thirties, when money wages were about half as high as they are now. Again, it is scandalous that under merit rating—based on a thoroughly repudiated theory that each firm controls the amount of unemployment—employers have been allowed to reduce their payments from 3 to 2 per cent of wages.

The program is meager indeed. How can one reconcile benefit payments of $10 weekly for sixteen weeks—as provided in many states—with the current wage rates and the present distribution of liquid assets? (One survey indicates that the bottom 50 per cent had 3 per cent of these assets in 1945.)

Public works are another way of increasing demand when employment falls off. Yet despite the valiant efforts of the Roosevelt Administration, we have scarcely started to plan them. The federal government is prepared today to undertake public works of but several billion dollars, and state and local projects in the design stage amount to only $6,000,000,000. Plans should be fully worked out on such a scale that once a serious decline sets in the government can spend from $5,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000 a *year*. If these plans are not available when needed, the government will spend too little, too late, and too uneconomically.

For the present, public investment should be kept at a minimum. The mistake made in the prosperous twenties of spending too much and in the depressed thirties of spending too little should not be repeated in the forties and fifties.

Other ways of stimulating demand are open to us. Wages should be high enough to assure sales—sales at sufficiently high prices to make business profitable. In the twenties the rise in wage rates and the fall in prices did not keep up with declining costs; as a result profits piled up, and ultimately goods also. This is one of the great dangers of our impending inflation. Trade unions, on the other hand, must not misinterpret the Keynesian theory of high wages—a theory that recognizes the relation of wages to demand and hence to productivity but does not by any means dissociate wages from productivity.

Many of the policies which are to raise future demand invite attention to the financial repercussions of these policies and particularly to the rising public debt. In a

capitalist society financial arrangements quite properly have to be taken into account. Public works, social security, international loans, and similar measures are closely scrutinized to determine their effect on the public debt. The inadequacy of these programs stems from exaggerated fears of a rising public debt and a mistaken emphasis on financial considerations.

Those who are disposed to object to every proposal that increases the public debt should be reminded of the following: Public debt is financed out of income. Income depends on demand; a measure that raises demand also increases income. A total tax bill amounting to 30 per cent of the nation's income, plus a servicing charge on the debt requiring 3 per cent of the nation's income, is less burdensome when the national income is between $150,000,000,000 and $160,000,000,000, as it is today, than a tax bill of 6 per cent, plus a debt-servicing charge of one-half of 1 per cent, was for the 1913 income of $35,000,000,000. Let us note that in 1913 only $33,000,000,000 remained for the private economy; now from $130,000,000,000 to $140,000,000,000 of disposable income remains.

In summary, we have a right to expect more vigorous leadership from the White House and an increasing awareness of the issues on the part of Congress. For the next year or two the objective of all policies should be to contain demand and expand supply. For 1948 and later years the government should be prepared with a sheaf of plans for supporting demand. Is it too much to expect that Congress should plan for the future at least as far ahead as squirrels? If Congress wants to save capitalism, now is the time; improvisations a few years from now will not be very effective.

Counter-Revolution in China

BY HUGH DEANE

THE civil war in China is essentially a counter-revolution. It is being waged because the reactionary factions of the Kuomintang, with which Chiang Kai-shek must be identified, understand that for them a real compromise with the Communists and liberals is out of the question, since a compromise would crack their political monopoly. Hence, like the émigrés of 1792, like the South in 1861, like the czarist and Spanish officers in 1918 and 1936, these defenders of the status quo are playing the traditional trump card of war.

During the eight years of struggle against the Japanese a shift in power took place in China which only armed force can reverse. In the vast social effort made possible by the war the Communist-led agrarian movement spread from a score of counties in the northwest over a third of China: across North China to the coast, into Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, into parts of the rich provinces of central China. Agrarian reforms, democracy, and peasant unions—backed by peasant armies—have shifted the balance of political power in these areas from the landlords to the peasants. This new power is the greatest challenge to the semi-feudal status quo in the long, tortured history of the Chinese Revolution.

Even in the areas policed by the Kuomintang, as the fascist-like assassinations and censorship testify, a substantial middle-class and intellectual opinion opposes the Kuomintang's cramping dictatorship. The Kuomintang has even felt obliged to move against the mild Chinese Association of Labor, which grew out of the "white" unions organized by the Kuomintang after the left-right split in 1927.

In China the Communists and liberals are in firm alliance, a unique phenomenon. The simplest explanation is that the Kuomintang has demonstrated repeatedly that it will not tolerate even a liberal opposition. The assassination of Li Kung-po, a leader of the Democratic League, and Professor Wen I-to, head of the School of Chinese Studies at the Southwest Associated University, and the recent arrests, beatings, and killings of scores of other well-known and unknown democrats have precedents extending back through the two decades of Kuomintang rule. Liberals understand that alone, without an army, they have no more future than did the Japanese liberals of the 1920's. The Communists, on the other hand, have given them freedom to work and a real share of the leadership in the rural governments of northern and central China.

Underlying this reason for Communist-liberal cooperation is the fact that communism is not an immediate issue in China. This is so not just because the Communists are willing to make temporary concessions in order to win the support of liberals; it has a solid basis in the primitive, semi-feudal character of the Chinese economy. The peasants are obviously interested not in socialism but in more land and lower rents and taxes; and the needs and desires of the peasants must be the major de-

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terminants of the Communist program. The aggregate of new power in China is primarily against feudalism and against the quasi-fascist institutions with which the Kuomintang has tried to bolster feudalism. It is being used to effect what the Communists call the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and what the Communists think this revolution should achieve approximates closely what liberals are working for. This does not mean, of course, that the Communists are just agrarian democrats, as some people still insist; they believe that eventually socialism will appear on the political agenda. To sum up, in China today, as in all revolutionary situations, there is no effective "third choice."

Against the broad coalition of Communists and liberals the Kuomintang is executing two offensives. In its own areas it is using all the familiar instruments of coercion and terror in an effort to destroy all opposition, almost entirely non-Communist. Almost the whole liberal press and many liberal voices have been silenced.

Concurrently, major concentrations of Kuomintang troops are seeking to surround, blockade, and annihilate Communist forces in particular key or vulnerable areas. Just as the Japanese in 1937 did not want war but only an incident, so the Kuomintang does not want an official civil war. It would prefer an undeclared, localized civil war while negotiations go on and on. While its troops attack in one area, it would like the truce maintained in others. Thus the Communists could be destroyed piecemeal, and the United States with less embarrassment could continue to give military aid.

But since this was obvious to the Communists, they have counteracted the Kuomintang offensives with offensives of their own, and so the fighting has spread. At the same time, especially after Chiang Kai-shek's six-point program of August 14, which was virtually a demand for surrender cloaked in the threadbare promise of "constitutional" government, the Communist press and radio became more militant, saying that civil war was an actuality and demanding with new sharpness that the United States cease its intervention. As might be expected, this enabled part of the American press to claim that the Communists had rejected Chiang's conciliatory offer and that the new party line was all-out civil war. A New York *Times* editorial on August 18, for example, declared that the Communists were "in revolt" and "burning their bridges behind them and inviting chaos."

Chiang apparently believes that the worst that can happen to him is not to win. If he destroys or decisively weakens the Communists, only the Soviet Union will be unhappy, and General Marshall can go home, a gallant and patient soldier who did his best. But if the Kuomintang armies should suffer defeats, Chiang thinks that American power will be used to prevent the Communists from exploiting them.

The cornerstone of Kuomintang policy is the conviction that the United States will not tolerate a revolution in China, even the sort of revolution called for in Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy." In truth, the grounds for this conviction are ample. In the Philippines, Korea, and Japan the United States obviously is supporting conservative and reactionary forces. In China, while purporting to act as an honest mediator, the United States has given vast military and economic aid to the Kuomintang. The most compelling motive of American policy seems to be restriction of Soviet influence in Asia, which means that the United States must play a counter-revolutionary role. There are no indications that the United States will change its policy in China, even if full-scale civil war strips away the pretenses used to conceal intervention. In the editorial referred to above, the New York *Times* implied plainly that the prime issue in China is "Soviet imperialism," which requires "a firm attitude" on the part of the United States—that is, continued intervention. The *Times* must consider it truly fortunate that by chance the United States has been maintaining troops in China to assist in the repatriation of the Japanese forces.

Results of the fighting thus far, however, bear out the conclusion that despite the Kuomintang's sixty American-trained and American-equipped divisions, its substantial air force of American planes, its small American-built navy, and its supply base in the United States, the position of the Communists is by no means weak. As the Japanese learned the hard way, military power is difficult to apply in China. In an industrial society the rural areas tend to be dependent on the urban areas, and when a city falls, the nearby countryside falls with it. The economic attraction of the urban commercial market, plus the existence of good roads which permit a city garrison to fan out over the countryside, makes military control relatively simple. In semi-feudal, non-industrialized China, however, with its subsistence agriculture and lack of communications, the countryside can exist independent of the towns and the capture of the county seat does not entail the capture of the county.

The Japanese never held much of the countryside of North China for any length of time. They were obliged to maintain large garrisons in every city and town and to defend constantly every mile of road and railway. They could not prevent the Communists from building armies and organizing almost self-sufficient governments in the rural areas. At least half a million Japanese troops were always tied down in "conquered" North China.

The Kuomintang has now inherited the Japanese military problem, which is essentially how to hold too much hostile territory with too few men. If the Kuomintang puts a company in every village, the companies will be destroyed separately; if it puts in a battalion—even if a battalion were adequate—there are not enough of them to go around. The Kuomintang will certainly use large-

scale terror, but a fair presumption is that it will prove no more effective for Chiang than for the Japanese.

The situation is different from the old days in Kiangsi, where the Communists could be contained and slowly squeezed. Now the large Communist armies have the breadth of China in which to fight their particular type of mobile warfare. Now the Communists are intrenched in what may be a decisive number of villages. Now they have well-tested political, economic, and military institutions with which to counteract the traditional weaknesses of peasant rebellions. Perhaps most important of all, in the dynamics of revolution power often is created in an incredibly short time, and armies are born in a fortnight.

Every American will be a factor in the bitter struggle ahead, for American-made arms are adding thousands of new names to the long roster of Chinese revolutionary dead: the United States is intervening in China to the same effect that it non-intervened in Spain—the frustration of a revolution.

Placebos in Medicine—and Elsewhere

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THERE was an interesting but disturbing report in the New York *Journal of Medicine* for August 1, 1946. It dealt with a round-table discussion by the members of the Department of Pharmacology and of Medicine of Cornell University Medical College and the New York Hospital. The subject was the use of placebos in therapy.

The Latin word *placebo* means "I will please"; as a medical term it is defined as "a medicine adapted rather to pacify than to benefit the patient." A pure placebo is something like a bread pill or a sugar pellet. And according to Dr. DuBois of Cornell, "sugar pills have been found to be more effective if they are colored either pink or blue, or better still, mottled."

The power of placebos seems to be tremendous: "For example, we found recently that placebos have a marked effect in preventing seasickness." "In a recent study Seidel and Abrams found that hypodermics of saline were just as effective as vaccines against chronic rheumatoid arthritis." During the discussion Dr. Harold G. Wolff reported to his audience on the power of suggestion in influencing the action of drugs as shown by pain-threshold experiments—tests in which an area of skin blackened with india ink is exposed to heat from a 1,000-watt bulb; the sensation of pain from the heat of the bulb can then be exactly measured. Analgesic properties have been conferred by suggestion on sugar of milk and removed from typical analgesic drugs such as aspirin.

Dr. Mark Lipkin treated patients with Raynaud's syndrome with the help of an electrical apparatus in which the current was not turned on. He simply let the dials click. "Some improvement was reported in every case, and the results were excellent in six cases." A study of the effect of aminophylline and theobromine on cardiac pain in ambulant patients with coronary disease showed that sugar brought improvement in 25 per cent of the cases and the potent theobromine in 22 per cent. The doctors were so much puzzled by the patients' unshakable devotion to the sugar medicine that they went back to check on whether an active agent of some sort might not have been put into the prescription by mistake.

Typical reactions of patients to sugar pills are: I sleep better. My appetite is improved. My breathing is better. It makes me stronger. My bowels are better. I can walk farther without pain in my chest.

Now such findings are not entirely new, but the attitude of these distinguished doctors to the ethical implications of prescribing sugar as medicine is somewhat surprising: "I think we all agree that placebos are useful and should be used. . . ." This explanation was given: "Any pill, whether it be sugar or medication, is in part placebo because it is a symbol of the doctor. . . . When the patient has a little pillbox with tablets to take, that is an interpolation of the doctor. He can carry that much of the doctor with him, and it is effective. The pill is the symbol of the doctor's unspoken or spoken words, 'I will take care of you.' The pill also fulfils the patient's need to feel dependent. . . . A bitter or even nauseating placebo fills a need for punishment. Everyone feels the need for punishment some time. Last of all, the pill supports the desire to get well."

These psychological defenses for the prescription of placebos are probably sound. But if we have to decide whether to call the use of placebos a legitimate and "high-grade" therapeutic method—as these physicians termed it—or a fraud, I vote passionately for "fraud."

Placebos are an indication of the ignorance of physicians, a proof that medicine is not yet a true science

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but still deeply overshadowed by magic, taboos, anxieties, and primitive rituals. There can be no choice in the medicine of the future between complete truthfulness and the continuation of deception. Suggestion and superstition ought to be the privilege of quacks, and quacks only. Any kind of alliance with fraud breeds more fraud. The end does not justify the means. As one of the speakers—Dr. C. H. Wheeler—rightly remarked, "I would like to call attention to the fact that many of the placebos which are used are dangerous to the patient, and that many doctors, when they want to give a patient something, instead of giving him something harmless, like to inject something into the veins or muscles, as calcium, or vitamins, or sodium cacodylate. I think that it is a practice which cannot be sufficiently condemned. It is horrifying to find how commonly that is done."

Not only medicine but our whole social and political life is infested by placebos ("pacifying rather than benefiting"). The assumption that the lower the patient's intelligence the more completely he may be satisfied by a placebo is entirely false. Dr. H. Gold said, "I have made it a rule to distrust the so-called 'intelligent people.'" Such persons crave placebos more than the less intelligent. Medicine is increasingly infiltrated—like life in general—by dishonesties, hiding behind pseudo-scientific and psychological techniques. Placebos are a dangerous weapon in the age-old love-hate relationship between doctor and patient. Having practiced as a doctor for many years and, just recently, having been a patient myself, I resolve that I will not treat patients who expect placebos from their doctor, and I will not use the services of a doctor who prescribes placebos. Once one agrees to the principle of pacifying rather than benefiting there can be no limit to fraud and deception. In my opinion the use of placebos should be stamped out in every sphere of life.

The Voice of America—Who Listens?

BY J. Q. RIZNIK

THE United States Department of State has won the right to stay in the short-wave propaganda business for another year and, deftly covering up a key weakness of the operation, has for the first time revealed that it considers short-wave radio a political weapon of prime importance and a competitive necessity. Now the department is confronted with the jobs of justifying the expenditure of some ten million dollars for radio and proving the effectiveness of its short-wave theory.

In getting from Congress the funds to continue international broadcasting, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes for the first time put into the record a realistic appraisal of the intent and purpose of the short-wave operations. In one of the most forthright declarations on international radio ever made by a high government official, Byrnes said:

> Radio is our one means of projecting information about America across frontiers blocked by political censorship. Such frontier censorship, I regret to say, obtains in varying degrees of severity throughout a substantial portion of the earth. . . . Today forty-nine countries or their dependencies are engaged in international broadcasting. The British are operating at a level considerably above their pre-war effort, and considerably higher than we contemplate. The Soviet Union is already very active in this field and has recently ordered thirty high-powered transmitters from this country. . . .
>
> The undergirding of our international negotiations . . . consists of popular understanding abroad of America and its policies. . . . I am convinced that an international information program can contribute to our security just as can an army or navy or an air force. . . . If you agree that peace—like war—must be waged, and I do believe it is so, then we must have instruments appropriate for the waging of peace.

Byrnes disclosed that the State Department is preparing to broadcast in Russian and went on to say:

> Radio is the best available means for reaching large populations which are deprived of information from America for lack of other communications facilities, or by inability to pay for information from commercial agencies, and by illiteracy.
>
> Throughout great regions our radio transmitters have come to be known as the Voice of America. I would regard it as little less than tragic for us to abandon now this remarkable instrument, with all its potentialities for advancing understanding, and thus advancing the cause of peace.

During the next six months the United States government's short-wave operations will be closely studied by United Nations radio experts, who are working on a proposal for a United Nations worldwide broadcasting project. At the same time commercial radio executives in this country have put their finger on what they believe is a key weakness in the case for international broadcasting.

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They say that the Secretary of State has unrealistically glossed over that weakness and failed to face the facts.

The complaint of those who have appraised United States short-wave transmissions and questioned the effectiveness of the government information program can, in essence, be presented in this two-line paraphrase:

> They shoot an arrow into the air;
> It falls to earth, they know not where!

If you shoot a short-wave program into the air, say the realistic radio men, and you don't know *who* is listening —*how many* and *what kind* of people—then the money spent for such broadcasting is, literally, thrown away.

Because the United Nations radio project, even in the discussion stage, needs facts on short-wave listening, this writer went after them. As a result, it can be unequivocally recorded that *there is no one in the United States, in the government or out, who can authoritatively say how many persons listen to the radio Voice of America.*

When Byrnes declared that "the Voice of America is the best available means for reaching large populations which are deprived of information from America by lack of other communications facilities, or by inability to pay for information from commercial agencies and by illiteracy," he either overlooked the facts available or was not informed that figures, gathered by his department, do not bear him out. State Department information specialists and statisticians say they are at a loss to explain why their facts and figures have until now been kept from public examination.

More eloquent than many words are the figures which are presented graphically below. They deal with some of the areas chosen for our government's short-wave transmissions (known technically as "target areas"), but similar data are available for every part of the world. For each "target" there is a series of State Department directives which control the type and frequency of programs aimed at it.

While the figures tell a startling story, the story is not complete unless it is *stated, and stated emphatically, that 75 per cent of all short-wave sets everywhere in the world (a conservative estimate) are owned and operated by what can be described as the upper classes.* The majority of the world's short-wave listeners are, in United States terms, members of the upper-bracket income and intellectual class. Thus when our government leaders—and there have been many besides the Secretary of State—speak inspirationally of the radio Voice of America reaching "the ordinary people" and "illiterates" of foreign countries, they either overlook or are ignorant of the facts.

The figures, here presented for public examination for the first time, suggest many questions usually ignored by those interested in our future international short-wave operations. Here are half a dozen which must eventually be answered:

If the United States must compete with forty-nine other countries for a radio audience abroad, is it not imperative that our short-wave transmissions equal or exceed those of competitor nations in scope?

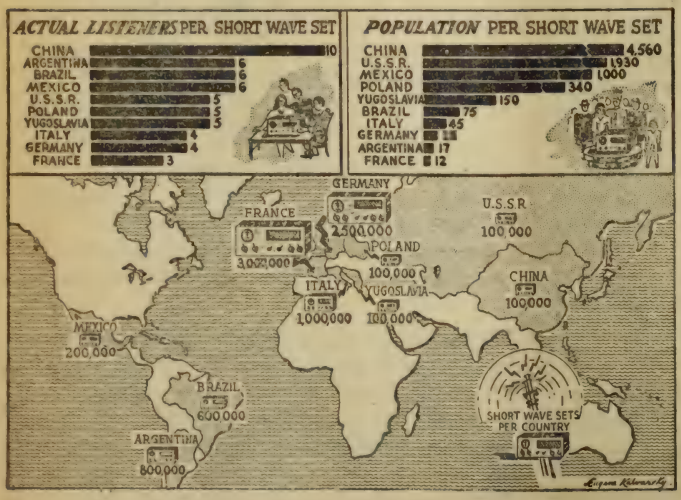
If the Voice of America is to be used as a political weapon, is it not mandatory that we reach the ears and minds of the common people of the world rather than the so-called upper classes, who, by their very position, already accept the tenets of free enterprise?

If the British, French, Russian, and other Socialist and semi-Socialist states surpass, in number of transmitters and programs, the output of our own government, which speaks for the American way of life, how effective can the Voice of America be as a competitive political weapon?

To increase the number of short-wave receivers in the world, should not the government inaugurate a priority plan for production of inexpensive radio receivers and make them available at little or no profit in those countries which are primary targets for the Voice of America?

If the United States is forced, by the nature of the competitive pattern set by other countries, into continued use of short-wave transmissions, is there not as much danger of a radio race developing among the big powers as there is of an atom-bomb and armament race?

Could the United Nations regulate, control, or possibly take over the use of radio words as weapons of peace among the nations of the world?



Nehru Takes Control

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, September 3

YESTERDAY'S inauguration of the Indian interim government was a political event of immense significance. Nehru's "provisional national government"—to use his expression—is made up of twelve members: seven from the Congress Party, two nationalist Moslems not belonging to the Moslem League, a Sikh, a Parsee, and a Christian. Two seats are being kept vacant for the present. Unless Jinnah and Nehru reach a basic understanding, these will be filled by two more nationalist Moslems appointed by Nehru. But Congress leaders are standing by their assertion that they are willing to reconstitute the entire government on the basis set forth by the Cabinet mission and the Viceroy during the summer—namely, six Congress men, five Moslem Leaguers, and three representatives from other minorities.

Within a few hours of the government's taking office Gandhi made a statement that though this was not independence it opened the door to complete freedom. Whatever India's quarrel with Britain in the past, said Gandhi, the latter merited gratitude for its willingness to come to an understanding with the Indian leaders.

Nehru as Chief Minister outlined to a group of newspapermen the plans of his government and the urgent problems that call for its energetic attention. He emphasized that the government would function as a Cabinet pledged to carrying out a definite program and to working out its problems by joint consultation. The achievement of independence is naturally the primary objective of the new government. But while pressing for this it will tackle the vast and intricate tasks of feeding, clothing, housing, educating, and safeguarding the health of 400,000,000 Indians.

Within the limitations imposed by the existing constitution Nehru's Cabinet will try to establish precedents that will in effect introduce several features of responsible government. For instance, Nehru told the permanent secretaries of the several departments that the right of direct approach to the Viceroy which they had enjoyed in the past must cease as of today. The Cabinet mission and the Viceroy agreed, when the point was raised by Congress leaders, that there would be no interference with the government's administration of internal affairs and that its external status would be that of Canada or Australia. Only those who have observed the official machinery in operation can appreciate how great a change has taken place. Previously higher permanent officials, mostly British, dealt directly with the Viceroy and through him with the British Cabinet in London. Even during the perilous days of the war vital decisions were delayed because of the absense of sanction from London. The center of political influence has now shifted from London to Delhi, and the men who will make decisions are not the permanent officials but Nehru and his colleagues. How far these permanent officials, whom the Congress Party has bitterly opposed through the years, will succeed in making the necessary readjustments one cannot say. Senior men will probably retire; younger men may reconcile themselves to the new regime.

The installation of the Congress leaders in office is the beginning of a new era. But it is also the end of an old one—of collusion between the Moslem League and the British Tories. Last week there was published in London a sensational report of correspondence between Churchill and Jinnah, together with a denial by the latter which was not convincing. Apart from the correspondence, there was the assurance, first given in 1940 by Lord Linlithgow, then the Viceroy of India, that no fresh political advance would be made without the consent of all parties. This Jinnah interpreted as a veto over Congress conferred on the Moslem League, and he used it with considerable skill throughout the war.

Attlee's blunt statement in Parliament last March that a minority could not prevent the advance of the majority deeply disturbed the Moslem leader. Throughout the subsequent thirteen weeks of negotiations with the Labor Ministers and the Viceroy, Jinnah made his moves with canny precision. At last he blundered by publishing prematurely his correspondence with the Viceroy, the effects of which have been disastrous for the League. It was clear that the British government was determined to reach a settlement with the Congress leaders, preferably with Jinnah's cooperation, but if he remained intransigent, without it.

Since the end of June Jinnah has steadily pursued a policy of increasing recklessness and irresponsibility. First came the withdrawal of the Moslem League's support of British long-term plans for India. Then followed the first step in the "direct action" program. August 16 was fixed as the date for the celebration throughout India by the Moslems of "Direct Action Day." For weeks inflammatory speeches and broadcasts proclaimed a holy war against unbelievers. The culmination was an orgy of mass murder in Calcutta, with the Moslem League Min-

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istry openly encouraging the campaign. The Hindus and Sikhs, infuriated by indiscriminate assaults, retaliated with equal fanaticism. Five thousand dead and fifteen thousand injured in three days of unrestrained gangsterism—this was the appalling total in Calcutta.

Had this disaster not occurred, Jinnah's direct-action program might have unfolded with impunity. Calcutta compelled him to revise his plans. His best friends, including some British business men, were unqualified in their criticisms. They begged him to return to the path of cooperation, to revise his latest decision rejecting the constitution, and to join the interim government on the terms still open to him. Lord Wavell, ignoring Calcutta's ghastly experience, repeated those terms on the day the announcement of the new government was made. Nehru, on behalf of the Congress Party, has expressed his willingness to reconstruct the government and distribute portfolios in a manner that would give the Moslem League an equitable share of power.

There is no indication that Jinnah will give these appeals serious consideration. Some of his lieutenants are frankly and openly apprehensive that direct action by the Moslems may lead to irretrievable disaster. They seem, however, to be in a minority. Yesterday was described by Moslem League papers and speakers as a "black day." Fiery speeches have been made in some centers suggesting a complete boycott—political, economic, and social—of both the British and the Hindus, and defiance of measures prohibiting demonstrations and the possession of dangerous weapons. The rioting in Bombay was insignificant in comparison with Calcutta's, but was sufficient to convey the warning that India's present atmosphere can easily be disturbed. Congress leaders are willing to be fair, even generous, toward the Moslems, but they are not prepared to indorse a policy of appeasement of the Moslem League. One of Nehru's Moslem colleagues was prevented from taking office yesterday by a murderous assault by fanatical terrorists. Jinnah's condemnation of the attack had little real effect, and threats are being made against other Moslems who have had the courage to differ with him.

The conventions which Nehru is determined to establish transforming the Viceroy's Executive Council into a Cabinet under his leadership will make it even more difficult for Jinnah to retrace his steps. Last June he began to lose the tactical advantage he had enjoyed during the war of exercising a veto power over Congress. His blunders have virtually isolated him and the Moslem League, driving him into a dangerously perverse mood.

Congress leaders have a most anxious time ahead. They have, however, one significant achievement to their credit: Jaiprakash Narain, leader of the Socialist group and a man of very considerable influence, has finally been persuaded to join the Congress executive. He will exercise some restraint on the radicals in his own group, who have been a source of great embarrassment to the Congress governments in the provinces. Also, as evidence of withdrawal of British control over the administration accumulates, these elements will rally around Nehru's government. Jinnah's challenge may prove formidable, but it will not be irresistible.

In the Wind

APPRECIATION IS DUE. From the Marshall, Missouri, *Democrat-News:* "To the people who voted for me, my sincere thanks. My wife thanks the ones who did not vote for me. She says I have so many friends, why get in that office and make a lot of enemies? (*Signed*) Felix Baker." Mr. Baker was a candidate for county judge and lost.

FURRINERS! DRAT 'EM. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that California orange growers say their future is menaced by "foreign competition." They mean Florida competition. These Californians have become used to thinking of their southeastern rivals as another country. No Florida oranges are ever admitted to California (bug danger, inspectors explain), and Florida won't let in any California oranges during its growing season.

WE SUSPECTED AS MUCH. A letter to the editor of the Pontiac, Michigan, *Daily Press* complained: "Of the quite large number of relatives and acquaintances of mine who do not think, gamble, or use tobacco, I am sure that there are few, if any, who lean to the left."

PLAIN TALK. The Toledo *Blade,* through circumstances involving the transposition of a line in a caption, reported that Supreme Court Justice Harold Burton "received the honorary degree of bickerings" at Western Reserve commencement.

OLD-TIME RELIGION. Want ad in the Bradentown, Florida, *Herald:* "Wanted—An elderly Christian couple to live in our apartment. No children or grandchildren or pets. Yours in Christ."

AMEN, BROTHER. Editor Frederick Sullens of the Jackson, Mississippi, *News,* believes folks in other states should get down on their knees and thank God that Bilbo "carried nothing but Mississippi." But pity the "pore folks" in Washington. Bilbo is chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

MAYBE HE KNEW THE BOSS. Reviews of the new book "An Honorable Titan: A Biographical Study of Adolph S. Ochs," by Gerald W. Johnson, revealed interesting and divergent opinions. Lewis Gannett of the New York *Herald Tribune* rather fancied the book, but Orville Prescott in the New York *Times* says the book about his late publisher lacks the qualities of notable biographies and doesn't put the reader on familiar terms with him.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Dilemma of the Churches

RELIGION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER. A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. By J. Milton Yinger. Duke University Press. $3.

CLEAR, cool Courage"—this advertisement of a London brewery should be the motto of all sociologists. Or, to quote another British authority, Matthew Arnold, the aim of culture is "turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits." Milton Yinger has courage and culture. I can think of no higher praise.

Courage is not incompatible with caution. A *philosophe* said: "Christianity is very strong. It is good for at least another two hundred years." Yinger says: "Those who have gone most deeply into the problem are in rather general agreement that religion will continue to be a powerful force during the foreseeable future." And clearness of thought may lead us to the candid admission that certain concepts of vital importance are not clear. Yinger refuses to define religion. He further refuses to discriminate between what he calls the traditional and the intrinsic in religion. This deliberate vagueness does not invalidate his study, for in spite of his title his subject is not religion at all; it is The Dilemma of the Churches.

A fundamental distinction. This is the third important book I have read within the last few weeks in which Hamlet is played without the Prince. The "religion" Yinger discusses is Christianity. And to Jesus Himself there are only two allusions. First: "Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, made the statement that if the Sermon on the Mount were preached without reference to its author, the preacher would be warned not to repeat such Utopian ravings, and the fashionable pews would be emptied." And second: "We need not attempt to discover whether the founder of Christianity was a pacifist." This indifference can be justified only if we accept the author's theory that the origin of an institution does not much matter, that what concerns us is its development; here the church, not religion.

I believe the second half of the title is not accurate either. "The struggle for power"—reminiscent of John Strachey—evokes problems which are not discussed in this book. We are thinking of "power" as an element in world affairs: the Vatican is a "power," although not one of the Big Three. If we apply the term to the conflict of parties or classes, "power" means mastery, control; and religion's struggle for power would mean theocracy. Now theocracy is not a dead issue. It remains the basic doctrine of the Catholic church; it inspires Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons, the Covenanters, the Zionists, Jinnah, and Saudi Arabia. But what Yinger discusses is far more modest. It is "how to win friends and influence people." A radical religion attracts the cranks and repels the sane. In order to do good, one must not be a do-gooder or a perfectionist; one must be realistic.

This conflict between the ideal and its material instrument Yinger typifies (my summary has to be very crude) in the words "church" and "sect." The church is an institution; it has vested interests; it cannot afford to "empty the fashionable pews." The sect is filled with the spirit, and preaches the faith, *ruat caelum*. The church satisfies the haves, the sect the have-nots. Naturally, every church was once a sect, but it conquered the world on the worldly plane. The sect has a soul to save.

The distinction is important; the terms are ambiguous. The sect spirit (in Yinger's sense) is manifest in many churches—particularly among the mystics and the regulars of the Catholic church. Many "sects" (in the usual sense) are small churches strongly attached to theological niceties, ritual, and organization. I should prefer: "the ecclesiastical and the prophetic tendencies."

Yinger discusses next, in two very substantial chapters, Max Weber's famous thesis: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. His critique is a model of fearless moderation. Most of the facts adduced by Weber are incontrovertible and indeed obvious: there seems to be a pre-established harmony between Calvinism and the profit system, including the small number of the elect. But Yinger quotes Sombart to the effect that modern capitalism was born in 1202—half a millennium, by the way, ahead of the Industrial Revolution. It certainly was admirably developed in Florence, which did not turn Protestant; and the best descriptions of the profiteer are Lesage's "Turcaret" and Balzac, *passim*, with the background of a Catholic society. It is said that there were not a few disinterested, unworldly characters among the Puritans. Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Chinese, Parsee, Japanese capitalists are in pretty thorough agreement about the eternal verities. "The body of historical evidence," says Yinger, "leads us to the conclusion that the description of social change requires the eschewing of all one-factor deterministic theories." There may be much truth in Bossuet's "providential" interpretation, in the Marxian conception of class conflict, in Mahan's doctrine of sea power, in Turner's emphasis on the frontier. The fallacy begins when we neglect "a careful analysis of the many interacting factors at work in every cultural setting." I might add, "of the unrelated factors." Coincidence, mere chance, plays an enormous part in history. Systems are the opiate of the learned: they assuage the malady of thought. When you are a good Marxian or a true Mohammedan, your mental worries are over; you may slumber in peace.

This clears the way for the two great examples of "the churches' dilemma"—The Economic Ethics of Contemporary Churches and The Churches and War. It seems pretty clear that the original Christian doctrine was communism, still practiced by the religious orders which attempt to lead the perfect Christian life. It is even clearer that for fifteen hundred years at least the church condemned *interest*, which is the essence of capitalism. And, to be as cautious as Yinger, there is a reasonable presumption that the spirit of Christianity is antagonistic to war. But it would be disastrous for the

ideal if the church, its champion on earth, should systematically be on the losing side. If a profitable sin has to be committed—imperialistic conquest, or the grabbing of natural resources—it had better be committed by a virtuous man: why leave all the good things to Satan? The result is that, in their noble quest for influence, the churches become the auxiliaries of power—monarchy in the old days, nationalism and capitalism in ours. Says Arthur L. Swift Jr.: "It is, I believe, beyond question that organized religion in the United States, by virtue of its vastly increased wealth, is so closely interrelated with the whole capitalistic system, so committed to the sacredness of private property, and to the notion that financial success is in some vague way an indication of divine favor, that it cannot help but consider any real attack upon capitalism as a threat to its own security." The situation is changing. Labor is asserting its power, and the most conservative churches are "muscling in" on the program of labor: it is the recognition of a *fait accompli*.

Every writer, however careful, has his personal equation. Yinger presumably grew to full consciousness between the wars, when it was the fashion to flout and deride all "atrocity stories." The eagerness to believe them, on the scantiest evidence, was no doubt part of the war hysteria. But this does not dispose of all the stories. After all, war itself is "atrocity": the Germans called it *Schrecklichkeit* and Sherman called it hell. War means torturing your opponent into submission. The worst atrocity in world history was our use of the atomic bomb without first giving the Japanese a warning, a demonstration, and a choice. It was William II, not the Reverend Dwight Hillis, who gave currency to the term "Huns." Germany's crime was to put its faith in war as an instrument of foreign policy, with Frederick the Great, Clausewitz, and Bismarck. What is the meaning of *"Durch Eisen und Blut,"* if not "atrocity"? And what is power politics but the threat of "giving 'em hell"?

Yinger's conclusion is, like the whole body of his book, extremely guarded: "In terms of the present study, it would seem to be an error to discount completely the influence of the purely religious idea working in history, and equally an error to fail to see the limitations of its power and the frequency with which it is dominated by other interests. The limitations are partly intrinsic: the religious interest is dominant in only a small minority of persons." This is true of everything above the humdrum plane. Genius, passion, the mystic experience are rare. We know them at second or third hand, and diluted. And yet, is it not they, and they alone, that make history? ALBERT GUÉRARD

No Longer and Not Yet

THE DEATH OF VIRGIL. By Hermann Broch. Translated by Jean Starr Untermeyer. Pantheon Books. $6.50.

HUME once remarked that the whole of human civilization depends upon the fact that "one generation does not go off the stage at once and another succeed, as is the case with silkworms and butterflies." At some turning-points of history, however, at some heights of crisis, a fate similar to that of silkworms and butterflies may befall a generation of men. For the decline of the old, the birth of the new, is not necessarily an affair of continuity; between the generations, between those who for some reason or other still belong to the old and those who either feel the catastrophe in their very bones or have already grown up with it, the chain is broken and an "empty space," a kind of historical no man's land, comes to the surface which can be described only in terms of "no longer and not yet." In Europe such an absolute interruption of continuity occurred during and after the First World War. All the loose talk of intellectuals about the necessary decline of Western civilization or the famous lost generation, as it is usually uttered by "reactionaries," has its basis of truth in this break, and consequently has proved much more attractive than the corresponding triviality of the "liberal" mind that puts before us the alternative between going ahead and going backward, an alternative which appears so devoid of sense precisely because it still presupposes an unbroken chain of continuity.

Speaking merely in terms of European literature, this gap, this opening of an abyss of empty space and empty time, is most clearly visible in the disparity between the two greatest masters of our time, Marcel Proust and Franz Kafka. Proust is the last and the most beautiful farewell to the world of the nineteenth century, and we return to his work, written in the key of the "no longer," again and again when the mood of farewell and of sorrow overwhelms us. Kafka, on the other hand, is our contemporary only to a limited extent. It is as though he wrote already from the vantage point of a distant future, as though he were or could have been at home only in a world which is "not yet." This puts us at a certain distance whenever we are to read and discuss his work, a distance which will not grow smaller, even though we may know that his art is the expression of some future world which is our future, too—if we are to have any future at all.

All other great European novelists and poets find their place and their standard of measurement somewhere in between these dead masters. But Hermann Broch's book falls in a different category from the rest. That he has in common with Proust the form of the inner monologue and with Kafka the utter and radical renunciation of entertainment, as well as a preoccupation with metaphysics, that he shares with Proust a deep fondness for the world as it is given to us, and that he shares with Kafka the belief that the "hero" of the novel is no longer a character with certain well-defined qualities but rather man as such (for the real life of the man and poet Virgil is no more than an occasion for Broch's philosophical speculations)—all this is true, and the histories of literature may say it later.

What is more important, at least at this moment, is that Broch's work—through its subject matter and through its entirely original and magnificent poetic diction—has become something like the missing link between Proust and Kafka, between a past which we have irretrievably lost and a future which is not yet at hand. In other words, this book is by itself the kind of bridge with which Virgil tries to span the abyss of empty space between the no longer and the not yet. And since this abyss is very real; since it has become deeper and more frightful every single year from the fateful year of 1914 onward, until the death factories erected in the heart of Europe definitely cut the already outworn thread with which we still might have been tied to a historical entity of

more than two thousand years; since we are already living in the "empty space," confronted with a reality which no preconceived traditional idea of the world and man can possibly illuminate—dear as this tradition may have remained to our hearts—we must be profoundly grateful for the great work of poetry which clings so desperately to this one subject.

Curiously enough, very little in Broch's earlier work indicates the future author of the "Death of Virgil." "The Sleepwalkers," apart from its qualities as a novel, shows only that its author is fed up with story-telling, thoroughly impatient with his own work: he tells his readers that they had better find for themselves the end of the story, and neglects character and plot in order to squeeze into his book long speculations about the nature of history. Up to a certain date Broch was a good, playful, amusing story-teller, not a great poet.

The date which made of Broch a poet seems to have coincided with the last stage of darkening in Europe. When the night arrived, Broch woke up. He awoke to a reality which so overwhelmed him that he translated it immediately into a dream, as is fitting for a man roused in night. This dream is "The Death of Virgil."

Critics have said that the book is written in lyrical prose, but this is not quite correct. The style, unique in its concentrated tension, bears more of a resemblance to those invocations of the Homeric hymns in which the God is summoned over and over again, each time with another residence, another mythological setting, another place of worship—as though the worshiper had to make sure, absolutely sure, that he could not miss the God. In the same way Broch invokes Life, or Death, or Love, or Time, or Space, as if he wanted to make sure, absolutely sure, that he would not miss the mark. This gives the monologue its passionate urgency, and brings out the tense, concentrated action of all true speculation.

In the "O's" of the invocations are imbedded the exciting descriptions, the extensive landscape painting in which the work is so very rich. These read like a long and tender song of farewell to all Western painters, and they transcend through their form of invocation these described objects, as though they embraced all that is beautiful or all that is ugly, all that is green or all earthly dustiness, all nobility or all vulgarity.

The subject of Broch's book, as the title indicates, is the last twenty-four hours of Virgil's life. But death is treated not merely as an event but as the ultimate achievement of man—whether in the sense that moments of dying are one's last and only chance for knowing what life was all about or in the sense that it is then one passes judgment upon one's own life. This judgment is not self-accusation, for it is too late for that, nor self-justification, for it is, in a way, too early for that; it is the ultimate effort to find the truth, the last definitive word for the whole story. This makes of the last judgment a human affair, to be settled by man himself, though at the limits of his forces and possibilities—as if he wanted to spare God this whole trouble. The "no longer and not yet" on this level means the no longer alive and the not yet dead; and the task is the conscious achievement of judgment and truth.

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THE FRENCH-CANADIAN

OUTLOOK

of as an ultimate calamity prevents Broch's speculations from falling into the trap of modern death-philosophy, for which life has in itself the germ of death and for which, consequently, the moment of death appears as the "goal of life." If death is the last task of the living man, then life has been given, not as a death-infected gift, but rather under certain conditions—that we forever "stand on the bridge that is spanned between invisibility and invisibility and nevertheless . . . are caught in the stream."

The actual subject matter of the book is the position of the artist in the world and in history: of the man who does not "do" like human beings but "creates" like God—though in appearance only. The artist is forever excluded from reality, and banished into the "empty province of beauty." His playing at eternity—and this bewitching game that we call beauty—turns into the "laughter that destroys reality," the laughter that springs from the terrible intuition that the Creation itself, and not merely man's playing at creating, can be destroyed. With this laughter the poet "descends to the mob-patterns," to the cynical, debased vulgarity over which he had been carried on his litter through the slums of Brundisium. Mob and artist alike are greedy with self-idolatry, caring only for themselves, and excluded from all true community, which is based on helpfulness. "Intoxicated with loneliness," from which spring in equal part "the intoxication of blood, the intoxication of death, and . . . the intoxication of beauty," they are both equally treacherous, equally unconcerned with truth, therefore entirely unreliable and in need of forgetting reality, by means of beauty or circus games; both are intoxicated with "empty forms and empty words."

Because the "no longer and not yet" cannot be bridged with the rainbow of beauty, the poet is bound to fall "into vulgarity . . . where vulgarity is at its worst, into literarity." From this insight rises the decision which becomes the central plot of the story, the decision to burn the "Aeneid," to have the work "consumed by the fire of reality." This deed, this sacrifice, suddenly appears as the only escape left from the "empty province of beauty," the only door through which, even when dying and in the very last moment, the poet may still perceive the promised land of reality and human fellowship.

It is at this moment that the friends enter the scene, trying to prevent what clearly are mere fever delusions of the dying man. There follows the long dialogue between Virgil and Octavian—one of the most truthful and impressive pieces of writing in all historical fiction—which ends with the abandonment of this sacrifice. The sacrifice, after all, would have been made only for the salvation of soul, out of anxiety about the self, for the sake of the symbol—while the abandonment of the plan and the gift of the manuscript win from the face of the imperial friend a last happy smile.

Then comes death, the boat ride down to the depths of the elements when gently, one after another, the friends disappear, and man returns in peace from the long voyage of freedom into the quiet waiting of an inarticulate universe. His death seemed to him a happy death: for he had found the bridge with which to span the abyss that yawns between the "no longer and not yet" of history, between the "no longer" of the old laws and the "not yet" of the new saving word, between life and death: "Not quite here but yet at hand; that is how it has sounded and how it would sound."

The book is written in a very beautiful and extremely complicated German; the achievement of the translator is beyond praise.

HANNAH ARENDT

Similes and Satire

THE SPECTRE IMAGE. By John Nerber. Simon and Schuster. $2.

SELECTED VERSE. By John Manifold. The John Day Company. $2.50.

AMONG poets under thirty there appears to be a widespread notion that poetry consists of a wild flurry of striking comparisons ("The rune of creeping frost/Cracks on the tomb its lips"), strained puns ("Atlantean forces converging to a charter/Far out upon my sea"), and giving the wrong name to everything ("boys who riding Venus-cars/ Drop from aloft the gap-teeth of their flight"). Doubtless a good deal of wildness is the prerogative of young poets, but this business is beginning to look less like superabundance of spirits than like a carefully cultivated vice. Somehow or other poets like Mr. Nerber, who provided the illustrations above, have got the idea that they must give their best energies to producing things of this kind; so that they have very little left for the serious business of being poets, and it is difficult to judge what they might accomplish in this way were they really to try. For what it is worth, I would guess that Mr. Nerber is quite honestly sensitive to the small, characteristic experiences. The most successful poems in this book are those which, beneath the exploding clocks and the by-play with Bulfinch, are speaking of a family dinner, working in a factory, a hospital ward.

Mr. Manifold's verse is a great relief after all this earnest miscalculation. Perhaps it is because he is an Australian, perhaps because he is a Socialist; but whatever the cause, he seems to have managed to escape into being quite unaffectedly what he is, a writer of boisterous directness with strong opinions about everything and a real respect for his craft. Nothing in this volume is great poetry, and nobody knows it better than Mr. Manifold; but there is nothing in it, either, which is not thought and felt and written cleanly. The lyrics remind you of early MacNeice; but the satires show Mr. Manifold's unpretentious virtues most clearly:

> Here simple Spender in a place apart
> Bares on his sleeve his haemophilic heart;
> Dribble by drip the pinkish flow proceeds—
> Oh, squeeze it, Mister Spender! Thar she bleeds!

"Change names and places," he says of his ideal poet,

> such a man by turns
> Is Henry Lawson, Lorca, Brecht, or Burns
> Or becomes part of him the critics call
> "Anon," the greatest poet of them all.

Mr. Manifold is not yet such a man, but I would not lay too much money that when he grows up there may not be a family resemblance.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Dissonant Fanfare

FANFARE FOR ELIZABETH. By Edith Sitwell. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

ROYAL pride, anger, and lust; royal guilt and vengeance, suspicion and intrigue; plots, counterplots, marriages, rapes, divorces, treasons, beheadings, excommunications—a fine dissonant fanfare indeed for that daughter of Henry VIII who was proclaimed princess and heir to the throne and renounced as bastard before she was ten years old. The story is a little hard to follow, partly because it was long ago, partly because, like the time's language, it was involved with complication: no one knew all that was happening, and many, who knew a part, were crafty dissemblers and liars. And in this account it is a little hard to follow, also, because Miss Sitwell's sentences come by in such caparison and panoply that their gorgeousness distracts the reader's attention from the direction in which the procession is going. Item—"The green light glittered faintly upon gowns of such hues as ruby, crane, drake, 'flybert', 'goselinge', horseflesh, Isabella (a pale yellow), turtle, and willow. . . ." Item—"In the gardens of Westminster, and those that surrounded the Palace of Hampton, to whose walls, the colour of a bullfinch's rosy feathers, plaited rosemary was nailed, the roots of sweet-williams, violets, primroses, 'gillyvor slips,' and mints, lay hidden under the manure of strawberry-rot." Rich prose, spirited prose, delightful because delighted, fine, not always fancy, writing, with just now and then a human instance where the baroque lapses into bathos. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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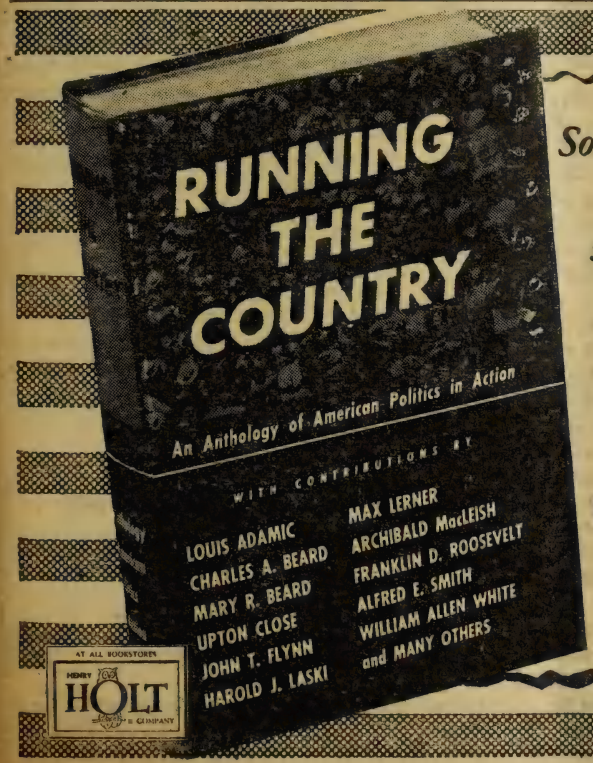

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JAMES AGEE

THE idea keeps nagging at me that more and more people who think of themselves as serious-minded, and progressive, thoroughly disapprove of crime melodramas. They feel that movies should be devoted, rather, to more elevated themes such as a biography of George Washington Carver, omitting nothing down to the last peanut, or a good faithful adaptation of "Adam Bede" in sepia, with the entire text read off-screen by Herbert Marshall, or the story of how the way to atomic control and the brotherhood of man has been pointed out by egg cooperatives. They seem not to remember or not to care that in Germany, a few years ago, movies had to be constructive; stories of crime, and of troubled marriage, for instance, were strictly forbidden. For many years so much has been forbidden or otherwise made impossible in Hollywood that crime has offered one of the few chances for getting any sort of vitality on the screen. The three following movies are crime melodramas, factory-made. I can't say much for them, except that they are better to watch than most other factory products and, I suspect, better still to watch than the bracing, informative, constructive films which are the only kind these progressives would allow, if they were given half a chance.

"The Killers" starts off with Ernest Hemingway's brilliant, frightening story, then spends the next hour or so highlighting all that the story so much more powerfully left in the dark. The results aren't quite what might be expected. The story is well presented, but Hemingway's talk, which on the page used to seem so nearly magical and is still so very good, sounds, on the screen, as cooked-up and formal as an eclogue. From there on out the dialogue, though generally skilful and talented, isn't within miles of Hemingway's in quality, but it is made to be seen as well as heard, so, coming out of pictures, it sounds more nearly real. The story, from where Hemingway leaves off, is also a comparative letdown, but it too is better movie—good bars, fierce boxing, nice stuff for several minor players, and the kind of calculated violence and atmosphere in the filming of a robbery and of the last two sequences which was commonplace in old gangster films and is now so rare that in a good sense as well as a bad it is almost museum material. There is a good strident journalistic feeling for tension, noise, sentiment, and jazzed-up realism, all well manipulated by Robert Siodmak, which is probably chiefly to the credit of the producer, Mark Hellinger. There is nothing unique or even valuable about the picture, but energy combined with attention to form and detail doesn't turn up every day; neither does good entertainment.

"Black Angel" is pretty good entertainment too, on a humbler level. Taken casually, it is about like a better-than-average mystery reprint; pleasant to read yourself to sleep with. Taken as it deserves, it is better than that. Most movies of this inconspicuous, limited kind are made on a level of pure hack competence, or practically sleepwalking. Most of the people who wrote, directed, photographed, and played in this one have worked as if they believed that no job is so trivial but what it deserves the best you have. I particularly liked Dan Duryea's performance.

I finally caught up with "The Dark Corner"—not, I must confess, so badly out of breath as duty tells me I should have been. I enjoyed seeing it. I think everyone was right who pointed out that it is a shameless combination of formulas—of the murder-in-aspic, "Laura" sort of thing with the deep-city, Chandler kind which the existentialists will probably start discovering, and explaining, and imitating, almost any year now. But once in a while slickness and derivativeness persist so far in their folly that they develop a kind of vitality of their own—not to mention the fact that in movies, especially, people of real talent have sometimes either to succumb wholly to those vices or to use them as still another kind of leverage for surreptitious quality. There is no point in recommending "The Dark Corner" at all highly; but a great deal of intelligence and a fair amount of talent not only went into it, as they do into most movies, but manage—as they do in few—to remain visible. This, I thought, kept the show alive and fairly interesting.

A better show than any of these, and the funniest thing I have seen since the decline of sociological dancing, is "Rhapsody Rabbit." It is incredibly simple-minded: Bugs Bunny, interrupted by carrots and a mouse, gives a cut yet definitive performance of the most familiar of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies—I forget which number. Some of it is as flatly brutal as Spike Jones, but I have never heard Jones within light-years of it except in parts of "You Always Hurt the One You Love." The best of it goes two ways: one, very observant parody of concert-pianistic affectations, elegantly thought out and synchronized; the other, brutality keyed into the spirit of the music to reach greater subtlety than I have ever seen brutality reach before. I could hardly illustrate without musical quotation; but there is a passage in which the music goes up with an arrogant wrenching of slammed chords—Ronk, *Ronk,* RONK (G-B-E)—then prisses downward on a broken scale—which Bugs takes (a) with all four feet, charging madly, scowling like a rocking-horse late for a date at stud, (b) friskily tiptoe, proudly smirking, like a dog toe-dancing through his own misdemeanor or the return of an I-Was-There journalist, a man above fear or favor who knows precisely which sleeping dogs to lie about. It killed me; and when they had the wonderful brass to repeat it exactly, a few bars later, I knew what killed really meant. Perhaps I should warn you, however, not to expect too much—not to expect anything, if possible. I usually loathe these hearty burlesques of good ham art; chiefly because most of them are made in hatred of all art, and in a total lack of understanding of the thing they are burlesquing. But a good musician must have worked on this art. Barring Beatrice Lillie I have never seen anything done from so deep inside the ham; I also had the great advantage of seeing it without warning. Perhaps I can put it this way. I have always very much liked this particular eruption of Liszt's, and though it made me laugh, the laughter was without patronage, far less scorn. After seeing its guts torn out in this movie short I knew more about it, and liked it better, than ever.

[*This week and last week Mr. Haggin has been taking a vacation; next week's issue will contain an article by him and his regular column.*]

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JAMES AGEE

THE idea keeps nagging at me that more and more people who think of themselves as serious-minded, and progressive, thoroughly disapprove of crime melodramas. They feel that movies should be devoted, rather, to more elevated themes such as a biography of George Washington Carver, omitting nothing down to the last peanut, or a good faithful adaptation of "Adam Bede" in sepia, with the entire text read off-screen by Herbert Marshall, or the story of how the way to atomic control and the brotherhood of man has been pointed out by egg cooperatives. They seem not to remember or not to care that in Germany, a few years ago, movies had to be constructive; stories of crime, and of troubled marriage, for instance, were strictly forbidden. For many years so much has been forbidden or otherwise made impossible in Hollywood that crime has offered one of the few chances for getting any sort of vitality on the screen. The three following movies are crime melodramas, factory-made. I can't say much for them, except that they are better to watch than most other factory products and, I suspect, better still to watch than the bracing, informative, constructive films which are the only kind these progressives would allow, if they were given half a chance.

"The Killers" starts off with Ernest Hemingway's brilliant, frightening story, then spends the next hour or so highlighting all that the story so much more powerfully left in the dark. The results aren't quite what might be expected. The story is well presented, but Hemingway's talk, which on the page used to seem so nearly magical and is still so very good, sounds, on the screen, as cooked-up and formal as an eclogue. From there on out the dialogue, though generally skilful and talented, isn't within miles of Hemingway's in quality, but it is made to be seen as well as heard, so, coming out of pictures, it sounds more nearly real. The story, from where Hemingway leaves off, is also a comparative letdown, but it too is better movie—good bars, fierce boxing, nice stuff for several minor players, and the kind of calculated violence and atmosphere in the filming of a robbery and of the last two sequences which was commonplace in old gangster films and is now so rare that in a good sense as well as a bad it is almost museum material. There is a good strident journalistic feeling for tension, noise, sentiment, and jazzed-up realism, all well manipulated by Robert Siodmak, which is probably chiefly to the credit of the producer, Mark Hellinger. There is nothing unique or even valuable about the picture, but energy combined with attention to form and detail doesn't turn up every day; neither does good entertainment.

"Black Angel" is pretty good entertainment too, on a humbler level. Taken casually, it is about like a better-than-average mystery reprint; pleasant to read yourself to sleep with. Taken as it deserves, it is better than that. Most movies of this inconspicuous, limited kind are made on a level of pure hack competence, or practically sleepwalking. Most of the people who wrote, directed, photographed, and played in this one have worked as if they believed that no job is so trivial but what it deserves the best you have. I particularly liked Dan Duryea's performance.

I finally caught up with "The Dark Corner"—not, I must confess, so badly out of breath as duty tells me I should have been. I enjoyed seeing it. I think everyone was right who pointed out that it is a shameless combination of formulas—of the murder-in-aspic, "Laura" sort of thing with the deep-city, Chandler kind which the existentialists will probably start discovering, and explaining, and imitating, almost any year now. But once in a while slickness and derivativeness persist so far in their folly that they develop a kind of vitality of their own—not to mention the fact that in movies, especially, people of real talent have sometimes either to succumb wholly to those vices or to use them as still another kind of leverage for surreptitious quality. There is no point in recommending "The Dark Corner" at all highly; but a great deal of intelligence and a fair amount of talent not only went into it, as they do into most movies, but manage—as they do in few—to remain visible. This, I thought, kept the show alive and fairly interesting.

A better show than any of these, and the funniest thing I have seen since the decline of sociological dancing, is "Rhapsody Rabbit." It is incredibly simple-minded: Bugs Bunny, interrupted by carrots and a mouse, gives a cut yet definitive performance of the most familiar of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies—I forget which number. Some of it is as flatly brutal as Spike Jones, but I have never heard Jones within light-years of it except in parts of "You Always Hurt the One You Love." The best of it goes two ways: one, very observant parody of concert-pianistic affectations, elegantly thought out and synchronized; the other, brutality keyed into the spirit of the music to reach greater subtlety than I have ever seen brutality reach before. I could hardly illustrate without musical quotation; but there is a passage in which the music goes up with an arrogant wrenching of slammed chords—Ronk, *Ronk,* RONK (G-B-E)—then prisses downward on a broken scale—which Bugs takes (a) with all four feet, charging madly, scowling like a rocking-horse late for a date at stud, (b) friskily tiptoe, proudly smirking, like a dog toe-dancing through his own misdemeanor or the return of an I-Was-There journalist, a man above fear or favor who knows precisely which sleeping dogs to lie about. It killed me; and when they had the wonderful brass to repeat it exactly, a few bars later, I knew what killed really meant. Perhaps I should warn you, however, not to expect too much—not to expect anything, if possible. I usually loathe these hearty burlesques of good ham art; chiefly because most of them are made in hatred of all art, and in a total lack of understanding of the thing they are burlesquing. But a good musician must have worked on this art. Barring Beatrice Lillie I have never seen anything done from so deep inside the ham; I also had the great advantage of seeing it without warning. Perhaps I can put it this way. I have always very much liked this particular eruption of Liszt's, and though it made me laugh, the laughter was without patronage, far less scorn. After seeing its guts torn out in this movie short I knew more about it, and liked it better, than ever.

[*This week and last week Mr. Haggin has been taking a vacation; next week's issue will contain an article by him and his regular column.*]

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Letters to the Editors

Views on Hungary

Dear Sirs: Miss Spiel in Hungarian Holocaust (*The Nation,* August 24) gave a fairly exact picture of the economic situation. There is but a slight error in the statement that the United States "only very recently" promised to return Hungary's gold reserve from the American occupation zone to the National Bank. This promise was made to the Committee for a New Democratic Hungary more than a year ago and more definitely to the members of the Hungarian government visiting Washington. At the time of Miss Spiel's article the gold reserve had already been returned. Less complete is her account of political troubles in Hungary. The Smallholders' Party represented others than "the conservative democratic interests." In spite of having some reactionary members, its program stood for a thorough land reform. It is true that big financiers and industrialists attempted to sabotage industrial stabilization, but to suggest that Allied missions were influenced "by their undeniable charm" is, I am afraid, overrating the sex appeal of the captains of industry. In picturing the political situation Miss Spiel omits to point to the growing tension which, as it appears from a detailed report in the *Christian Science Monitor* of August 23, "fanned anti-Semitism to white heat." This shows that Magyaro-Nazis are more numerous than is generally assumed.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Rockport, Mass., August 24

Third Party Need

Dear Sirs: The second instalment of Mr. Mr. Gordon's Prairie Socialism (*The Nation,* August 24) pointed up what many American progressives have long considered the great fallacy in the thinking of *The Nation's* editors, as well as many other American liberals.

Mr. Gordon speaks of the past victories of the CCF; he tells us how it has been a force for progress in Canada, even though it has not gained power; he tells us that the future of the socialist movement in the Dominion is bright because of the CCF. Yet where does *The Nation* stand on the proposition of creating a similar movement in the United States? It seems content to hang on to P. A. C.'s choosing "the better" of "worst" candidates, to ally itself with committees for this and that.

We will not get a progressive political movement in this country by making American liberalism the tail of Democracy's Jim-Crow, poll-tax, fraudulent-machine kite! The arguments are: (1) Don't split the movement; you'll elect even worse people. (2) America isn't mature enough for such a party. (3) We can do what we want in one of the old parties.

Look around us. Would it have made a difference, really, if Dewey had not been elected and a Democrat had been in New York? Would Jim Farley not still have been the party dictator there? Has not Dewey actually done as much as would have been asked of a Democrat, even though he were supported by the liberals and the A. L. P? Look at the record of the last Congress—elected in no small way, P. A. C.'ers say, by the C. I. O. Yet it was the most ardently anti-labor national legislature in years.

If the U. S. A. is not mature enough for a real labor party now, will it ever be? Maturity is far more important in the minds of those who write for the liberal and radical press and for those who handle the affairs of our trade unions. Politics are an enigma to the average worker and farmer. He looks to these people to lead him. They can lead him after the mirage of the two old parties, or on to a new movement.

As to the third argument, does it actually need refutation? Can good come out of alliances that force us to cheer at the ousting of an old tried-and-true friend of labor like La Follette? that force us to join hands with the Pendergast machine? that throw us into allegiance to the Hagues, the Crumps, the Kellys? that support men who go to Congress determined to help big business against little citizens? (Examine the list of those who voted for OPA's crippling admendments. You'll find P. A. C.-supported candidates in there with the best of them!)

We need a new movement in this country to win our battles in Washington. . . . The time for our decision as to whether liberalism in America gets up on its feet or grovels to bossism, racism, and expedience is upon us. We must make the choice by 1948.

SOL W. SANDERS

Franklin, N. C., August 27

Challenge to Chisholm

Dear Sirs: General Chisholm, looking at the civilization that has produced the atomic bomb and may destroy itself, offers a diagnosis (*The Nation,* July 27): "Man is prevented from progressing peacefully . . . by distortions of his power to think clearly . . . which are imposed on him while he is still a small child. . . ." The consequent prescription: "Stop giving children final answers . . . local or any other kinds of certainties . . . encourage them to prepare to do their own thinking. . . ."

The remedy, I suppose, is the word "prepare." But imagine the state of mind into which advice like this must precipitate a loving, sensitive, thoughtful, harassed parent. Shall he not tell Johnny that the fire is hot till the boy has singed his fingers? Shall he not warn him aginst promiscuity in adolescence but let him shape his taste, unaided, as best he can? There are ways of guarding children without the use of whips or blinders, but General Chisholm hardly suggests them; nor that parents in all ages have discovered them through taste and imagination.

Neither denying the truth of what General Chisholm says about distortions, nor belittling the achievement of Marx and Freud in propagating the truths about society that wise men have always known, and often left records of, the notion nevertheless comes that man's irrationality is due, perhaps, less to the nature of that abstraction, society, than to the nature of concrete, bewildered man. Or, supposing that General Chisholm's liberal prescription, the faith of thousands of modern liberals, is intended for the use of a future Utopia: has Utopian man no greater problem than how to manage the technique of forging, intellectually, straight ahead? That is, have all bodily inconveniences been mitigated and the uncertainties of personal relationships made fast?

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progressing uninterrupted. Friends and lovers enjoy each other as much as they are inclined and, moreover, simultaneously; and children are reared knowing that they can both eat their cake and have it, too. But this is the happy world. Shaw described it in "Back to Methuselah"; it has come about through deliberate evolution. Poor twentieth-century man! One pictures him sitting on his porch of a summer evening, maybe, wondering why he cannot be everything and trying to dream up some proportion to his life; all the while dreading those twentieth-century periodicals which were preparing the future because they denied his sense of liberty. This was the reason —one relishes the irony in retrospect— why those liberal publications, so justly critical of social abuse, did not enjoy the popularity which their benevolent inspiration deserved.

JETHRO ROBINSON

New York City, July 26

Back Talk

Dear Sirs: Permit me to give voice to several minor irritations I find in *The Nation*. First, I resent Keith Hutchison's articles being set in smaller type than the rest of the journal. Second, I too frequently find Agee's film reviews replete with paradoxes and equivocations, or vacuous in their labored attempts at being profound and intellectual. Third, I don't like Barrett's puzzles: the words are not completely crossed and the definitions have a subjective quality that one might be able to fathom only if the puzzle were really crossed. Last, I am provoked with the advertisement for handwriting analysis; I don't know whether the provocation is with *The Nation* for carrying such ads, or with the possibility that the advertiser finds it profitable to seek a clientele among the kind of people I thought read *The Nation*. Believe me, I am not a dyspeptic, and I like *The Nation*, or I wouldn't take the trouble to get this off my chest.

D. L. C.

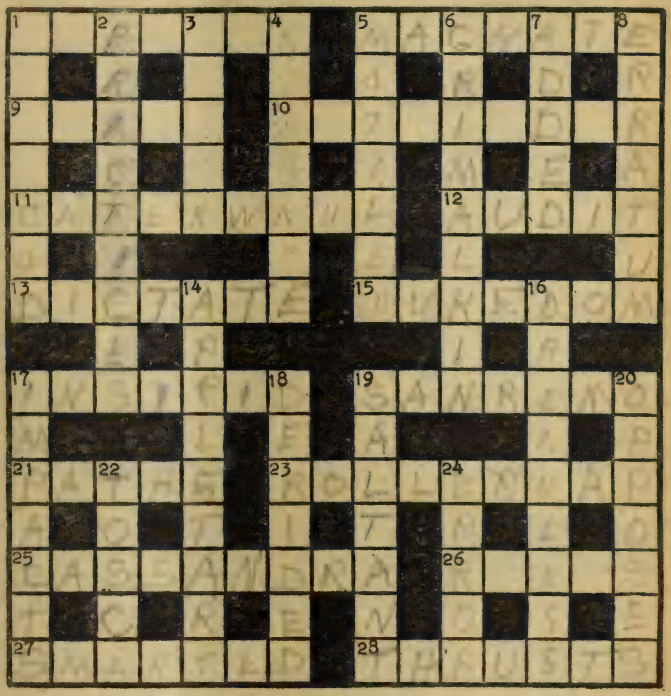
Newark, N. J., August 12

English Dependence

Dear Sirs: I believe you have been unfair to the Labor Party's foreign policy. The attitude of most of *The Nation's* contributors toward our policy in Greece, Palestine, Spain, and Indonesia has been one of shocked surprise and strong moral condemnation. This policy does not go uncriticized here. It must be recognized that critics of Mr. Bevin are

Crossword Puzzle No. 178

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Ginger beer with pastries makes you see red
5 Mae has swallowed a gnat
9 Violently
10 This shopkeeper might give advice to the ailing one indoors
11 Kilkenny serenade
12 A calling to account
13 Tell another what to say
15 English and Portuguese men of title meet in the former's estate
17 Tasteless
19 Where winds the Marne so? (3 and 4)
21 Famous "Freres" of the motion picture world
23 Mountains are even less than molehills here (6 and 3)
25 She had the gift of prophecy, but not of being believed
26 If you hear them whispering it may be of current topics
27 Red mats (anag.)
28 Squeezes in

DOWN

1 Fish accompaniment of duck accompaniment
2 In which doctors exercise their art
3 Less thinner and less dinner
4 Rat goes in safekeeping
5 Spotted
6 How forbidding nearly all relatives are — especially that old cat!
7 Carried on
8 There is a rat in this that requires correction
14 You need little more than fruit and the art to make it (5 and 4)
16 Male dress (anag.)
17 Collisions
18 Mocked
19 Dancing
20 Makes objection
22 Opera in which a great conductor begins to make his name
24 Fault

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 177

ACROSS:—1 ACROSTIC; 6 ASTI; 10 APRIL; 11 PEN; 12 TABOO; 13 KHYBER; 16 BLOCUS; 17 RIVIERA; 18 STAG; 20 PRAM; 22 PULLMAN; 23 ROMP; 24 LIFE; 25 SET OVER; 27 WRIGHT; 29 RAVINE; 34 AVIAN; 35 ICY; 36 SKIER; 37 EDDY; 38 EXTERIOR.

DOWN:—2 CURRY; 3 OILIER; 4 TOPS; 5 CONY; 6 ATTILA; 7 TABAC; 8 BARK; 9 CONSOMME; 14 RIVULET; 15 KILLJOY; 16 BREAKER; 18 STRAW HAT; 19 AIM; 21 ROI; 25 SHINDY; 26 RAISER; 28 IVIED; 30 INIGO; 31 EZRA; 32 HIVE; 33 RYOT.

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disturbed at the growing affinity between American capitalism and British socialism, and the simultaneous estrangement from the European left. Labor's broken promises are seen as a submission to American policy.

Possibly we are behaving more outrageously than America—though when one sees American actions in China, Japan, Germany, and the Pacific Islands, there is some doubt of it—but America is seen as the cat which dirties its paw.

The Nation would be following a more consistent policy if it recognized that the treacheries of British Labor have been the fulfilment of its subjection to America. That the subjection exists cannot be denied in the face of our growing dependence on American economy and our independence of European economy. That the Labor leadership has chosen to attach our first experiments in socialism to the American boom-and-slump bandwagon is an unpleasant straw in the wind, which *The Nation* should have the courage to recognize.

JULIAN TUDOR-HART

London, August 18

The CCF's Strength

Dear Sirs: J. King Gordon's article on the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation overlooks one of the main reasons for its effective strength and unity, namely its policy of excluding Communists, who in Canada travel under the camouflage of "Labor Progressives." Two of the leading "liberal" organizations in the United States, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, scare away many genuine progressives, including most of those with the longest experience in progressive work, by their failure to exclude Communists. This is all the more surprising since Communists are obviously not liberals but fanatical supporters and defenders of the Russian totalitarian dictatorship and its foreign policy, whatever that policy may be. Their unreliability from a progressive point of view may be illustrated by the fact that they viciously opposed Roosevelt in two of his four campaigns, denouncing him as a "social fascist" in 1932 and as a "war monger" in 1940, because of his opposition to the Nazis, who at that time had a friendship pact with Russia.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, August 26

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE REPUBLICAN STRATEGY FOR 1948 WAS unveiled by Senator Taft in his Ohio keynote speech. Abandoning the isolationism which weakened the party in the last four Presidential elections, Senator Taft denounced "appeasement" of Russia and urged that the United States take a strong hand in advancing its interests throughout the world. The 1946 and 1948 campaigns apparently are to be fought on the Russian issue, with the Republicans pressing the offensive into the domestic field by implying that all New Deal reforms, together with price-control and full-employment legislation, are the result of Communist influence within the Democratic Party. While there is nothing new about the domestic part of the program, Republican advocacy of a "strong" foreign policy may seem inconsistent with the party's pre-Pearl Harbor position. The inconsistency, however, is largely superficial. The step from isolationism to imperialism is a natural one in the light of atomic explosives and guided projectiles, and the Republican policy of 1946 is directly in line with that of 1920 and 1940 in its refusal to accept the obligations of world citizenship and work for a system of world security.

✶

THE U. N. FACES SHIPWRECK ON LAKE SUCCESS unless it repents the errors of its recent ways and gets back on the course originally plotted for it by its chartmakers. For the United Nations was not intended to be a debating society for power politicians or a sounding board for ideological conflict. It was intended as an organization of peace-loving peoples concerned in preserving and promoting peace. The tragi-comic bickerings surrounding the Greek issue have no relationship to these ends. Mr. Manuilski's two suitcases of "facts" had the familiar stale smell of propaganda. Liberal Americans deplore the fate of the Greek people who, unlike some of their neighbors, showed democratic courage in fighting the Axis from the very beginning but in the end had no chance to vote for democracy. They think it highly improper that British bayonets and American naval vessels should constitute an election argument. But they find it difficult to believe that Mr. Manuilski's memories do not extend as far back as the elections in Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Poland. They think there are far too many troops beyond Britain's borders in Greece and in Palestine. But they cannot bring themselves to believe that the Red Army battalions beyond the bounds of Russia are there simply to assist local police in arresting black marketeers or directing traffic. But why raise these issues when the real one stares us in the face: that Greece is on the cross-lines of conflict between East and West—a key to the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Dardanelles. The basic problem in the present war of nerves is not how to wage it but how to end it. It is said that the success of the wartime conferences of the Big Three was due to a technique of discussing first those issues where agreement was broad and placing far down on the agenda the issues where controversy was sharp. It is not too late to apply this technique in the U. N. Were Russia and the Western powers to call a truce in the zonal frontier struggle, there would be a chance for all the nations to give their attention to those matters of peaceful reconstruction in which there is wider agreement and on which the security and freedom of all depend.

✶

IN THE PUBLIC MIND CHESTER BOWLES IS synonymous with price regulation. Regardless of what other issues develop as his campaign for the governorship of Connecticut progresses, he will go before the voters as the man who ran the OPA. Inevitably the country will interpret the result as a plebiscite on government controls. The stakes are high, with the course of Administration policy for the next two years perhaps hanging in the balance—not to mention the possibly interesting political future of Chester Bowles. And the fight will be uphill all the way. Senator Brien McMahon, the state's Democratic boss, was late and grudging in giving Bowles his indorsement, and there is some question as to how enthusiastically he will deploy his forces in support of the former stabilization director. Why McMahon yielded at all is a matter of lively speculation among Connecticut political observers. Some point to the private Roper poll, said to have convinced McMahon of widespread Bowles sentiment; while the more cynical think that the party leaders, seeing Bowles's determination—and believing the political climate this year to favor the Republicans anyway—preferred to give him their nominal blessing rather than disrupt the party in a bitter convention fight. Connecticut Democrats are well aware that it will be no easy matter to defeat a Republican ticket headed by Governor Baldwin. It was Baldwin, now

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running for the Senate, who stood out above the Roosevelt landslide in 1944, when most of his running-mates were buried—and this year there is no Roosevelt. But Bowles is a big enough figure to require neither the coat tails of Roosevelt nor the indulgence of McMahon. We hope Connecticut voters will feel, with us, that his courage and capacity for applied idealism are badly needed in a world of diminishing political leadership.

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SAGGING STOCK-MARKET PRICES SEEM TO have hit at least a temporary bottom, but the unprecedented wagging of tongues over causes and effects continues both here and abroad. Never before has the rest of the world watched our business barometers as it does today, and with good reason: never before has the business weather of other nations been so dependent on that of the United States. Especially in Britain, whose economy is most closely tied with ours, fear of a depression here is almost pathological. For this reason some of the most anxious ticker-watchers during the days of the break were in our own State Department. They well know the staggering effect a serious economic setback here would have on the multilateral trade program they hope to sell to the world in the coming international meetings. As usual there is an explanation to fit almost every point of view: the next to the longest bull market in history was bound to break if only of its own weight; high prices were beginning to slow up buying, while labor costs have risen so far that profits can be had only at peak production; the rapid degeneration of American-Russian relations; bear raids on the market by big operators who wanted to unload their holdings to pick them up later at lower prices. You can take your choice. But whatever the causes, the stock-market prophets, as usual, failed to detect them in advance. An analysis of the predictions of eight leading Wall Street services shows that not one warned its clients that a serious break was at hand.

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DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF WAR, THE writers of the U. S. S. R. had no interest that was not the state's. The intensity of their devotion was plain both to Russia and to the outside world; certainly Generalissimo Stalin, whose favorite writer is Chekov, must have appreciated the sacrifice they made when they neglected for the temporary demands of propaganda and patriotism, the final demands of truth, of sympathetic understanding, and of justice. But even peace has not put the Soviet Union in a position where it can afford the luxury of allowing its artists to satisfy these demands: the new Five Year Plan has been more onerous for Soviet writers than the war itself. In the Soviet Union today the only permissible book—or play, or movie, or poem—is one that directly serves the state. The long series of measures against any work of art that is not a party weapon of the bluntest sort has culminated in

the banning of most foreign plays, in attacks upon some of the better-known Russian literary magazines, in the expulsion from the Union of Soviet Writers of two hitherto respected authors, and in the dismissal of its president, Nikolai Tikhonov, a writer of enough cultivation and intelligence to remind one of the days when, for half a century, the greatest literature of modern Europe somehow managed to survive the censorship of a reactionary but mercifully inefficient dictatorship. The official denunciation of the "apolitical and idealless" poetry of Boris Pasternak is a symbolic gesture of the utmost significance. Pasternak is universally regarded as the greatest living Russian poet: Ehrenbourg, during his recent visit to the United States, talked at length about Pasternak, and plainly felt for him a respect and devotion that he otherwise, rather surprisingly, extended only to those "giants" Hemingway, Faulkner, Caldwell, and Steinbeck; one remembers that Ehrenbourg spoke of the enthusiastic acceptance of Pasternak's work by the most select Soviet audience as proving that art is free in Russia.

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WHEN TWO OF THEIR NUMBER WERE recently transferred to the punishment center at Minersville, without trial or hearing, fifty-six conscientious objectors at the Glendora, California, civilian public-service camp stopped work in protest. In addition to objecting to the seemingly arbitrary assignment of the two C. O.'s to a punishment center, the strikers have raised certain basic issues. They contend that the release of conscientious objectors from public-service centers has been vindictively delayed, that their wives and children have been denied dependency allotments, and that they have been forced to work at important and often perilous wartime jobs without compensation. That eight of the men recently arrested have been working as "packers" in the polio ward of the Los Angeles General Hospital throughout the present polio epidemic certainly confirms the sincerity of their position and should entitle them to a careful review of their cases, preferably a public hearing. Moreover, there should be no further delay in releasing conscientious objectors from public-service centers in a ratio consistent with the release of drafted personnel from the armed forces.

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ALTHOUGH THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS MAY be somewhat alleviated in the next twelve months as compared with last year, the latest crop reports indicate that serious shortages will continue until at least this time in 1947. The 1946 European wheat crop is estimated at 830,000,000 bushels as against 647,000,000 in 1945 and a pre-war average of 1,115,000,000. Russia's crops, while better than in the past few years, are below pre-war figures. Britain's bumper grain crop has been seriously damaged by prolonged rains during the harvest season. China's rice yield is expected to be better than last year's but not comparable to that of normal years. While the United States has had an excellent harvest, as James Hearst points out on another page, and Canada has also produced a surplus, both together fall far short of world needs. The U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization, now meeting in Copenhagen, estimates that the world requires 28,000,000 tons of food grains, while production will not exceed 20,000,000. In an effort to encourage greater production and to stabilize prices the FAO is considering a plan for a world food board introduced by Sir John Boyd Orr, FAO's director general. Unfortunately, the American delegation succeeded in sidetracking this admirable proposal on the plea that the subject needed more "study." Instead of immediate action it was decided to invite Russia and Argentina, neither of which is a member of the FAO, to participate in a fifteen-nation commission to survey plans for a food board and stabilization program. While there is logic behind the attempt to involve both nations in the planning stage, the American proposal might easily result in delay which would endanger the whole project—even if it could be conveniently attributed to Soviet "obstruction."

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ON SEPTEMBER 12 IN THE FRENCH EMBASSY at Washington Ambassador Henri Bonnet presented to Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation,* the order of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Others who received decorations on the same occasion were (Grand Officier) Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury; (Commandeur) Archibald MacLeish, former Assistant Secretary of State; (Officier) Oscar Cox, former administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration; (Chevalier) Elliott H. Lee, executive vice-president of American Relief for France; Waverly Root, newspaperman; Raymond Swing, radio correspondent; and Reginald Townsend, president of the French Institute in the United States.

The Wallace Speech

WHAT Henry Wallace said in Madison Square Garden last week was completely blanketed by the fantastic consequences of his words. Mr. Truman's unqualified approval of the speech, followed in rapid succession by protests from Senators Vandenberg and Connally in Paris, by Secretary Byrnes's eloquent silence, by a storm of attack and speculation in the press of the world, and finally by Mr. Truman's ignominious retreat, have seized the spotlight. The specific criticism of American foreign policy made by Mr. Wallace will have to wait for the consideration it deserves until the effects of the President's action have subsided. For this latest demonstration of Mr. Truman's talent for inept and hasty comment has startled the whole world. Nor was he able to mend matters by publicly eating his ill-considered

words; in fact, this performance, however necessary to set matters straight, only heightened the general impression of fumbling irresponsibility.

Like the stock-market break, Mr. Truman's break has been variously explained: he never read the Wallace speech through; he read it but did not understand its implications; he did not read it carefully before the Garden meeting, but afterward, when called to account by the reporters, he thought they were trying to goad him into a disagreement with Mr. Wallace and so insisted he had read it all before okaying it; and so on. Just one thing these explanations have in common: they reflect equally upon the capacity and good sense of the President. This latest episode, so typical, so dismaying, only strengthens our conviction that President Roosevelt's choice of Mr. Truman as his running-mate in 1944 was one of the worst political blunders of his career.

But it would be unfair to exonerate Mr. Wallace of all blame. Perhaps he believed he was going to the extreme of correctness in getting the President's approval for his Garden speech. But since the speech was in large part an attack on the Administration's foreign policy, he should have known that Mr. Truman's indorsement turned it into a bombshell. It did not turn it into policy. In the end Secretary Byrnes's position had to be sustained, as it has been, however clumsily, by Mr. Truman's repudiation of his own words. So all that has been accomplished is to present to the world a spectacle of Cabinet disunity and Presidential inadequacy. It would have been far better, in our opinion, if Mr. Wallace had spoken in his own person and explained that he was doing just that, with or without the express permission of Mr. Truman. Even this degree of open difference within the Cabinet would have astonished persons accustomed to the rigid discipline of the Soviet system or to the system of ministerial responsibility in a parliamentary state. But at least there would have been no risk of serious misunderstanding among other nations and no need of a Presidential crawl. And the many excellent things Mr. Wallace had to say would have been considered on their merits and not merely as items in an international *cause célèbre*.

The speech was, in fact, a most interesting and controversial analysis of the world situation. Not only did Mr. Wallace propose an independent American policy designed to relieve Russia's worries, while demanding of Moscow a similar effort at conciliation; more specifically he elaborated a program based on the frank acceptance of existing spheres of influence, together with areas where neutrality must be maintained. This is a bold departure from the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter and still accorded lip-service in Paris and at Lake Success. Since spheres of influence inescapably imply the continuance of balance-of-power politics in international affairs, Mr. Wallace's position can hardly be dismissed, in the words of the New York *Herald Tribune*, as "starry-eyed." It is, on the contrary, a brutally realistic position, demanding a new orientation on the part of most liberal thinkers. *Nation* readers will find in it interesting parallels with the ideas expressed in last week's issue by Dr. Niebuhr. This point in particular requires serious thought. A division of the world into "zones" dominated by great powers has so many obvious dangers that it must be accepted, if at all, reluctantly and as a bad second best.

Wallace's broad approach to the question of America's foreign relations will, however, have the support of all who believe that peace must be constructed on the foundation of a positive democratic policy rather than on mere resistance to Russian pressures. The anxiety, reflected in dispatches from Paris, lest the Wallace attitude imply a withdrawal of American interest from Europe, is not justified by a careful reading of the speech. On the contrary, Mr. Wallace proposes increased participation by America in building a stable and democratic world. In fact, he openly advocates competition between American economic methods and the socialist concepts of Russia while urging each power to refrain from political intervention in countries within the other's established area of interest. As an example of what he would have the United States avoid, he cites our close support of Britain's position, particularly in the Middle East. Without doubt, this policy has involved the United States in reactionary commitments which have weakened our prestige in the countries concerned and have aroused unnecessary suspicions in Moscow. Mr. Wallace's insistence that we develop and follow a policy of our own is not equivalent to a proposal that we pull out. Where some of us would differ with him is in his assumption that an independent American policy will automatically be a democratic one. The situation in China and in the Philippines does not justify this view. Our policy will be democratic when men like Wallace are able to influence the making of policy; freeing ourselves from British apron strings is not enough.

Spain Off-Stage

EVEN though the Spanish issue has not yet been scheduled for formal discussion by either the Security Council or the General Assembly, it has risen again to plague the members of the United Nations. Speaking on the new Opium Convention, now being prepared by a special committee of the Economic and Social Council, the Soviet delegate, Nikolai Feonov, last week asked whether the proposed invitation to signatories of the 1925 and 1931 conventions to join the committee would be extended to the government of General Franco. Upon receiving an affirmative answer, Mr. Feonov declared that the Russian government would reserve the right to reopen this question when the convention comes before the Economic Council for debate.

The Russian delegate's statement should put an end to rumors circulated this summer about a change in the U. S. S. R.'s attitude toward Spain: obviously the Soviet Union continues to be unequivocally opposed to any contact, direct or indirect, between the United Nations and the present Spanish regime. At the same time it shows how futile are the hopes of those who expect the Spanish issue to "die by itself." The Security Council had scarcely finished its heated debate last June, when the World Federation of Trade Unions issued a call for a general boycott of Spain which touched off a new explosion of anti-Franco sentiment throughout Europe and Latin America. Hardly had the month of meetings and demonstrations initiated by the W. F. T. U. come to a close, when representatives of all the European Socialist parties, in answer to an invitation of the French Socialists, met in Paris on August 27 and 28 to discuss the Spanish issue. The conference was attended by a group of specially invited Spanish Socialists. The delegates adopted a resolution stating that "the survival of the Franco regime constitutes a defeat for international democracy and a danger to the peace." They called on the Socialist parties to intensify international action aimed at the early overthrow of the Spanish dictatorship and set up a permanent committee whose task it will be to bring pressure on the United Nations to adopt an attitude on Spain consonant with the principles enunciated at San Francisco and Potsdam.

For a brief time officials in London and Washington clung to the possibility of replacing the Madrid regime "quickly and painlessly" by another government, monarchist or semi-fascist. Unfortunately for the promoters of this scheme, the chief protagonist reneged. So far Franco has refused to step out. Gambling, as he has done since the war's end, on the differences between the Western powers and Russia, the Spanish dictator sees no reason to throw in his hand just when the cards are coming his way. Encouraged by recent developments, he returned from his Galician tour saying that he had thought matters over and decided to stay put.

Now the British Foreign Office finds itself back where it started last spring. A monarchist restoration is impossible: Lopez Oliván, the former ambassador to London who favored a monarchy along British lines, has lost his fight against the medieval, clerical, anti-labor clique surrounding the Pretender in Lisbon. Some of the generals on whom the British were counting to carry off a coup last July have beat a hasty retreat now that Franco has made it clear he will not budge. There remains only the Republic, but recent events in Greece and elsewhere suggest that, in the Mediterranean at least, Mr. Bevin prefers democracy in very small doses. So the only alternative for Britain is to return to its former position of backing Franco.

This presents the United States with a difficult decision. If the Administration continues to follow the British lead, it will be obliged to support the tottering Franco regime not only diplomatically but financially. Since a direct loan would be politically impossible, there has been talk lately of a loan negotiated through private banks to rescue Franco from his multiplying economic difficulties. But no rescue operation will prevent another Spanish conflict in the U. N. when the Assembly finally meets in October.

Labor at the White House

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 12

JOHN STEELMAN, the professionally optimistic director of Mobilization and Reconversion, let out a feeble toot as the White House answer to the economic crisis that has been building up for ten days.

The maritime strike had piled up the pressure to amend the government's outdated stabilization policy. In Cabinet meetings and in White House conferences Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach gloomily warned that inequities between earnings and prices must be settled decisively or the maritime strike might spread to other industries. He pointed to some hitherto unpublished statistics: Real wages in July reached a post-war low—10 per cent below July of last year. The price index rose 7.8 points from June to August 15, 1946.

Last night crowds pouring out of Washington theaters were greeted by newsboys shouting, "Wage Board turns down sailors' pay raise." This morning the atmosphere in the Labor Department was hushed, almost frightened. Ed Warren, the director of conciliation, and some of his assistants stood in the hall outside the Secretary's office talking quietly. Where was this thing going? How could it be stopped? All day long reporters sat impatiently in the White House press room. They stormed into the office of Charlie Ross, press secretary. When was the break coming in the maritime strike? Ross patiently assured them sometime today.

Over in the east wing of the White House government executives hurried in and out—members of the

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Wage Stabilization Board and the Maritime Commission, Labor Department officials. Dr. Steelman was holding emergency councils.

By four o'clock, the time for President Truman's regular news conference, the long White House lobby was crowded. The correspondents jammed and pushed into the Presidential office, filling every inch of space. The President galloped off merrily and in one breath announced the appointment of Frances Perkins to the Civil Service Commission and the opening of West Executive Avenue to traffic soon. He rambled on about a White House carpenter shop and a proclamation for Physically Handicapped Week.

The crowded room was getting warm and the reporters impatient. Several voices broke out, and the loudest asked, "What will the President do to stop a wave of strikes?" Mr. Truman said firmly he had already taken action in the Executive Order of last February. Then he nodded to the next person with a question. The talk drifted over to politics and Henry Wallace's New York speech.

A reporter almost pleaded, "Will there be a break from the White House today on the maritime strike?" The President said Steelman would have a statement. "Will the Steelman announcement be the basis for a settlement?" Mr. Truman said it would. Would the statement modify the stabilization policy? It would not. "Can we talk to Steelman?" a reporter asked. The President replied cheerfully that sure we could, but Steelman was busy now. Someone in the back of the room drawled, "Is he sitting on the statement?" Mr. Truman thought this was funny and he laughed. That ended the conference.

The great document that was going to end the maritime strike created confusion in the press room. Irritated correspondents demanded to see Steelman. What the hell did all this mean? The word came back that Dr. Steelman was not seeing the gentlemen: the statement spoke for itself.

Conflicting judgments about it are still expressed, but it appears to be a simple device buried in purposely obscure legal phrases. Dr. Steelman just removed the maritime industry from the board's jurisdiction and added a little teaser for the ship operators to figure out. If owners of privately operated ships will pay increases, the government may authorize similar raises for government-owned ships. Very few officials in Washington have any real hope that this obtuse statement will settle the maritime strike or satisfy labor generally.

The strike started out as a lusty thumb-to-nose gesture at the Wage Stabilization Board by Harry Lundeberg, the husky president of the A. F. of L. West Coast Sailors' Union, but it has developed into a general defiance of the futile stabilization program. It was originally called because the WSB refused to allow a pay increase giving $22.50 a month to able-bodied seamen of the A. F. of L. The board gave $17.50 to Joe Curran's C. I. O. sailors, and that was as far as it was going. Lundeberg complained that the board had stalled for weeks on his petition, though they approved Curran's in a matter of hours. He said the agreement was arrived at by collective bargaining, and it was none of the government's business. Besides, the Maritime Commission had no objection; so why were these board members blocking it?

The Wage Board was torn between two decisions. It could grant the $5 increase, labeling it correction of inequity. Not much money was involved. The total labor cost of operating a Liberty ship, $10,700 a month, would be increased $30. This decision would end the A. F. of L. strike, but it would open a very breezy back door to other demands. Or the board could turn down the raise—as it did—and point lamely to restrictions placed on it. Under the White House Executive Order dated March 11 and never amended, the WSB is not authorized to recognize any increase in the cost of living other than that occurring in the period January, 1941, to September, 1945. It is further restricted by the order to eliminating "gross inequities" within industries or plants or job classifications and to correcting substandard wages.

Secretary Schwellenbach looked more mournful than usual at his news conference last week. He is a big man with shaggy gray eyebrows and long lips that droop downward. President Truman said it was up to the Labor Department to settle the strike, but Schwellenbach had nothing to arbitrate. The strike was against the WSB, and he could not touch the board. In the White House consultations Schwellenbach advocated a "unified approach": that is, the government should make up its mind on a wage policy for the entire industry and settle shipping once and for a long while. Curran was flexing his muscles and talking about a strike; a contract for Harry Bridges's longshoremen was coming up on September 30. In these sessions the idea of removing the shipping industry from Wage Board controls was tossed around.

On the long-term policy for all labor the White House seemed indifferent. Steelman took the attitude: "It will all blow over in two or three months of good production."

The maritime strike came at the precise moment when it would cause the most trouble. Both Philip Murray of the C. I. O. and William Green of the A. F. of L. have their hands full keeping the unions quiet. The cost-of-living increase has given ammunition to all who want to kick over the stabilization traces. Harry Lundeberg is a lusty, irrepressible character, and he was egged on by A. F. of L. leaders looking for a chance to throw the Truman Administration into more turmoil. John Lewis rumbled that he was backing Lundberg to the

limit. On the left Harry Bridges and Joe Curran put their heads together.

The effect of strikes and wage boosts on the elections is worrying the Democrats and liberals, who do not want voters boiling over with anger at organized labor on November 7. The C. I. O. officially says there is no danger of mass strikes in its affiliated unions. However, Murray is scheduled to speak frankly on wage stabilization at a meeting in Chicago on September 28 and 29.

The statistics Schwellenbach took to the White House show the seriousness of the economic crisis. While the hourly wage rate of factory workers reached a record high of $1.09 in July, weekly earnings slumped to $43 with the average work week only 39.4 hours. From July to September last year real wages slid down 8 per cent. Rising wage rates granted in the so-called "first round" had made up over half this loss by June of this year, but the recovery of earnings was completely erased by price advances after June 30. Moreover, only one-fourth of factory workers received the 18½ cents an hour increase; one-fifth did not get any raise. In the textile industry chiseling employers who did not grant increases boldly asked the OPA for price raises because of the "first round." Workers in trades and services and white-collar classifications benefited little by the 18½-cent increase. The decline in real earnings has been the most marked in the durable-goods industries, where reduction of hours and down-grading has been most drastic. Real wages of durable-goods workers two months ago were 13 per cent less than in July, 1945, and at the lowest level since 1941.

The top economists in the government believe these statistics point to a succession of minor crises, each one eating away public confidence. They do not expect a severe depression in the next few years, because employment is high, demand is great, and both industry and the middle class have a backlog of savings. But they are afraid that indefinable thing called "public confidence" may fall off so sharply that the United States will tumble into a selling spree.

Through it all President Truman remains cheerful and undisturbed. A week ago today he told his news conference there was no emergency facing the nation, and he saw no need to call Congress back. The boys were entitled to some time campaigning and resting.

Clash of Two Systems

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

WHATEVER defects may be attributed to the Paris Peace Conference by contemporary commentators and future historians, it has already made a signal contribution to the universal debate on the problems of our times. For in Paris, to an extent seldom approached in the past, some of the fundamental issues that divide Russia and the Western world have been squarely joined—not in the rarefied atmosphere of discussions among an academic élite, but in the full glare of publicity, around the diplomatic green table, where the stakes are the life and death of nations.

Outwardly the conference of the "twenty-one" may not seem to differ very markedly from the many conclaves—from Westphalia through Vienna and Berlin to Paris and the Treaty of Versailles—which have sought to reweave the broken and tangled threads of the Holy Roman Empire into some new pattern of stability and peace. Press dispatches are studded with the all too familiar names of problems which have plagued diplomats for centuries—Venezia Giulia, Macedonia, Bulgaria's demand for an outlet on the Aegean, Transylvania, control of the Dardanelles. But underlying the ancient struggle for strategic bases and allegedly defensible frontiers, the starkness of which has been not one whit diminished by the atomic bomb, is the clash, no longer concealed, between two main forms of economic enterprise—what we call free enterprise (and the Russians "monopoly capitalism") on one side, and what the Russians call socialism (and we communism) on the other.

True, the barely finished war between the United Nations and the Axis powers was also fraught with far-reaching political-economic implications. But that war, except for the participation of Russia, was waged by more or less industrialized countries which basically accepted the concept of private capital, even though in Germany and Japan private production was harnessed by the state to its machinery of military expansion. The social structure made familiar in the Western world by the development of large-scale industry built on investments by individuals at their own risk, with all its legal connotations, had not been materially altered by the totalitarian regimes of the Axis powers.

At the Paris Peace Conference, by contrast, we see emerging the outlines of a new economic struggle—this time not between relatively equal industrial giants, but

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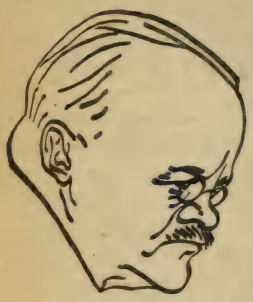
between Russia and its eastern satellites, all still backward industrially, and the highly industrialized countries of the West, led by the United States—countries whose combined power of production far exceeds that of the U. S. S. R. at the present time. In this struggle the ultimate weapons may prove to be rockets and atomic bombs. But at this stage the weapons are, on the side of the West, capital resources needed for the development of backward areas, technical "know-how," command of means of transportation and communication — notably civil aviation, merchant shipping, and cable systems—and the persisting belief that economic freedom is a prerequisite for political democracy. On the side of Russia, technically the weaker side, the weapons are exaction of reparations from the former enemy countries under the vigilant supervision of Russian armed forces, participation by the Russian state in some of the key enterprises of these countries—usually on a fifty-fifty basis—the proffer by Russia of a huge, barely tapped market for the manufactured goods of its neighbors, and a strong appeal to the nationalist pride of industrially backward peoples who have long resented Western "exploitation" of their resources.



Foreign Minister Molotov gave the key to this conflict in his remarks to the Paris Peace Conference on August 15, when he sarcastically discussed the principle of economic "equality of opportunity" advocated by the United States, especially as applied to navigation of the Danube and trade in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans occupied by Russia. Molotov's remarks revealed the deep-seated, well-nigh neurotic anxiety that the Russian leaders feel when they compare the war-shattered condition of their economy, only partially developed during the past quarter of a century at a high cost in human suffering, with the untouched and war-expanded industrial resources of the United States, which they regard both as their principal model and their principal menace. From the point of view of the Russians—and, it must be said in fairness, of many others, including the British—economic "equality of opportunity" for the United States really means inequality for countries less well equipped by talent or good fortune to compete for world trade. In the race for economic power, as they see it, the United States should be made to accept a handicap—otherwise the race will hardly be equal.

For the Soviet government is confronted with the stupendous task of economic reconstruction, starting practically from scratch. It has the advantage that since 1917 thousands of its citizens have learned at least the rudiments of machine civilization, but it has also a major liability. The population, while desperately weary after years of peace-time deprivation and war, has gained an inkling of the amenities of life available to many peoples outside Russia's borders. Even if the Soviet leaders were genuinely convinced that they have nothing to fear from the Western world in the years it will take them to rebuild the country's economy to the 1941 level, not to speak of further advances, they would be reluctant to permit psychological demobilization of the Russian people, who might thus succumb to the mood of slow-down experienced by other nations that participated in the war.

In theory, it might be argued that the Kremlin could greatly ease its task of reconstruction and cut the cost to the Russian people by seeking abroad the type of long-term loans and investments that made possible the early development of other industrial nations, notably the United States. And in the first flush of enthusiasm for Russia during the war it seemed probable that this country would be ready to extend a large loan or credit to facilitate Russian reconstruction. For political reasons, however, the Soviet leaders have always been loath to accept loans or permit foreign investments, regarding these as an entering wedge for foreign intervention. And in the present atmosphere of mutual distrust it is highly improbable that the American Congress would authorize a loan intended to strengthen Russia.

Yet the Russians are determined to build up their economic strength, and in the absence of loans they are doing so by their own methods. First, they tried to recoup some of their losses in machinery and tools and to fill their most urgent needs for consumers' goods by taking what they wanted from Germany and the Axis satellites as the reparations specified in the Potsdam declaration and the various armistice agreements—unfortunately for the Western powers specified in ambiguous language and without provision for United Nations supervision. The Russians regard reparations as their due compensation for the economic losses they suffered during the war. That is why any attempt to check up on reparations, such as was undertaken by the Australian delegation, or to scale them down to "capacity to pay," or to substitute payments in currency for payments in kind is regarded in Moscow as a sinister maneuver to balk Russia's legitimate replenishment of its war-depleted resources.

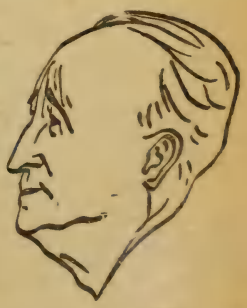
The Russians themselves, however, have been prompt to see that reparations are at best a stop-gap, and have therefore laid down the main lines of an economic program that would permanently funnel machinery, tools, and manufactured goods into Russia, supplementing its own production without perpetuating the antagonism aroused by Russian levies in ex-enemy and even in friendly countries. This program takes several forms. The Russians are encouraging the resumption of full

production in factories within their orbit, often under pre-war management, on condition that they obtain a share of control over these enterprises and receive a specified amount of their production. The effect of such arrangements is that the factories of neighboring countries—and this practice is to be extended to Italy by the proposed terms of the peace treaty—work for the Russian market and in some cases obtain their raw materials from Russia. The economy of these countries is thus being gradually made dependent on that of the U. S. S. R. —with the political corollary that it becomes less and less in their interest to join in any attack on their chief customer and supplier. This policy would of course reach the acme of success if the industrial know-how of the Germans could be joined with the man-power of the Russians in a huge pool of production that would challenge, if it did not ultimately outmatch, that of the United States and other Western countries together. To prevent the economic junction of Germany and Russia has been one of the main objectives of recent American policy.

The Soviet government, however, has not completely dispensed with the machinery of trade arrangements familiar to the Western world. For example, it has concluded an agreement with Swiss enterprises for the distribution of Rumanian oil—some of which is the property of private interests in Western countries which are now seeking compensation in Paris—and has been negotiating a long-term credit from Sweden for the purchase of certain types of machinery, some of which it might otherwise have bought here or in Britain. While thus consolidating its economic position in Eastern Europe, Russia has been aspersing the Western powers for their attempts to dominate civil aviation in certain European countries, notably Italy, and to form trade combinations of their own.

The immediate result of Russia's collection of reparations in kind from countries whose economy had already been disorganized by war has been to deplete their resources to a dangerous extent and to reduce their standard of living, which in most cases had been higher than that of Russia. A cynic might contend that this is the principal purpose of the Soviet government, which may hope that growing economic stringency will bring about full-fledged communism. Russia, however, genuinely needs some of the products of neighboring countries. While its program of requirements may seem to endanger the economies of these nations, it may, under favorable circumstances, hasten their industrialization. For unlike Germany, which, being itself highly industrialized, looked upon Eastern Europe and the Balkans as a market and a source of raw materials, Russia with its rich storehouse of raw materials and its lack of manufactured goods, looks to Hungary, Poland, and even Rumania, not to speak of Finland and Czechoslovakia, for goods its cannot currently produce in adequate quantities.

Russia's economic program abroad, conceived out of scarcity and not out of plenty, directly challenges the foreign-trade policy the United States has been evolving since the war. In sharp contrast to Russia, this country, if producing to capacity, has a surplus of goods for export, and therefore favors liberalization of world trade through the conclusion of multilateral arrangements and the abandonment of restrictions and discriminations. It is in support of this policy that Washington has protested to Stockholm and Moscow against the impending Swedish credit to Russia. Yet admittedly one of the most serious restrictions on world trade is the American tariff, one of whose main objectives is to protect American industry from the competition of products made by cheaply paid labor in less advanced countries. Now Moscow is turning the tables on us, and seeking to shut out our highly competitive goods, which Russian industry cannot match, from what is, in essence, the protected market it has fenced off at the Oder. Time was when we might have helped to industrialize the countries now in Russia's orbit, thus aiding them to become both good customers for our exports and fertile ground for democratic ideas. If we want to do this now, we can do it only through some form of partnership with Russia, which has staked out "squatters' rights" in that area. And a partnership would imply that investments in the eastern countries would have to be made with relatively little hope of obtaining financial advantages—which means that they would probably have to be made by or with the aid of the American government, rather than by private investors. Such a program would reopen some markets for American goods, but at the same time it would restrict still further the scope of private enterprise.



If, however, Russia remains wedded to its present course of playing a lone hand in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, then our remaining alternative is to foster as wide an area of liberalized trade as we can among the United States, Britain, the British Dominions, and Western Europe. But even this limited program will depend for its success upon confidence in the long-term stability of our economy on the part of these nations and upon their own chance of successful competition. Their confidence cannot but be shaken by the oscillations and internal conflicts from which our economy has suffered since the war. It is our own uncertainty about the future of the economic system symbolized by the United States which lends such grim significance to the clashes in Paris between Russia and the West.

The Horn of Plenty

BY JAMES HEARST

THE war emergency is over, but the lack of food still torments the world. The world is hungry for peace too. The men who speak for international goodwill say there is some connection between these two needs. The farmer hopes they are right, for he is ending the current crop year under the same constant pressure for high production as during the war years. He finds, though, that his land and his machinery have depreciated.

It is an item that the farmer will willingly cross off his books if the job of feeding people has been well done. The stories of hunger and starvation that came out of Europe and Asia made him sick at heart. No decent person was unmoved by them; no one with any regard for his neighbor failed to give some aid. But it was a problem which only the farmer could deal with practically and directly; he was the man on whom the solution finally depended. Now, at the end of the growing season, I think the farmer may make some comment on what he has done.

Perhaps it is only fair to say that the farmer was suspicious last spring when the sudden and peremptory demand for food rang out on all the networks. It was not credible to him that the men who gather statistics had not known long before this what the food shortage would be. Questions crowded into his mind which he would like answered some day. Why didn't this country start saving food the year before at harvest time, when it was readily available? Are there interests in this country which wanted to lay in their annual supply of grain before the hungry people got theirs? Was it thought that food might be used to support political strategy?

The farmer himself takes his sights for the year farther back than most people think. For example, he must determine the approximate size of his spring pig crop some time during the previous fall. A sow won't be hurried: she expects to have at least 115 days to produce a litter of pigs. Plans for a dairy herd must be laid even farther back: a cow takes nine months to produce a calf, and usually it is just one calf. The man who feeds cattle or sheep—the corn-belt finisher—juggles so many factors in making up his mind that it is a wonder he ever arrives at a decision. The kind of crop and the size of each crop must be determined long before planting time. Seed and fertilizer must be obtained, soil-conservation measures planned, labor hired, machinery bought or repaired. The farm year starts long before spring, and once the whole organization of a farm is in motion it gathers its own momentum which carries it along to the end of the year. All the last-minute orders, suggestions, and advice can't hold back the old sow's pigs or make the cornfield grow up to clover.

If suggestions were reciprocal, or alternating like an electric current, I think most farmers would like to say to Mr. LaGuardia, or whoever speaks for UNRRA: When people are starving, don't wait until the last minute to tell the farmers.

Three of the things that motivate a farmer are these, and I think that they are important in this order—the demands of his job, good prices, public demand. I put the demands of his job first because most farmers like to farm—if they didn't they wouldn't be doing it—and farming means growing crops and livestock. Regardless of prices and their relationship to costs, a farmer wants to make his farm productive. He likes to grow things. On this single impulse the public depends for its bread. Prices before the end of OPA last June seemed high enough to most farmers—to 70 per cent of them according to the public-opinion polls. This was especially true of farmers old enough to remember the price slump in 1921. But during the war the government gave the farmers and the food processors subsidies to stimulate production. The subsidies were mainly to protect the consumer and were scarcely a drop in the bucket compared to the subsidies in the cost-plus contracts given to industry—though food was as important as airplanes—but the manufacturers hated them bitterly. The government knew the farmer would plant, cultivate, and harvest whether there was a war or not. It knew the farmer didn't have to be bribed. All the government did, in the name of the people, was to hustle him along a little. He is still hustling, but he has time to stop for a glance at the record.

In the first part of August the United States Department of Agriculture issued a small pamphlet which was

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probably read by comparatively few people, mostly farmers, editors, and statisticians. Yet it was of utmost importance to 140,000,000 Americans, and it should give comforting news to the underfed people of the world. A crop forecast as of August 1, it showed that the present corn crop is estimated at 3,340,000,000 bushels. This may be compared with the ten-year average of a little over two and a half billion bushels. In Iowa alone the 1946 corn crop is estimated at 650,000 bushels, worth in dollars and cents more than the amount received for the entire citrus fruit crop. (This statement is addressed particularly to Iowans who have migrated to California.)

The present wheat crop will amount to slightly more than one billion bushels—the fourth billion-bushel crop—as compared with a ten-year average of about 800,000,000. The total oat crop amounted to 1,400,000,000 bushels, or about 300,000,000 above the 1935-44 average. The flaxseed total is less than one-half that average. It is too early to forecast the soy-bean yield, but the acreage is down two million acres below last year. Thus the yield of cereal grains is at an all-time high, while the yield of oil-producing seeds is somewhat curtailed.

The Department of Agriculture reports that total food supplies for civilians in 1946 are somewhat larger than they were last year. Even meat supplies, which seem to bear the burden of consumer complaint these days, are several pounds greater per capita than ever before.

These statistics may not be entertaining, but they should be very reassuring. They mean that our own citizens will have an ample supply of food and that we can help feed people in other countries not yet on a self-sustaining basis. It is the plan of the Department of Agriculture to export 250,000,000 bushels of wheat during the 1946-47 marketing year, a figure that would have seemed pretty wishful last spring, when the carry-over of old grain was the lowest in years.

Grain supplies were presented in the farm programs as of predominant importance. Prices and goals were weighted so as to increase grain production and distribution at the expense of livestock. It was well advertised, for example, that one acre of corn fed as cereal will support ten times as many people as it would if it were converted into beef. What success this program had was achieved by raising grain prices and holding down livestock prices. The intent and purpose was to raise the food that would feed the greatest number of people. The cost of the program was hardly taken into account.

But I think the cost should be mentioned briefly to show the American people how to control their appetites. Here are a few items from the Department of Agriculture livestock report which belong in this cost accounting: Beef cattle on feed are the lowest on record; the number of lambs is sharply below a year ago—the spring crop is reduced 13 per cent; dairy cattle numbers are down, with 3 per cent fewer cows than last year and 7 per cent fewer one- and two-year-old heifers; turkey numbers are 15 per cent below a year ago; poultry numbers are declining, with 20 per cent fewer chicks hatched since January 1; the fall pig crop is 16 per cent below last year's—but the total pig crop amounts to almost 52,000,000 head, which is about the same as the total last year.

Then there is a cost which the department and the OPA may not have expected. This is a cost in hard feelings which may take several years to be fully amortized. The Middle Western farmer, who had loyally supported the OPA, was faithlessly ignored when a rapid increase in corn prices were allowed *after* most of the corn was out of the farmer's hands. And after the hold-the-line policy had been solemnly sworn to before the public.

Is the farmer proud of his remarkable success in producing another huge supply of food just at the right time to do the most good? Does he enjoy his present prestige as one of the most important figures in world history?

The farmers in my community are just thankful that everything went as well as it did. They are inclined to give the weather most of the credit. They take for granted the adjustment and readjustment of their plans, the sacrifice of livestock, their own hard work. It was what had to be done.

Drawings by Shane

Instead of feeling proud, I think farmers are feeling a little fearful these days. There are some ominous signs in the sky. The farmer sees that our military forces are gradually shrinking and that their need for food is consequently falling off. He sees UNRRA getting ready to wind up its affairs and leave the market. He sees labor's purchasing power diminished by loss of overtime pay and rising prices. Thoughtfully he considers his own business, running with the governor wide open, and he sees—or imagines he sees—the specter of his own efforts come back to mock him in the form of too much food at too low a price.

The horn of plenty may turn out to be one of the horns of his dilemma. Already he is being deserted by his allies. Certain labor groups, his best customers, are vigorously protesting any rise in prices to farmers, while their own efforts in the direction of higher wages simply increase the cost of the things he buys. Management ignores his distressing need for new machines and machine repairs, and sits in its counting-house reckoning tax refunds. Next year, he thinks gloomily, when the

public finds itself short of meat, it will not be slow to criticize the farmer. The fact that he gave up his livestock program so that people might have bread will be forgotten by then.

But the farmer has only odd moments in which to worry. The year isn't over yet. He still has 91,000,000 acres of corn to husk; 11,000,000 acres of soy beans to thresh; 52,000,000 pigs to feed; 27,000,000 cows to milk; and 2,300,000,000 dozen eggs to gather. We all should be thankful for that.

Fascism, Philippine Style

BY R. F. MILLON

THE newly created Philippine Republic is today rocketing toward fascism under the leadership of its President, Manuel Acuna Roxas. That part of the island economy which is not in ruins is dominated by American capitalists, Filipino and Spanish fascists, or Filipinos who collaborated with the Japanese in the war against the United States. Philippine imports and exports, present and potential, are irretrievably tied to the United States for the next twenty-eight years under conditions most unfair to the Philippines. The Filipino people are still suffering grievously from the devastation wrought by war and the vicious inflation that followed it. President Roxas is savagely crushing all opposition to his administration. His methods range from arbitrarily excluding members of the opposition party from the new Philippine Congress to using the army to murder the peasants of central Luzon—peasants who have organized to fight for emancipation from a feudal slavery which still exists almost fifty years after Spain relinquished the islands to the benevolent custody of the United States.

The responsibility for this sad state of affairs rests squarely with the United States, for our government, in the persons of General MacArthur and High Commissioner McNutt, helped Roxas win his present high position. The American colonial regime in the Philippines has ended, but it has ended, not in a spirit of good-will and of pride in a job well done, but in such a shameful manner that we can no longer pretend our policy there was other than one of partly disguised imperialism.

The central figure in any discussion of the Philippines today is Manuel Roxas. His record must be exposed clearly if the causes of the present economic and political turmoil in the infant republic are to be understood.

R. F. MILLON spent eighteen months in the Philippines as an officer at General MacArthur's headquarters. His job for the greater part of that time was the detection and exposure of collaborators in the Philippine army. In the course of his work he collected much material on the political situation and became acquainted with many persons prominent in the Islands.

Many attempts have been made in the American press to whitewash Roxas. The facts, without whitewash, damn him. Briefly, Roxas served in a highly important, policy-making post in the "Cabinet" of José P. Laurel, whom the Japanese installed as puppet President. His more detailed record follows:

Before the war Roxas (pronounced *roe-haas*) was the third most important politician in the Philippines, ranking behind Manuel Quezon—dynamic, vigorous, dictatorial—the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth, and Sergio Osmeña—quiet, capable, self-effacing—the Commonwealth's Vice-President who became President in 1944 upon the death of Quezon. At the outbreak of the war Roxas's personal popularity with the people was very great. He had just been elected to the Philippine Senate by an overwhelming vote, and he was regarded by many as the logical successor to President Quezon. When the Japanese invasion began, Roxas left the government service and became General MacArthur's liaison officer with President Quezon. In Mindanao, after the departure of MacArthur and Quezon for Australia, Roxas was offered the leadership of the resistance movement on that southern island, but refused. Instead he chose to surrender to the Japanese, who held him in prison until February, 1943, when he was suddenly released and brought to Manila.

Shortly thereafter Roxas was asked to become a member of the Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence, which was being used as a front by the Japanese to make the people feel that the "independence" they would soon be granted would be the real thing. Roxas agreed and worked with the commission in creating a constitution for the new "republic." Of his part in this enterprise he states: "I wanted to prevent a dictatorial government which would give the Japanese even greater power." Actually, the puppet government's constitution as prepared, written, and signed by Roxas was modeled after the fascist constitution of Japan, even though it preserved the outward form of the Commonwealth constitution. Gone were civil liberties. The National Assembly was to be composed of appointive members. The President was to be granted dictatorial powers.

Roxas, though committed to the idea of a democratic regime, supported the new government and constitution, and publicly posed with the drafters and signers of the document. Shortly after the inauguration of José P. Laurel as President, Roxas accepted an important post in the Laurel government—the post of chairman of the Economic Planning Board. By thus formally joining the puppet government, Roxas, whether he realized it or not, whether he intended it or not, capitalized on his popularity with the Philippine people to give material aid to the Japanese. The essential truth about his sort of collaboration was ably put by Solicitor General Lorenzo Tanada, chief prosecutor of the People's Court in Manila, in his memorandum for the prosecution in the treason trial of Teofilo Sison, a fellow "Cabinet" member of Roxas's, on February 9 of this year:

> . . . In choosing as their collaborators well-known, able, and respected leaders of the Philippines, the Japanese knew that they could accomplish a purpose, perform a service, no other group of men could. And the reasons for the choice are plain and damning. Japan's long-range policy, as already stated, was to alienate the Filipinos from the United States and thus exploit them and their resources more efficiently in the war against the United Nations. . . . What Filipinos were most likely to influence their countrymen with advice and counsel along the lines of Japanese policy?
>
> Best qualified, best fitted for this purpose were the men called. . . . Of the Filipino leaders left behind, they were the most popular and powerful figures in politics and government, whose long and brilliant record of service it is superfluous to mention here. The fact that not one of them had ever been accused openly of pro-Japanese sympathies increased their persuasive effectiveness. If the Japanese had made the mistake of inviting . . . avowed pro-Japanese . . . to form the constitution, the Filipino people would never have been deceived, they would have recognized them at once and acted accordingly. And there would never have been any question in the mind of the rest of the world as to whom such men represented. . . .
>
> The truth is, the people of the occupied districts, stunned by continuous enemy success, were all waiting for their trusted leaders to point the way. Presenting a solid front, they might have refused to yield anything that the enemy could not have taken by force, they might have offered passive resistance. Instead they were told to cooperate. Setting an example, their leaders showed them how, and they also told them why.

Nor should it be forgotten that collaboration with the enemy meant collaboration with fascism. In the occupied countries of Europe it was demonstrated that the line between collaborator and fascist was at best a faint one.

On September 21, 1944, Roxas gave his assent to a declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain. He was quoted to this effect at the time by "President" Laurel, and the statement was recorded in the official minutes of the meeting in question.

In April, 1945, six weeks after the liberation of Manila, when the Americans were nearing Baguio, summer capital of the Philippines, to which Laurel and his Cabinet had fled when Manila was threatened, Roxas made his way through the Japanese lines, along with the other puppet ministers who did not go to Japan with Laurel, and reached the American forces. All the members of the party except Roxas were imprisoned. Roxas was freed by General MacArthur on the ground that he had aided the guerrillas throughout the occupation.

WHAT MAKES A TRAITOR?

Even granting, as General MacArthur claims, that Roxas aided the resistance movement, though there is little evidence of any such activity, that would not of itself absolve the man of the charge of treasonable collaboration with the enemy. Whatever he may have done to help the guerrillas privately, he did considerably more publicly toward destroying them. His very presence in the government, which lent it the air of independence the Japanese wanted, his actions as chairman of the Economic Planning Board, his example in preparing and signing the constitution—all these things served the cause he pretended to oppose. Pompeyo Diaz, presiding judge in the division of the People's Court which convicted Teofilo Sison of treason last March, used words which would apply equally well to Roxas:

> . . . One may style himself a guerrilla or protector of guerrillas and yet be a traitor to his country if he has sought to serve two masters at a time.
>
> The position of the accused, if we grant his connection with the underground movement, can be no better than that of the vultures in human form, the merchants of death, who amassed huge fortunes during the war by selling materials to the enemy but, loving themselves as much as the money that flowed into their hands, gave away substantial sums to guerrilla units. It certainly can be said of them that they sought to serve both God and the devil.

In the same decision Judge Diaz said:

> . . . The act of accepting and holding any policy-making or directing position in any of the puppet governments and discharging the duties and functions of these positions is treasonable in itself. . . .

Roxas is therefore clearly guilty of treason. Yet today he is President of the Philippines.

General MacArthur indorsed Roxas. So did General Tomoyuki Yamashita, former Japanese commander-

in-chief in the Philippines. In an interview in his cell shortly before his execution, General Yamashita, when asked whether Roxas had been a secret guerrilla while pretending to aid the Japanese, "laughed loudly."

Looking at Roxas's record objectively then, it may be wondered why the United States army directly, and the Truman Administration by default, cleared him of treasonable activities during the Japanese occupation. Somewhere along the line strong pressure in his behalf must have been exerted. At any rate, armed with the clearance from General MacArthur which so greatly influenced the people of the Philippines, Roxas and powerful money-eyed interests—such as those headed by the notorious prewar fascist Andres Soriano, one of MacArthur's staff officers, and the Elizalde and de Leon families, and including certain powerful American interests—launched the campaign to elect Roxas to the Presidency. This group also had the full support of the remainder of the collaborators, men still influential because of their great wealth, who naturally backed Roxas as the only man who could save them. Conversely, President Osmeña was supported by all the progressive, democratic, and left-wing elements, including the Democratic Alliance, the only progressive political party in the Philippines, and the still powerful guerrilla group, the Hukbalahap.

The real issues, however, were hidden from the people by the Roxas-controlled press. The familiar attacks on minorities were made. José Zulueta, pro-Roxas Speaker of the House of Representatives, called the turn when he said: "The Chinese, Indians, and Jews are the ones who are enriching themselves." "General MacArthur cleared him," was the answer to charges of collaboration leveled against Roxas. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, by publicly stating last March that it did not matter to the government of the United States who won the election, gave the green light to Roxas. President Osmeña, who lacked the vigor and personal magnetism of his predecessor, Manuel Quezon, was attacked as "tired, aging, slow-moving." In spite of the efforts of the Democratic Alliance to bring out the facts, the Roxas machine won. On April 23 the self-styled "Man of Destiny" was elected by a slim majority.

[*This is the first of two articles by Mr. Millon on the situation in the Philippines.*]

The Shakeout

BY ARNOLD BEICHMAN

IN CASE you don't get around, a new contribution to the language is making rapid headway in "intellectual" business circles. It is a contribution which should interest the student of semantics. It consists of a single word—"shakeout." Webster's Unabridged makes no mention of this word, either by itself or under the verb "to shake." So we must assume that "shakeout" is a word which the editors of the *United States News* coined and are now popularizing on the management level.

The earliest use of "shakeout," I believe, was noted in *United States News* back in July, when intelligent business "opinioneers" began to feel some concern about the nation's economic well-being—living costs, slackening production, strikes, international friction, poor production scheduling, possible overrating of the consumer market, overextension of loans and credit, speculation in inventories. To these theoreticians the business cycle seemed to be sliding along to what might ordinarily be termed "bust." The ideologists of the right, imbued with a firm belief that America must not be sold short, seem to feel that one must be sensitive to the nuances of words used to describe economic regression. A panic chain-reaction might be set off if their warnings contained such image and total-recall words as "depression" (1929) or "collapse" (1932) or "recession" (1937). Fearful of making the business man's flesh creep, they have emerged with the word "shakeout."

The September 6 issue of *United States News* predicts a shakeout within twelve months or less. (This issue was printed before the recent "shakeout" in the stock market.) *United States News* says a shakeout is inevitable before the country can arrange its economic affairs on a more efficient basis, but it consoles the brow-furrowed business man with the prediction that the shakeout will not mean a long depression.

If you examine the word in context, you feel with the business weekly that this shakeout is probably a good idea, like the medieval surgeon's view of a phlebotomy. Shaking out clothes to get rid of the dust, shaking out a tablecloth to get rid of bread crumbs, shaking out weak speculators in a commodity market—all are minor operations and don't hurt. It is possible that a better word for this delicate economic concept might have been "shakedown"—there is the shakedown cruise of newly launched battleships, during which, as Frank Sullivan's Mr. Arbuthnot might say, "the bugs are ironed out." But the word "shakedown" has such ugly connotations

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that it patently had to be eschewed for "shakeout." (I notice that C. F. Hughes in the New York *Times* prefers the word "shakedown.")

Informed magazines like *Business Week* are plainly concerned about the future, the immediate future. The increase of almost $2,500,000,000 in business loans over a year ago is the subject of the lead story in a recent issue of *Business Week* which warns that rising prices and inventory speculation may mean a smash.

Among the news-letter writers who cater to business men and management planners, there is an air of realism which is far healthier in some respects than the serenity which enveloped their predecessors during the Hoover depression. But the realism is actually confined to sober warnings of shoals ahead. The warnings lack constructive suggestions on what the economy must do to save itself, even from a shakeout of small duration. For constructive suggestions might necessitate a revaluation of present-day business thinking on, for example, how to broaden the purchasing power of the masses of consumers.

Here the business theoreticians fall back on that ancient human technique, demonology. We know what's coming; who's to blame? That is easy. The scapegoats are those old debbils labor and government. Labor wants more money, government helps labor, government besets business with all kinds of controls; so what do you expect? A shakeout. Hold your hats, boys, the wind is rising.

On prognosis, the ideologists of the right know what they're talking about. On diagnosis, they are like aborigines beating the drums to exorcise the evil spirits, except that they know better. They know better because they have source material which tells them what the trouble is, and it's not in the stock market, where the argument rages whether the Exchange follows business or business follows the Exchange. They know the results of a National Survey of Liquid Asset Holdings, Spending, and Saving conducted for the Federal Reserve Board by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, a survey which showed business writers like C. F. Hughes of the New York *Times* that "the pent-up demand represented by bank deposits and government securities is largely in the hands of the top 10 per cent [of the nation's spending units, or families], who own the 60 per cent. The other 90 per cent own 40 per cent, and it is here that industry expects to draw upon savings for its millions of sales of appliances and what not." This report, characterized by the *Times* business editor as "highly significant," disclosed that the top 30 per cent of American families hold 87 per cent of liquid assets owned in 1945; the next 30 per cent hold 12 per cent; and *the remaining 40 per cent of American families own only 1 per cent of the nation's liquid-asset holdings.* It was analyzed and quoted in great detail by the business magazines, which understood its importance but failed to relate it to the prevailing view of American business—that if government would go away and if labor would go away, business could descend from Mt. Pisgah and lead us into Canaan.

Our business theoreticians were also acquainted with the report on economic concentration and World War II made by the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Senate Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business. This study showed the extent of concentration with the disclosure that the "facility holdings of the 250 largest corporations in 1945 approximately equaled those of *all* [report's italics] corporations in 1939." It showed that "by the middle of 1945 the sixty-three largest listed manufacturing corporations, with assets of over $100,000,000, had increased their net working capital to $8,400,000,000, more than that of all listed manufacturing corporations in 1939, and . . . at the end of 1945 they will hold nearly $10,000,000,000 of highly liquid net working capital." It showed that "the facilities of corporations controlled by five great financial interest groups—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont, and the Cleveland group—would be equal to nearly half that of all manufacturing corporations in 1939."

If business thinking is to make its contribution to solving the growing-old pangs of our economy, it will not be by a frenetic search for euphemisms for the word "depression." It will not be by working up a good case-history on the sick patient and then retreating from a recommendation for surgical procedures. You cannot be an economic sophisticate on the one hand and a laissez faire primitive on the other.

The inner contradictions within the capitalist system are personalized in the inner-soul contradictions of the business-magazine writers, who have a powerful influence on business men. But the economic well-being of our nation will not be furthered by the use of shibboleths like free enterprise, business competition, laissez faire, no government interference, control of trade unions. There is little point in criticizing Britain's revolution by consent and arguing that democratic processes will "have a better chance to survive and thrive in association with a genuinely competitive system of private enterprise than they will in association with any system of economic collectivism," as *Business Week* said on August 31. The Senate Small Business Committee report washes up that myth of "a genuinely competitive system of private enterprise."

Over and above all this is the appalling fatalism with which the business ideologists, who know better, accept, as the grim visitation of some impersonal destiny, the ineluctable "shakeout." This fatalism ignores the fact that shakeout means unhappy people, joblessness, not enough to eat, further weakening of private enterprise. It is possible that Americans, having experienced the long and bitter shakeout starting in 1929, may be unwilling to sit by for another to blow itself away.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Slow Movement

Waking, he found himself in a train, andante,
With wafers of early sunlight blessing the unknown fields
And yesterday canceled out, except for yesterday's papers
Huddling under the seat.

It is still very early, this is a slow movement;
The viola-player's hand like a fish in a glass tank
Rises, remains quivering, darts away
To nibble invisible weeds.

Great white nebulae lurch against the window
To deploy across the valley, the children are not yet up
To wave us on—we pass without spectators,
Braiding a voiceless creed.

And the girl opposite, name unknown, is still
Asleep and the color of her eyes unknown
Which might be wells of sun or moons of wish
But it is still very early.

The movement ends, the train has come to a stop
In buttercup fields, the fiddles are silent, the whole
Shoal of silver tessellates the aquarium
Floor, not a bubble rises . . .

And what happens next on the program we do not know,
If, the red line topped on the gauge, the fish will go
mad in the tank
Accelerando con forza, the sleeper open her eyes
And, so doing, open ours.

LOUIS MACNEICE

Newman as Man and Critic

ERNEST NEWMAN has completed his gigantic "Life of Richard Wagner" with a fourth volume of more than seven hundred pages (Knopf; $7.50), filled with the laborious piecing together and interpreting of documentary evidence concerning the happenings in Wagner's life from 1866 to his death in 1883. The matters with which those seven hundred pages deal—including as they do the relations between Wagner and Nietzsche, the building of Bayreuth, the completion of "Die Meistersinger," the "Ring," and "Parsifal"—are important and interesting (though the laboriously arrived-at detail is sometimes wearying); but more interesting, for me, is the nine-page appendix with which the volume—and the entire work—ends.

This appendix, entitled Bombastes Furioso, is concerned with the review of the third volume by the late Carl Engel in the April, 1941, issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (a footnote tells us that the appendix, written in the summer of 1941, is printed "precisely as it was then, though Dr. Engel died in 1944"). "Dr. Engel," writes Newman, "has so often honored me with his disapproval of myself and all my works that from sheer repetition I have long since ceased to be flattered by the compliment." But this time Engel included Newman and Wagner in one denunciation: "Having persuaded himself . . . that Wagnerism and Nazism are identical in root, flower, and fruit, he now suggests that if only we realized that to give up Wagner's music would merely be to give up 'the music of Klingsor who for one hundred years has numbed our senses with his witchcraft' and 'allowed to grow up round us a garden of gorgeous flowers that at last have revealed themselves as poisonous and death-dealing,' then 'we should retaliate, then we should ban and burn every scrap of Wagner's music and writings, and every book written about the amazing wizard, beginning with the books of the Anglo-Wagnerian Ernest Newman.' "

"If," Newman continues, "I have not made a practice of replying to Dr. Engel's ill-tempered comments on myself and my work during the last dozen years or so it is because I would as soon have thought of going round with an antiseptic cloth wiping up the slaver of a rabid dog. But I feel that I ought not to bring the present biography to a close without some exposure of the manners and the methods of this gentleman." For this purpose he proposes to discuss in detail a paragraph from Engel's review; "and the proof that Dr. Engel has in this case provided a perfect exposure of the bombastic ignoramus he mostly is may perhaps throw a side-light on some of his achievements in other fields."

Thereupon he quotes the paragraph:

> Appendix II [of the third volume] professes to deal with "the 'madness' of King Ludwig." If anything were needed to show the author's peculiar standpoint it is these three pages of print wherein, among other wild shots, the author accuses the "alienists" of having done "so obligingly" the Bavarian politicians' "dirty work" for them in 1886. Verily, one does not have to be an alienist or a psychiatrist to recognize the symptoms of Ludwig's mental malady. One has but to read the fragments of the King's own diaries . . . to gain an appalling glimpse into the suffering of that poor, perverted soul. Mr. Newman, with all his casuistry, cannot change the case-history of the royal patient and make him out a normal man, fit to reign over a kingdom.

Though Newman still insists that Ludwig was not insane it is not in order to "make him out a normal man, fit to reign over a kingdom." In the third volume Newman not only discussed Ludwig's sexual abnormality but described the excessive shyness and other behavior of an emotionally maladjusted person who nevertheless showed himself to be, in many situations, intelligent and "sane." And Newman is able to point out that "I have expressly said, in the eleventh line of the Appendix, that 'he had, of course, become quite impossible as a king'; not, however, because he was mad, but because he would not give proper attention to what he had come to regard as the tiresome and futile business of kingship." Not only did Engel ignore this statement, but Newman contends that the paragraph betrays Engel's ignorance of the published evidence "that Ludwig had never

been anyone's 'patient' for his 'mental malady,' and least of all the 'patient' of the four doctors who certified his incurable derangement in 1886"; that "not one of these men had ever examined him in any way, ever been in his presence, exchanged a single word with him"; and that they were the willing tools of a group of political conspirators who "wanted, and set about obtaining, a medical voucher only to give their coup d'état an appearance of legality afterwards." And at the end he says: "I have gone into this matter at such length because this one paragraph of Dr. Engel's provides in concentrated form a perfect sample of all the defects, congenital and acquired, of his mind. . . . He is a case for the pathologists."

Now to me this appendix of Newman's is a very curious episode. Authors reply to their critics; but they do it in a letter or an article published at the time of the criticism; they don't give the reply—and the criticism—the status of an appendix in the book itself several years later—certainly not when they liken the criticism to "the slaver of a rabid dog." Newman's explanations why he hasn't answered Engel in the past dozen years and why, after all, he does answer him now are, to me, unconvincing—each throwing doubt on the other: a man who had felt as indifferent to the criticism as to "the slaver of a rabid dog" would, it seems to me, be able to complete his work untroubled by the feeling that he "ought not" to complete it without exposing the criticism; and if he is not indifferent to it now one wonders whether he was indifferent before. In that connection I am struck by his intemperate language, which is not that of indifference—the indifference he would feel toward mere vicious stupidity; and so the question arises whether in those dozen years there wasn't something else that he was *not* indifferent to. And the answer is that there *was* something else, which he doesn't mention.

There was, in 1935, Engel's review of "The Man Liszt." This book was similar to the Wagner biography in purpose, method, and results: it offered, said Newman, the truth about Liszt—the truth, in particular, about his relation with the Countess d'Agoult—that he had derived from documentary source material, in place of the legend that other writers had been content to take from the official Ramann "Life" inspired by Liszt and the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein. And Engel, in his review, contended that Newman's "truth" about the Liszt-d'Agoult relation was as colored and partial in favor of the Countess as the Ramann-Liszt-Wittgenstein "legend" had been in favor of Liszt; moreover he demonstrated that Newman had not derived that "truth" from the documentary source material, but had mistranslated, misinterpreted, and otherwise mishandled the material to make it fit the ideas he had regarded as the "truth."

Thus, in his account of the beginning of the relation, in 1833, the "legend" Newman attacked was that the Countess ensnared Liszt; the "truth" he offered in its place was that it was she who was reserved and Liszt who was the ardent wooer and seducer; and the documents he cited as evidence were their letters of that year. In his review Engel pointed out that in the volume in which they are published (which I have taken the trouble to look up) all of Liszt's letters of the year 1833—many undated, others with dates from August through December—are given first, then the

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four of the Countess—the first two undated, the others dated May 20 and 26; and he might have added that the editor describes this arrangement at the beginning of the chapter when he speaks of "the letters and notes of Liszt which follow" and says explicitly that "the few letters of Madame d'Agoult pertaining to this period are added to his ('y sont joints')"—that is, added in a group after his, not interpolated among his. Yet, said Engel,

> Mr. Newman—having taken the reader through the Liszt letters into December, 1833—writes: *"At this stage* [Engel's italics] we have apparently the first of Marie's letters to him that have been preserved. She addresses him as 'Monsieur,' and discusses points connected with literature and music." The intended inference is obvious. The reader is made to believe that after a correspondence that has lasted for more than six months, during which Liszt has supposedly grown more and more fervent in his epistolary style, the coy and shrinking Marie still talks only literature and music, and addresses him with a formal "Monsieur." Mr. Newman omits to say in his narrative that among the four letters from Marie the third one is dated as early as May 20. Mr. Newman omits to say that in this letter will be found the impassioned appeal: "A genoux, Franz, à genoux, priez pour moi, sauvez-moi." Mr. Newman translates this phrase: "On your knees, pray for me, save me." Mr. Newman suppresses "Franz." Why? This letter was written on a Sunday night; on Monday morning Marie added a postscript which reads: "Mais non, je suis absurde, vous avez raison de ne pas m'écrire davantage, mais c'est que, voyez-vous, je vous aime quelque fois bêtement et dans ces moments-là je ne comprends plus que je ne pourrais, ne saurais, et ne devrais pas être pour vous une pensée absorbante comme vous l'êtes pour moi." Mr. Newman translates the first phrase of this: "No, I am not absurd," when the sense of it is the exact opposite.

Now the omission of the date and of "Franz" is important because it conceals from the reader the fact that, in Engel's words, "already in May, 1833, Marie made a full-fledged declaration of love to Liszt, called him in her letters by his first name, upbraided him for not writing more often, and admitted that she had no power, no means, no right to ask that she be as absorbing a thought for him as he is for her." And the insertion of "not" is important—but not because of the difference in meaning, which in this instance is negligible: one means the same realization of the absurdity of one's previous contention whether one says, "No, I am absurd; you are right to act as you do" or "No, I am not absurd; you are right to act as you do." What is important is the mere fact of the insertion of the word: after Engel's demonstration of such facts in "The Man Liszt" one reads "The Life of Richard Wagner" without the assurance one should have that Newman hasn't omitted a date or inserted a "not" where it may have made a great difference. And one is anything but reassured by his method of dealing with Engel's demonstration, in the appendix which he has made the conclusion of his monumental work.

Newman's writing provides a striking illustration of the fact that criticism is not only personal—in the sense of involving a particular person's equipment of critical insight and intellect—but involves the whole person. Newman the man is in the writing with Newman the critic—a decidedly unpleasant man too, as he comes through the writing: obtrusively conscious of the eminence and brilliance of Ernest Newman, pompous, overbearing, ruthless in his determination to win an argument, and in the end guilty of tactics like those of "The Man Liszt" and Bombastes Furioso. And criticism, it turns out, is a moral activity: most often it fails from lack of competence; but the competence of a Newman can be defeated by faults of character.

I have thought it worth while to quote here the expanded statement of this point from my article on "The Man Liszt" episode in the Brooklyn *Eagle* years ago. The episode was for me an example of something common in criticism—the critic's failure in his obligation to deal with his material with rigorous justice; and the term "justice," I said, indicated the reason for the failure. It was not mere incompetence—though the justice I was concerned with included competence. It was something else that was not ordinarily thought of in connection with criticism.

> The amount of artistic talent in the world today is enormous; the amount of important art extremely small. The reason is that art is not the product of talent alone. It is an expression through talent—and represents the operation on talent—of personal character. And it is personal deficiencies and difficulties that are responsible for the failure of artists to realize the potentialities of their talent. Now criticism is usually thought of as merely a parasite on Art—which in fact most of it is. But important criticism has many of the characteristics of artistic expression. It involves the operation of sensibility and intellect on its material, the art it deals with, and on its medium, the words in which it formulates itself; and in the end it is a type of literary expression with stylistic and aesthetic characteristics that convey qualities of mind and feeling. In short, it is as much a personal expression as the art it deals with; and like this art it represents the operation of personal character as well as of talent. And while a music critic may fail through a deficiency of talent—that is, through a lack of mere competence in his field, or of mere ability to think straight—even a competent critic may fail through a deficiency of character. He may be diverted from rigorous justice to his material by personal ends; he may, for example, neglect the material and evade important responsibilities in the process of writing belles-lettres [this was a reference to Gilman]; or he may misuse the material to impress his readers as hard-boiled [a reference to Chotzinoff]; and so on. And in the present instance, certainly, it is not a deficiency in competence that causes Newman to pervert the Liszt-d'Agoult correspondence, but a deficiency in character. One accepts his writing for its value and despite its faults; but the faults sometimes deprive it of its value.

B. H. HAGGIN

Mahler

GUSTAV MAHLER: MEMORIES AND LETTERS. By Alma Mahler. Translated by Basil Creighton. The Viking Press. $5.

IF MUSIC is the hardest art to write about, musicians are evidently the hardest artists. To convey the quality and values of symphony or sonata by means of words, and to maintain in doing so a reasonable distance both from reck-

less impressionism and from the sterile methods of technical analysis or the dismal verbiage and genealogical conjurings of "musicology," require a skill no greater than that needed by the biographer who attempts to relate a musician's career to the elusive art he creates or interprets. If a Chorley, a Shaw, or a Tovey is rare in musical criticism, so, in musical biography, are Sullivan on Beethoven, Turner on Mozart, Toye on Verdi, Lockspeiser on Debussy. Nor are musical autobiography and memoirs in much better status: the exceptions of Berlioz, Wagner, and Rimsky-Korsakov (or recently Bruno Walter) make the general ineptitude more painful; to descend to the average books by opera singers or virtuosi —Melba's, Calvé's, Alda's, or Farrar's embarrassing "Such Sweet Compulsion"—is to suspect that there is little connection between the discipline and taste of music and any other standard of taste whatever. It is well enough to believe that "the more perfect the artist the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates," but to separate the musical intelligence from the typical record of conceit and vulgarity which the professional musical life induces—"a most unholy trade" rivaling the theater's, with its spectacles of professional jealousy, dressing-room squabbles, champagne parties, and cockpit careerism—puts a strain on even the most willing sympathizer with the exactions of temperament.

In Mahler the suffering man and the creating mind are hardly separable; neither his career as conductor nor his quality as a composer can be disengaged from the strenuous temper which he imposed on the musical world of his time and by which his achievement in a disintegrating tradition can best be measured. Mme Mahler (later Mme Franz Werfel) has hardly written the book Mahler deserves or an adequate supplement to the rather sketchy essays by Stefan and Walter. The strains and endurances she suffered—an ambitious musical *Backfisch* of Vienna, forced to sacrifice her hopes as a composer to the stormy career and excitable temperament of an aesthetic autocrat—get very much in the way of any clear view of Mahler's mind or his music. Her account covers the last ten years of Mahler's life, from 1902 when, a girl of twenty, she married the composer of forty-one, to his death in 1911. She lived with Mahler during the writing of his last four symphonies and "Das Lied von der Erde," the harried and triumphant years when his conducting of the Philharmonic and the Opera in Vienna gave that city its greatest glories of musical interpretation, and when his journeys to Russia, Paris, and New York followed the established pattern of an uncompromising perfectionism at war with the egotisms, jealousies, and social pressures of the opera and orchestra worlds. But on two counts at least her book has value. It depicts the last great age of virtuosity and heroism in the music life of Europe, the excited artistic atmosphere of Vienna before 1914, when the interpretation of a symphony surpassed political crises in the public interest, and when the artist as culture-hero was not yet lost in the distractions of commercialism and mass production. Out of this scene Mahler's personality emerges with a kind of desperate heroism, imaged in the photographs of the thought-haggard Nietzschean face and cranium that once, in Italy, gave Mann his mask for Aschenbach in "Death in Venice," the artist at the edge of the abyss, strung up between the

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claims of society and the irresistible perils of his idealism. The sheerly irascible, compulsive nature of Mahler came to its highest pitch of exacerbation during this decade of his marriage. On one side clamored the demands of impresarios and performers, of royal favor and patronage, of American social pressure groups, of the clashing egotisms that challenged his own. On the other side was the art he managed to wring out of himself in intervals of a secret ordeal hardly less unnerving —the yearning, strenuously exalted, and visionary emotion that permeates his style, giving it a quality of exhausting tension, cracking nervous struggle, and remote nobility that establishes it so much within its period; so much involved, with all its genuine grandeur and superb lyricism, in its historical and temperamental conditions. (There is a portrait of Mme Mahler, the *Geliebte* of Germanic inspiration, in an art-gown of the period, pose of conscious aesthetic winsomeness, and background of wooden balcony and misty forested mountains, that does much to convey the spirit of Mahler's erotic idealism and the delicate balance it struck between self-conscious exaltation and free harmonic fulfilment.)

Another fact that appears is the necessity of Mahler's autocratic authority in any musical enterprise that aims to rise above the ruck of compromised standards, trustee-ridden politics, and financial patronage that have come, since his day, to rule the musical world. Whatever social and popular assets the mass scale of music production in this century may boast, it has also its enormously increased liabilities of the success standard, with business men, shoddy impresarios, and box-office figures usurping the authority of the conductor and producing in our wealthiest cities (Chicago, for example, with New York and others not far behind it) makeshift slovenliness of presentation and third-rate slackness where once men like Muck and Mahler set an uncompromising standard. Mahler did not live to see the day of radio broadcasts, concert industrialization, and their attendant ignominies; his troubles never included the humiliation of having his programs interrupted by talks by Mr. Cameron or Mr. Kettering; he kept—at the cost of spent health and a premature death—his boards of trustees, ladies' committees, and impertinent socialites at a distance. He gave Europe and America some of the greatest performances they had ever known, and he succeeded in becoming the master of an intensely personal lyric and tragic utterance: last in the great tradition of German symphonists; creator, in the first, fourth, and eighth symphonies, in "Das Lied von der Erde" and the "Kindertotenlieder," of some of the greatest music of this century; the exponent of a musical integrity and dedication which serve today as a warning of what aesthetic honesty faces in an age of increasing careerism and mass standardization. His art, his personality, and his performances stand in danger of becoming legendary, a misfortune for music from which Mme Mahler's intimacies, Bruno Walter's loyal revival of his compositions, and a small number of worthily defiant successors may rescue him for the possible instruction of the men who today control the destiny of the opera house and concert hall, and through them the music which, more than any other art, must contend for its existence against all the forces which professional vanity, profit-making, and public incomprehension have devised.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

A Misguiding History

COMPOSER AND CRITIC: TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF MUSICAL CRITICISM. By Max Graf. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

MR. GRAF has written a history of the "development of musical criticism against a background of the struggles and battles of the seminal ideas of the great epochs of modern history." He has concluded that the modern critic is not functioning correctly: "The structure of an artistic society in which the critic is not the interpreter of the artist to the public, but the spokesman of the public against the artist, is faulty"; and that the best way to discover what is wrong is to turn to history, "clearly to see the position of criticism in the musical life of our time, and its proper function within musical society." He describes that function as "the use of human intelligence, vision, and application, to the end of discovering the lasting values in works of art"; and critics as "the born interpreters and intermediaries between the artists and the public."

Dr. Graf's first and chief failure is that he doesn't understand the function of criticism and consequently is unable to diagnose its ills; and he obviously has no idea when a critic is good or bad, as distinguished from his relation to a cultural background. Dr. Graf is one of many modern critics who, instead of facing the real issues of criticism, question its validity, reject its methods, and deny its values, because they are obsessed by a mythical philosopher's stone—a science of criticism, the results of which are to be impersonal and objective, the critic himself being reduced to a mere integer, a mouthpiece for dicta valid for all times and persons.

The fatal weakness of this position is that it ignores the actual basis of criticism, which is not the dicta, but the critic himself. The critic does not talk to the artist's audience about the artist's work; he talks to his own audience about the artist's work, which is an entirely different thing, and one which has been much misunderstood, not only by artists, but even by critics themselves. The only justification the critic can offer for his activity is, to quote Mr. Auden, that "I do this, whatever its effects, because I cannot help doing it." The only test for the validity of his criticism is his own personal sensitiveness to the art to which he is reacting; and this is a test which he himself cannot make—for he must believe in himself —but which his audience must make. The audience, that is, picks its critic in accordance with its own sensitiveness and response to sensitiveness; and the work of a particular critic can ultimately be valid only for persons who are to a degree more rather than a degree less like him. In the end, the critic writes of his own experience, and communicates its meaning to his audience, which presumably lacks the background, training, or discipline to have the experience by itself, and which has learned by verification of his statements the validity of his experience for itself.

Apart from his dubious critical position, Dr. Graf has written bad history and a bad book. It is a book obviously designed for popular consumption, in the worst sense of that word. Besides consistently writing down to his audience, he refrains from any documentation, any bibliography, and does not even name most of the works of the critics he discusses. There is a profusion of cultural background, most of which

is irrelevant, including what Dr. Graf genially condescends to share with us poor benighted Americans of his own background of rich and superior Viennese culture in a stream of anecdote and chit-chat. We should be grateful, instead of unkindly noting that it has no connection with musical criticism or his pretense of historical method.

The history is inaccurate. For example, in the chapter devoted to the Bach-Scheibe dispute, which is incorrectly titled "the first conflict between critic and composer," Dr. Graf suppresses dates, ignores relevant facts, rearranges historical chronology, and throws in unwarranted insinuations of his own, for the sake of an irrelevant moral; and his method in this chapter is that of the remainder of the book, with wrongly cited dates and misquotation in addition.

The allocation of space is highly questionable. The Germanic bias of the book is so strong that in a total of eighteen chapters we hardly budge out of Germany until the fifteenth, entitled Paris, 1830, and even this one is devoted predominantly to Heine, Wagner, and Liszt! Much more space than is warranted is allotted to various composers —Debussy, Bizet (the author of a single article), Wolf, Weber, Smetana—who happened to have been music critics rather casually at some time in their careers. Telemann, who can only doubtfully be considered a critic, receives as much space as Berlioz, who gets half that of Weber; while important critics who had long and influential careers, such as Fetis and d'Ortigue in France, Chorley in England, and Lobe in Germany, are reduced to the merest stereotypes, or dismissed with a sneering anecdote.

Even when he devotes space to a critic, Dr. Graf is unable to describe or evaluate his accomplishments. Schumann, as may be expected, receives a shower of praise, much of it deserved, but there is no mention of his essential fault as a critic—that, as Yorke Bannard well states it, "his criticisms . . . reveal an ardent and enthusiastic nature, but they also show that, whereas he had little difficulty in recognizing good music when he found it, he frequently mistook inferior work for first-rate." Berlioz is treated to an effusion which not only fails to mention any of his writings, either his important journalistic work or his books, but appears to have been written without any reference to them at all. Berlioz, to Dr. Graf, is the arch-romanticist, the great emotionalist, playing on his literary organ with all the stops out. Berlioz could certainly be extravagant; but he had a strong streak of classicism in him, and the most immediately striking aspect of his critical work—when one turns to it from reading about it—is its general sobriety, sanity, and finely chiseled insights. And Dr. Graf relates the history of Wagner criticism with a partisan bias which, although it survives in a few old Wagnerians like Newman, is about as proper and relevant as continuing to fight the Civil War.

The chapter on "modern" criticism passes understanding. Dr. Graf's own admission that it is "in no sense exhaustive" is a rare understatement. He continues:

> That I have dealt with no living American critic and given considerable space to two living English ones may seem illogical. But there are two good reasons for it: first, musical criticism in America reached its classic heights a generation before it did in England; second, the work of

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Newman and Shaw is already embalmed in books, that of Olin Downes, Virgil Thomson, Oscar Thompson, and other American contemporaries still awaits that consummation, and the historian must wait too.

Actually, all the Americans he discusses belong either to Shaw's generation or to Newman's. More important, Downes published his first book in 1918, Thompson in 1934, and Thomson in 1939; and even if they had not appeared in books, any important library contains files of newspapers and periodicals. I can therefore only conclude that his stated reasons are not his real ones. But even by his own standards, he is inconsistent: there is no mention of H. T. Parker, who is both important and dead. And Dr. Graf ignores all the important modern English critics—dead, living, "embalmed"—outside of Shaw and Newman. He mentions a number of living Germans, but no Frenchmen later than Debussy. More extraordinary is his omission of Soviet Russian criticism, which offers the one example of critics functioning as he contends they should, as interpreters of the composer to the public, but which he nevertheless ducks with the excuses that it "has, with few exceptions, not been translated into any world language," and that the long concealment of Russian musical life prevents accurate knowledge of "what manner the Soviet Russian music critic has performed his task of spreading musical culture . . . and what degree of spiritual freedom has been permitted to the leaders of artistic taste"; when in fact there have been sufficient quotations in English to give a reasonably accurate idea of what is happening there.

As for what Dr. Graf says in this chapter, his treatment of Philip Hale is typical of the fulsome and "tactful" manner in which he handles the older Americans, among them Krehbiel, Aldrich, Gilman, and especially Huneker. He is obviously familiar with nothing beyond the one published volume of selections from Hale's Boston Symphony program notes, which displays Hale largely as an analyst and contains only small excerpts from his newspaper criticisms. And in the midst of the usual ecstatic list of composers whom Hale discussed masterfully—in "the French manner," we are reminded—we suddenly encounter this remark: "With fine sensitivity, Hale wrote about Brahms . . . Brahms's Fourth Symphony he calls 'a structure in granite.'" But Hale's dislike of Brahms was well known; and what he actually wrote about this symphony was: "The austerity with which the composer has been reproached—in many cases unjustly—is here pronounced. The solidity of the structure may be admired, but the structure itself is granitic and unrelieved."

Dr. Graf has read Shaw, but he has missed completely what was important in Shaw's attitudes toward criticism: that Shaw was too acute to misunderstand the personal nature of criticism, and that he was never more serious and in dead earnest than when he was being most outrageous. And Ernest Newman inspires Dr. Graf to a prolonged rhapsody, which culminates in the fulsomely inaccurate exclamation: "His seriousness is impressive, his grace captivates, his wit amuses, his irony enchants."

Nothing more worthless and more vicious could be offered in the name of authority to the lay public that doesn't know and would like to learn than the unreliable facts and judgments, the distorted mis-learning, in this book.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

The Words and the Measure

LETTERS OF COMPOSERS: AN ANTHOLOGY, 1603-1945. Edited by Gertrude Norman and Miriam Lubell Shrifte. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

ONE refutation of the theory that all the arts approach the condition of music is the writings of the composers themselves, particularly those composers, like the ones represented in this book, who wrote "the most readable and informative letters." They are essentially non-literary—not unliterary. Indeed, allusions to Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, or Plato are everywhere; but there is no talent for what Gerard Manley Hopkins calls inscape. For the musician the beginning is not the word. We expect those shrewd craftsman's remarks common among painters like Van Gogh or Masson; yet the explanations of orchestral effects do not illuminate the score itself. In vain Gustav Mahler sought the "liberating word" in which to formulate the last movement of his Second Symphony. Mendelssohn complained "there is so much talk about music, and yet so little is said. For my part, I believe that words do not suffice for such a purpose." Music, he goes on, "fills the soul with a thousand things better than words." If, then, as writing, this correspondence appears fragmentary or blunt, it is none the less an authentic and pertinent comment on modern music and its affiliations with the other arts.

Inarticulate as the composer may be, his letters are often temperamental. One feels, for example, the outgoing disposition of Schubert, the despair of the deafened Beethoven, and the titanism of Wagner, who explains that "a public performance of one of my operas is still an occasion of such boundless emotional turmoil that I have frequently tried to prevent performances when I have felt unequal to this interior conflict." It is Wagner, too, who cherishes his "long-repressed resentment about this Jew-business." His grudge against Meyerbeer ("as necessary to my nature as gall is to blood") feeds itself fat on the little "fright" he gives the bankers and philistines by printing "Das Judentum in der Musik." These temperamental grudges and anguishes have, essentially, nothing to do with Wagner the composer, whose letters are of most interest when he is infatuated with his literary or mythological thesis that in Love, the negation of the will, and the high tragedy of renunciation one finds the significance of "Die Walküre," "Der Fliegende Holländer," "Tannhäuser," or "Lohengrin." Nor is there anything distinctively musical in Wagner's announcement, "I am an artist and nothing but an artist—that is my blessing and my curse. . . .; and so I run hither and thither, poor fool, to find peace." It is as difficult to distinguish the Wagnerian temperament from the Wagnerian score as it is to determine what remains of the verse of Byron without the Byronic legend—an instance of the romantic fallacy, doubtless. Somehow, the temperament of Mozart does not thus obscure his compositions—Mozart who in high animal spirit writes how his concerts "went like oil": "Count Wolfegg and several other passionate admirers of Beecke publicly admitted at a concert the other day that I had wiped the floor with him. . . . I then played another solo, quite in the style of the organ, a fugue in C minor, and then all of a sudden a magnificent sonata in C

major, out of my head, and a rondo to finish up with. There was a regular din of applause. Herr Stein was so amazed that he could only make faces and grimaces. As for Herr Demmler, he couldn't stop laughing. He is a quaint fellow, for when he likes anything very much, all he does is to burst into fits of laughter. In my case he even started to curse."

For one thing, Mozart is convinced that "passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to invite disgust," and music, though the situation be terrible, "must never cease to be MUSIC." Here, in 1781, is one of the principles of academic literature. When Rameau inquires in 1762 why we prefer certain musical intervals to others he is simply posing the question of the laws of taste that occupied literary critics for the whole eighteenth century. At the end of that age Sir Joshua Reynolds was insisting before the Royal Academy that design is fundamental to painting. Rossini a few years later was distressed that in opera, "warblings, wild leaps and jumps, trills, misuse of semitones, notes all tangled up—this is the kind of singing that now holds sway. That is why the measure, the essential part of music, without which melody is unintelligible and harmony becomes disordered, is neglected and violated by singers." More remarkable, just as Coleridge was arriving at his most famous critical opinion that by a magical diffusion of tone the poetic imagination reconciles discords and oppositions, the "romantic" Carl Maria von Weber was writing Naegeli "that the aim of an artistic composition is to deduce the character of the whole from individual thoughts, and that, amid the greatest diversity, still unity, displayed by the first principle or theme, should always shine forth." Thus these letters bear upon the other arts, as in Debussy's claim to present "*realities*—what the idiots call 'impressionism,' a term used as badly as possible, particularly by the art critics, who don't hesitate to wrap up Turner in it." They illustrate the social and economic configurations: the subscriptions of the British nobility to Handel's oratorios; the conservative, religious, "anti-passionate" mood Berlioz senses in England; the disappointment of J. S. Bach when at Leipzig "the ordinary burial fees" were 100 thaler less than he expected.

The closing letters of Howard Hanson, Virgil Thomson, Randall Thompson, Aaron Copland, and others give a strong impression of the vitality of composition in the United States. MacDowell was, of course, the most belligerent on this issue, repudiating Dvorák's "desire to clothe American music in Negro costume," and insisting that American composers be played on programs with the Europeans "to stand or fall" by the comparison. George Antheil, it happens, raises for the American composer in particular (and for the American poet or painter?) the unpleasant but necessary question whether "the boys are primarily stylists," each concerned to fabricate his own unmistakable technique. The letters of this collection, however, emphasize that to compose is to experience; that musical composition cannot be intellectualized. As David Diamond puts it, "the musical art is an instinctive one" and "the intellectual approach to music, no matter how well modified for the layman who wants to know," will produce only windbags who can talk about the whole-tone scale. For the composer, it would appear, there is no liberating word; there is only the unambiguous measure.

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Music by Formula

THE SCHILLINGER SYSTEM OF MUSICAL COMPOSITION. Edited by Lyle Dowling and Arnold Shaw. Carl Fischer. $30.

> The Schillinger System is a synthesis of musical theory and the most recent discoveries of modern physics, physiology, and mathematics. . . . In Schillinger we encounter for the first time a comprehensive application of scientific method to all components of the tonal art. . . . The Schillinger System establishes its creator as one of the great musical theorists of all times, for Schillinger achieved a synthesis as rare in cultural history as Leonardo da Vinci's —a synthesis of science and art.

THESE not exactly modest statements are from the introduction to "The Schillinger System of Musical Composition," a posthumous work prepared from manuscript by Lyle Dowling and Arnold Shaw. It is a textbook purporting to lay down principles of composition derived not from the observed practice of composers but from the sciences. As such, it would seem a supremely ambitious, not to say presumptuous, attack upon a profound philosophical problem. It is not surprising, nor would it be a reproach, that such an attempt should fail. But it is regrettable that there should turn out to be so little ammunition for the undertaking in the first place. It is not that the attempt fails: the challenge does not even materialize.

But the outward pretensions are all there. The language is pompous—except for conversational extraneities—and the development of special terms and symbols reaches exasperating proportions. Scientific terminology, puzzling to the layman, may be somewhat less than clear to the scientist:

> The projection of a melody is a mechanical trajectory. Its kinetic components are balance, impetus, and inertia. Resistance produces impetus, leading either toward the *climax,* which is a *pt* (pitch-time) *maximum with respect to the primary axis,* or toward balance. The impetus is caused by resistance, which results from rotation. The geometrical projection of rotation is a circle which extends itself in time projection into a cylindrical or spherical spiral, or ultimately (through time extension) into wave motion (plane projection).

On the same page:

> The leap of a human being over a fourteen-foot rod was the highest achievement in the International Olympics for 1936, and that with the aid of a pole. The mechanical efficiency of a flea is fifty times greater. The leap of a human being over a rod fifty feet high would seem supernatural, while the same kind of a leap by a flea would be far below the standards of flea efficiency—the flea leaps about one hundred times its own size.

Again and again, through the twelve books (on rhythm, scales, melody, variation, harmony, counterpoint, form, style, and orchestration), one comes upon tables of permutations, showing the ways in which a given set of musical elements may be assembled. But the evaluation of the various resultant groupings commonly brings out only what is already well known, causing wonder as to why the list should ever have been compiled. A favorite method of composing is to fit tones—chosen by a formula—into a preselected rhythmic pattern—also chosen by a formula. If the results were invariably as unappetizing as the ones quoted in the book, Schillinger would have few prophets today. But it is not always so: perhaps the secret of the partial success the method has enjoyed lies in the fact that the mechanistic procedures outlined do provide a means of stimulating a sluggish imagination. Once stimulation is accomplished, the imagination takes over, and the formulas go out the window until needed again. Reger used alcohol for the same purpose; Sacchini did it with cats and mistresses.

A reader wishing escape from formulas and jargon might turn to the final book, on orchestration. For here Schillinger is not much interested; he has a fine disdain for the "heterogeneous aggregation of antiquated tools" which compose today's orchestra—preferring, of course, the more "scientific" electronic instruments. But he condescends to treat our collection of relics for the sake of completeness. The errors of fact are appalling. Misinformation, recognizable as such by any intelligent amateur, is supplied on bowing, fingering, harmonics, and the construction and range of wind instruments. We learn, too, how kettledrums got into the orchestra: "It was J. Haydn who introduced them [*Sinfonie mit Paukenschlag* (Symphony with kettledrums)]."

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

EARLY in August an engineer who was in a position to know told me that with one exception the first post-war radio-phonographs—like the first post-war automobiles—would be somewhat modified versions of the last pre-war models, using no new principles such as he expected would be used in the machines of a year or two from now. By new principles he did not mean film or wire: the machines would still be designed for reproduction of the present type of record, but would incorporate one or another of the new pickups that have been invented and developed recently. And the one exception he referred to among the first post-war machines was the Zenith with the new Cobra pickup. He had been able to test this pickup, and had found it excellent; but his information was that the Zenith machines were not yet on the market; and so meanwhile I began to listen to what was available.

The new Magnavoxes turned out to be the pre-war machines modified to suit the tastes of the mass-public, which I discussed in this column several years ago. Most people, I said, would not tolerate needle-scratch; and to get rid of it they cut down the range of the machine, and were willing to sacrifice the sounds of high vibration-frequencies that give recorded sound its brilliance and fidelity to timbre. If they wanted the brilliance and "high-fidelity" they would have to take the needle-scratch with it; and they would find after a while that it had become dissociated from the music and they no longer noticed it as they listened. But many people did not like brilliance and high-fidelity, and wanted the "mellow" tone in which the highs were reduced and heavily outweighed by the bass. Now certainly a person who wants that is entitled to have it; but so is the person who wants the brilliance and high-fidelity. And it is possible to give both what they want: to produce a machine which will reproduce the full range of what is recorded, and to provide controls with which the highs can be cut down while the bass is emphasized. But Magnavox has decided against such flexibility, and has designed its machines to produce a sound in which, with the treble-control set at maximum, the highs are severely limited in range and reduced in intensity below the point of proper balance with the bass. This is true of both the 9-tube machine ($225 to $273 according to cabinet) and the 13-tube ($388 to $410)—the sound from the larger one being only more powerful and solid. There are good reasons against record-changers (the inferior reproduction by inferior pickups; the danger of the jewel-stylus being chipped as it falls onto the record, and the jagged surface damaging the grooves as it travels through them; the fact that as the records pile up the angle of the stylus changes, with increasing surface-chatter, distortion, and wear on the grooves); but most people want record-changers, and so the Magnavoxes come only with changers. I advise replacing the jewel-stylus after 1,000 record-sides; Steinway and Sons, where I heard the machines, thought that the charge for this would be somewhere around $3.

The large E. C. A. (Electronic Corporation of America) machines were not yet ready; and I was able to hear only the 7-tube chairside model No. 121 (approximately $150) and the 5-tube table model No. 106 ($86.40). Both have the flexibility I advocate: a single tone-control either cuts down highs until the sound is muffled or brings them in until the treble is bright and clear and well-balanced with the bass. In the table model the treble was a little harsh in both machines; also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C., but the record-changers have A. C. motors, so that the radio can be used on D. C. current without a converter, but the phonograph cannot. The changers use replaceable needles and I advise nothing more permanent than Victor chromium needles—one for each series of record-sides.

It was not until after the preceding report had been written that I heard the Zenith machines. The new Cobra pickup is part of a new record-changer that changes records in about three seconds; and the pickup is so constructed as to meet every one of the objections to record-changers that I mentioned earlier. It produces tone of beautiful quality; its lightness (2/3 of an ounce, according to Zenith), its flexibility ("vertical compliance"), the offsetting curvature of the arm that reduces tracking-error and its side-pressures—all these result in the sound being remarkably free of the usual noise; there is none of the usual chatter and distortion as the records pile up; and there are guards which make it impossible for the pickup—if it falls or is pressed onto the record or is pushed across it—to be damaged or do damage.

Listening to the 9-tube (9H) models ($209.55 to $213.65 according to cabinet) one hears a limitation of treble-range, presumably by the 10-inch speaker; but what treble there is is sufficiently strong for the sound to be bright and well-balanced when the tone-controls are set properly (more about that in a moment). Not only is the sound from the 12-tube (12H) models ($297 to $329.40) more powerful, but the larger baffle-area of the larger cabinets makes it more spacious, and the 14-inch speaker gives it additional richness by extending the treble-range to at least 7,000 cycles (judging by the reproduction of high-pitched percussion instruments). How much more the pickup is capable of with a wider-range speaker-system I don't know but hope to find out; as for the 7,000 cycles, it is a little limited for ears accustomed to 9,000, but most people will find it ample.

A word now about the setting of the tone-controls. These, on both machines, are not the usual knobs but six push-buttons: three for treble, marked "treble," "voice," and "normal"; and three for bass, marked "alto," "bass," and "low bass." Each attenuates, and in effect cuts out, a section of treble or bass when pushed down, and brings it back in when lifted up; and with both machines the proper balance of treble and bass, for my ears, is achieved when all three treble controls and "bass" are up, and "alto" and "low bass" are down.

And finally, Zenith claims that the pickup's lightness, flexibility, and low tracking-error reduce wear on the permanent metal-alloy stylus so much that it can be used for 6,000 record-sides. Since the tiny cartridge with the stylus can be removed and inserted more easily than the eraser of a pencil and costs only $2.50, the thing to do is to buy a spare and insert it to check the sound from the working cartridge after every hundred or two hundred sides.

I would say that right now these two Zenith machines are the ones to acquire—certainly in preference to other machines of the same price; certainly in preference to the Magnavoxes; and even, I suspect, in preference to most

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machines of much higher price. If any of these are better for their $1,000 it may be possible to make the Venus 12H equal or sufficiently approximate them by spending a couple of hundred dollars on a wider-range speaker-system and a separate cabinet for the speakers; and even a separate cabinet for the present speaker should produce an astonishing improvement in the sound. That is an improvement one can achieve with any machine; and I will give the specifications of the cabinet in a later article.

Letters to the Editors

Entschuldigen Sie

Dear Sirs: I know the readers of your distinguished magazine prefer information from "on the spot." They also believe that reports which quote sentences in the local language are more authentic. Nevertheless, I have to protest against some errors in Mr. Del Vayo's excellent article Intermezzo in Berlin (August 31). My own followers have sufficiently spoiled the German language. No need to overdo them by writing *"Erinneren Sie sich das Kapp Putsch" instead of "Erinnern Sie sich des Kapp Putsches,"* or *"Fassanenstrasse,"* which is meant to be Pheasant Street and not the street of barrel ancestors.

My friend O. G. V. would not have tolerated such distortions, but what can I expect from Bolsheviks whom I forgot to extirpate.

HEIL! THE GHOST OF ADOLF HITLER

September 10

Wilsonian Observation

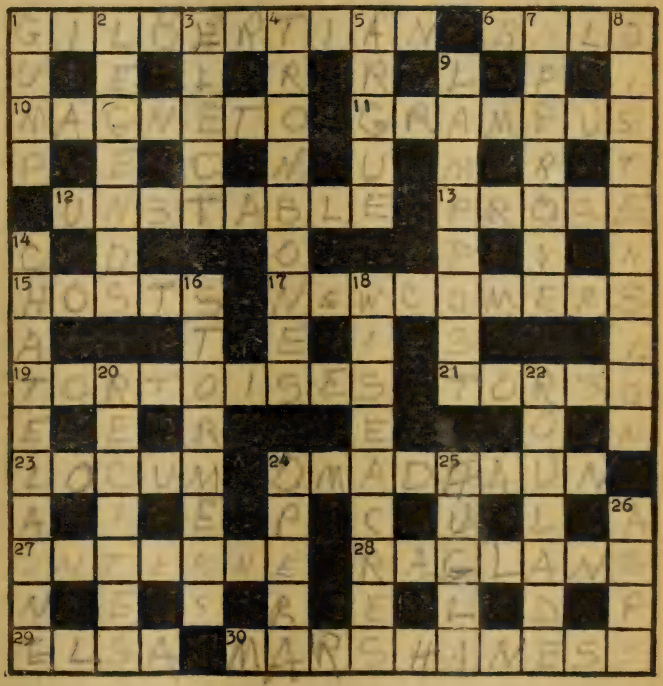
Dear Sirs: Woodrow Wilson in his Shadow Lawn speech of September 30, 1916, before the Young Men's Democratic Clubs spoke as follows concerning Republicans of progressive viewpoints: "They are engaged in the interesting enterprise of trying to capture a party which is fortified against them and refusing to enter a party which is already captured by those who believe in their principles. The intellectual processes by which they arrive at their conclusions are entirely obscured to my intelligence."

I send you this quotation because it ties in with what Henry A. Wallace says of the dilemma of progressive Republicans in his article How to Elect a Progressive Congress (*The Nation*, August 31). RICHARD PURDY

New York, September 15

Crossword Puzzle No. 179

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Sort of humor a la Carte
6 Unvarnished — yet often shiny on top
10 The sparkplug superseded it
11 Whale, or perhaps a dolphin
12 Fetch out the horses?
13 Not the language of the poet
15 They entertain us, with or without reward
17 Late arrivals
19 Under shelling their advance is slow
21 Trunk with concealed roots
23 Sort of lieutenant in the medical service
24 Irish for "silly ass"
27 One of the hospital staff
28 Plenty of room in these overcoats
29 Acrobatic seal
30 Shines in Mars, and is a feature of low-lying ground

DOWN

1 Chinless Wonder of the Funnies
2 Marvelous stories
3 The chosen
4 Instruments that might form part of a skeleton band
5 Bandy words
7 It is father's turn to give proof
8 No tidiness (anag.)
9 Very little light is to be had on this in war time (4 and 4)
14 A talk with Lancelot's little lady shows where the lady kept her keys
16 Shock troops
18 Simpletons who are unconscious of being simpletons
20 Reads aloud
22 Melodic embellishment
24 Story of people in Sing-Sing
25 Branch of the Ganges
26 Saps in snakes' clothing

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 178

ACROSS:—1 POPPIES; 5 MAGNATE; 9 AMAIN; 10 OUTFITTER; 11 CATERWAUL; 12 AUDIT; 13 DICTATE; 15 DUKEDOM; 17 INSIPID; 19 SAN REMO; 21 PATHE; 23 RELIEF MAP; 25 CASSANDRA; 26 REEDS; 27 SMARTED; 28 THRUSTS.

DOWN:—1 PEASCOD; 2 PRACTICES; 3 INNER; 4 STORAGE; 5 MOTTLED; 6 GRIMALKIN; 7 ACTED; 8 ERRATUM; 14 APPLE TART; 16 DREAMLESS; 17 IMPACTS; 18 DERIDED; 19 SALTANT; 20 OPPOSES; 22 TOSCA; 24 ERROR.

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September 21, 1946

THE Nation

Special Western Supplement

for the Conference of The Nation Associates, Los Angeles, September 21-22, 1946

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STANLEY BAILEY
RICHARD BOKE
DR. MORRIS GARNSEY
PAUL RAVER
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Conference under the Auspices of The Nation Associates

SEPTEMBER 21-22, 1946 **AMBASSADOR HOTEL, LOS ANGELES**

Program

Saturday, September 21, 10:00 A.M.

I—THE 1946 ELECTIONS AND AMERICA'S FUTURE: Presiding: John B. Hughes

Address—Oscar L. Chapman, Under Secretary of the Department of Interior
Panel: What We Hope For
Labor: Irwin de Shetler, Regional Director of the C.I.O. for Southern California
Susan D. Adams, Business Representative I.L.G.W.U.
Negroes: Loren Miller
Minority Groups: Richard Ibanez
Discussion

Saturday, September 21, 2:00 P.M.

II—AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS RELATION TO PEACE:

Presiding: Chet Huntley
Is Association With Britain and Opposition to the U.S.S.R. A Necessary Cornerstone of U. S. Foreign Policy?—Dr. Harold Fisher, Director of the Hoover Library, Leland Stanford University
What's Behind Our Foreign Policy In Palestine and the Middle East?
Freda Kirchwey, Editor of The *Nation*
Spain, Greece and Other Problems Endangering the Peace?—J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the last Republican government in Spain
Discussion

Sunday, September 22, 10:00 A.M.

III–ECONOMIC SECURITY AS A FACTOR FOR PEACE:

How Can Full Employment Be Maintained?
Dr. Arthur Ross, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley
How Can The War Veterans Be Reintegrated Into The Life of the Country?
Ronald Reagan, War Veteran and Movie Star
Western Industry As A Factor In Full Employment!
Richard Boke, Regional Director of Bureau of Reclamation
Paul Raver, Director, Bonneville Project
The Role of Atomic Energy in Assuring Economic St[illegible]ty
Dr. William Fowler, California Institute of Tec[illegible]ogy
Discussion

Sunday, September 22, 2:00 P.M.

IV—ORGANIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY: Presiding: M[illegible]y Maverick

Is Liberalism Capable of Dynamic Action?
Dr. L. L. Fisher, Institute of Industrial Relations, Univ. of California, Berkeley
Dr. Harry Girvetz, University of California, Santa Barbara
Panel: The Role of
The Movies—Mary McCall, Screen Writer
The Press—Dr. Robert E. G. Harris, Chief Editorial Writer, L. A. Daily News
The Radio—True Boardman, Radio Writer
The Schools— Dr. Curtis Warren, Superintendent of Schools of San Francisco
Discussion

Sunday, September 22, 7:00 P.M.

V—DINNER FORUM: Presiding: Bartley C. Crum

Speakers: Judge Thurman W. Arnold; Freda Kirchwey; Senator Wayne L. Morse; Dore Schary

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

Special Supplement, Los Angeles, September 21, 1946

Statement of The Editors

WHEN the first issue of *The Nation* was published in 1865, the west existed merely as a large area on the maps marked as "unknown." Illinois, Michigan, and Kansas were "west" in 1865 and Abraham Lincoln was known as a "westerner." In the past, the term "west" has had a constantly shifting geographical connotation with its real significance being social and psychological. It referred to the "unknown"; to the land on the far side of an advancing frontier. Today the west exists, not in this vaguely defined sense, but in regional actuality, in social fact. It is made up of the eleven "western" states of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico, with the Rocky Mountains constituting the approximately accurate eastern boundary of the region. Eliminated from the western category today are the Great Plains states which are definitely within the orbit of the marketing and distributive centers of the Middle West. In the immediate past, the vast region of the eleven western states has been thought of most frequently as embracing a number of sub-regions: the Pacific Northwest; the Inter-Mountain West; the Southwest; and the Pacific Coast or West Coast. But post-war realism should dictate the practice of regarding the eleven western states as one region, a region that is rapidly falling within the economic orbit of the expanding industrial and financial leadership of the three dynamic west coast states of Washington, Oregon, and California. It is to certain of the immediate problems of the eleven western states that this special supplement of *The Nation* is devoted.

Readers of *The Nation* residing in the west will, I am sure, agree that the supplement is overdue. As west coast staff representative, I can testify that the task of covering some of the more significant developments in this vast region presents a host of special problems. It is often difficult to explain the special importance which the west attaches to certain of these developments to a national audience; the competition for space, in these troubled times, excludes many stories from *The Nation* that relate to important happenings in the west; and the difficulties of distance, and badly organized intercommunications within the west, are not to be minimized. As an initial effort, this supplement is a highly imperfect performance; but, if the performance is repeated, at least on an annual basis, the editors believe that a round-up technique can be developed that will serve to fix national attention upon some of the more significant developments and problems of this new, dynamic, and rapidly expanding region.

The appearance of the supplement at this time is itself a recognition of the emergence of a new regional social, economic, and political consciousness in the eleven western states, a development broadly outlined in Dr. Garnsey's contribution. By way of reassuring eastern and middle western readers, it should be said that this new regional consciousness in the west is not based upon the myth of self-sufficiency; nor is it aimed at sharpening sectional differences in an anachronistic manner. Rather it is based upon the assumption that the eleven western states face a number of basic problems general to the area, such as, the development of large-scale integrated development projects, water conservation, opposition to eastern-controlled patent pools and monopolistic practices, the need for industrialization; and that among these problems must be listed the task of freeing the west from its semi-colonial status as an economic dependency of eastern capital. Since the publication of Walter Prescott Webb's *Divided We Stand* and Joseph Kinsey Howard's *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome,* this latter assumption has become axiomatic.

As Dr. Webb pointed out, one of the issues resolved by the Civil War was the question of whether the North or the South was to control the West, which, by 1865, had begun to loom large in the thinking of the American expansionists of the period. Not only did the North continue to dominate the South after the Civil War, but it staked out the West as a raw materials domain for its exclusive dominance and control. It is this underlying historical reality which has always given substance to the talk about the South and the West being natural political allies and it is this same reality which today points to the conclusion that the South and the West are the most likely sources of a new progressivism in American politics. In the case of both the South and the West, the North (or should one say the East?), has long utilized essentially the same techniques of control: play-

ing one section against the other; cultivating the allegiance of a quisling-like group of special-interest representatives in both regions (for the most part, the managers or representatives of eastern capital); and paying-off regularly to certain dominant blocs,—the cotton bloc in the South; the silver, cattle, sheep, lumber, and copper blocs of the West. The Bourbon contingent from the South has always been matched by the Wheelers, the Smoots, the Reuben Clarks, and the Phipps from the West. In the past, the South and the West have shown a strong united front only on one issue: a nativistic racial chauvinism. From 1865 to 1940, most racial issues in Congress found the South and the West—the one fearing the Negro; the other the Oriental—closely allied in interest and bigotry. To what extent, one wonders, did this alignment represent a rationalization of the suppressed economic development of both regions? Today this tie of racial arrigance is dissolving. It is, indeed, signifiicant that the foremost advocates of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission in the Senate are Senator Wayne Morse, from Oregon, and Senator Dennis Chavez, from New Mexico. At the moment, both Senators from California, one a Republican and the other a Democrat, are sponsors of FEPC legislation. It is this development which gives special point to Mr. Laurence T. Hewes' article in this supplement. For the movement toward a free pattern of race relations on the west coast which he outlines could be paralleled by some recent developments in the South, notably by the emergency of such a leader as Governor Ellis Arnall. Racial arrogance never united the South and the West; its real effects were more often divisive than unifying; it has tended to obscure the basic similarity of economic interest which the two regions share.

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In the article which he has contributed to this supplement, Dr. Garnsey has touched upon one of the most significant issues in the west today, namely, the unexplored, undefined, wholly tentative relationship between the three west coast states and the other eight western states, or, if I may be pardoned a chauvinistic flourish, the relation of California to the other western states. The giant of the west, California got off to a much earlier and more rapid development than its sister western provinces. It tended to develop, in relative isolation, a more independent culture and a more self-sufficiency economy. As a consequence, it failed to cultivate and often rudely ignored the crucial issues of good relations with the other western states. For example, on numerous occasions it has ridden rough shod over the water interests of Nevada and Arizona and Utah. But today the rapid wartime industrialization of the three west coast states has brought about a new willingness to think in regional terms and has raised to the level of a major issue the question of good relations with the states which constitute the west coast's hinterland. California could throw the weight of its great influence in national affairs behind a program for the development of the eleven western states. It could spearhead the fight of these states for a larger measure of control over their own destines. Some of the reasons why California has not exercised this leadership, or not exercised it effectively, are pointed out in the articles by Dr. Paul S. Taylor and Varden Fuller. In short the answer is that California is itself "controlled," by a clever twofold strategy of confusion and legislative gerrymandering. The special importance of Joseph Kinsey Howard's story in this supplement of the the defeat of the Wheeler-Anaconda machine in Montana,—aside from the fact that it was written by Mr. Howard, a major prophet of western regional consciousness,—is that Montana has long represented, in an aggravated manner, a case-history of the entire west. For here the colonial concept was first developed; most notoriously extended; most brazenly and uninhibitedly expressed; with the most sorrowful latter-day consequences. That the people of Montana have finally revolted against this concept may well foreshadow similar developments throughout the west.

The emergence of the West is not a metaphorical expression but a sociological reality. Nothing symbolizes this reality quite as graphically as the rapid upward movement of California in population rank, from the 21st most populous state in 1900 to 3rd place in 1944. Between April, 1940, and July, 1944, the state gained 1,839,602 population; three times the increase of any other state for the same period. Mr. Bailey's article in this issue points out the significant movement of in-migrant veterans to California since the end of the war. Current estimates indicate that 300,000 migrants have entered the state since January 1, 1946. Implicit in the rapid growth of this largest of western states is a gradual westward shift, not merely in population,

but in industry and trade. Accompanying the shift in population and industry has been a similar westward focusing of national interest and concern from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard. Californians are notoriously boastful; but they are not always as bombastic as they sound. Occasionally there is reason in their madness. They believe that the West stands today on the threshold of a great expansion. Long quoted in western orations, the prophecy of Seward that "the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond will become the chief theater of the world in the world's great hereafter" is nowadays in process of fulfillment.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS
For the editors of *The Nation.*

Aftermath of The Montana Miracle

BY JOSEPH KINSEY HOWARD

Great Falls, Montana, September 21

THE boys who stand around all afternoon in the M & M in downtown Butte, drinking beer and hopefully marking Chinese lottery tickets, have been chuckling ever since Montana's midsummer primary. They are not, they have discovered, the only suckers.

The story, as they tell it on the street, goes like this:

A few days before the election, one of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company's watchdogs came trotting by to determine what he could smell out about Burt Wheeler's prospects in his candidacy for renomination as United States Senator on the Democratic ticket—not, of course, that he had any really serious doubts. But he found that betting odds, which had been 2-1 or heavier on Wheeler, had begun to slump; a Senatorial campaign committee investigation in Helena, initiated by the Senator, had backfired. Not only was there considerable money posted on Leif Erickson, the bulky 40-year-old former State Supreme Court justice who was Wheeler's opponent, but one lunatic was even offering small odds *against* Wheeler.

The Company man was hastened to the ladies' bridge clubs on Butte's West Side, which is where the big bosses live and trees grow. It was a sure thing, he told them, and he wanted to cut them in. He neglected to tell them his real concern—that it was bad political medicine to leave "Erickson money" on the blackboard very long: some people might get the idea that the Old Master was slipping.

The girls giggled and chattered. They were familiar enough with bridge and bingo, but this was a new racket to most of them. Still, it would be just like finding the money. They put up the dough.

The wails of anguish which arose from some of Butte's nicest homes the morning of July 17 were louder and funnier—but sixty miles away, in the Capital at Helena, some who had had a lot more at stake than a few hundred dollars were really plumbing the depths of human misery. There, with Republican Governor Sam C. Ford in the middle of the mourners' bench, sat a stunned and silent company.

These were the men of both major parties whom Wheeler had put in office, elective or appointive, and had kept there regardless of shifts in the political winds. They had cynically repudiated campaign pledges, party platforms and even personal loyalties to help him build a virtual dictatorship in their state. It was a dictatorship which might have extended, in time, over much of the Northwest. If it could not have launched its master on another campaign for the Presidency (he'll be 66 in 1948 and only one President has been older upon inauguration), it certainly could have given him a most powerful voice in the national councils.

It had the support of the Anaconda Company's press—half of Montana's dailies and all but two of those which are published in the five principal cities. It had three radio stations in the state, reputedly owned by Wheeler; these were operated by Ed Craney, who accompanied Wheeler on his campaign tour and admitted visitors to the Senatorial suite. For the future, it had two radio stations in Washington state and had applications in for others in Montana. It had a statewide machine made up of politicians who owed their jobs to the patronage dispensed by Wheeler in his 24 years in the Senate. It had an informal but effective organization of stool-pigeons, including women, whose business it was to report gossip and ride herd on officeholders, their relatives and friends, and keep them in line with the whip of fear.

The hierarchy thought this state within a state also had a solid bloc of labor votes, especially among the traditionally friendly railroad unions; and they thought it had at least some remaining apologists among old-time liberals who could remember, and respect, the Senator's anti-Company crusade of a quarter of a century ago. And that was where they were wrong.

Let's get it straight. Wheeler was not "crucified" by PAC for his opposition to Roosevelt. He was not "smashed by the totalitarian liberals" for his suspicion of Russia. He was not "smeared" by anybody.

JOSEPH KINSEY HOWARD is the author of Montana: High, Wide and Handsome, *published by Yale University Press in 1943—an indispensable guide to the New West. His first published article, an account of a strike in Butte, appeared in* The Nation *twelve years ago.*

His defeat, much as eastern liberal spokesmen may want to find it so, was not primarily a repudiation of isolationism, though it did indicate that Montanans, traditionally indifferent to foreign policy, now hoped something could be done toward international cooperation. Wheeler said he hoped so, too, and few analyzed his statement. Isolationism was only one of many issues, many factors—and an indirect factor at that. True, without the veterans' vote which went overwhelmingly against him, Wheeler could not have been beaten, this time. True, this vote was born of the resentment of G.I.'s who had had Burt Wheeler thrown in their faces all over the world. But it was just resentment; it was not the result of any campaign, any reasoned discussions of foreign policy. Nobody has been discussing it much, in Montana.

Marquis Childs, who reported that "Potomac fever" was one factor in Wheeler's downfall, was much nearer right than the metropolitan editorial writers who leaped to their typewriters with whoops about the triumph of internationalism in the wide open spaces. "The chief characteristic of Potomac fever," wrote Mr. Childs, "is an illusion of power and statesmanship fostered by a comfortable, padded existence in Washington. The victim tends to identify the sound of his own voice with the infallible voice of the people." Wheeler had done just that; too late, he realized it.

The Senator himself and the winner, Leif Erickson, sensed quickly what had happened. Both, in statements after the election, attributed the outcome chiefly to Wheeler's defiance of party responsibility, his confidence that the people shared his contempt for the party line. And up in Cut Bank, Montana, shrewd Dan Whetstone, who is Republican National Committeeman and a long-time foe of Wheeler, commented in his *Cut Bank Pioneer Press:*

> "I am more inclined to credit his defeat to a factor that is being discussed but little by those who are groping for a real reason: that was his cavalier disregard of party regularity and his very evident ambition to dominate both major parties in this state, employing as an instrumentality a group in the state capitol which included a subservient governor elected by Republicans."

Some, Mr. Whetstone acknowledged, would reject this theory because they are "cynical about the ability of the mass of the people to reason finely about such matters." But, he insisted, though there are degrees of political awareness, underneath "there is the instinctive feeling that it is good for the nation and the state to have a well-defined and healthy two-party system."

Toward the finish, Wheeler may have begun to doubt. Professing confidence, he nevertheless quizzed interviewers on their opinion of his chances. His campaign speeches were defensive; and this was unprecedented, for always before Wheeler had attacked. What had happened to the Wheeler whose "silent Cal" act, when he was running for Vice President on the LaFollette ticket in 1924, had rolled his audiences in the aisles—the stunt of addressing sardonic questions to an empty chair beside him on the stage? What had happened to the Wheeler who had shouted in 1922: "If you ever see my picture on the front page of the kept press, you'll know I've sold out!"? (What had happened there was that his picture was now on the front page of the kept press.) He still had his old platform stance: knees locked, his body weaving down toward the footlights, his hands outstretched to the crowd—but he had lost his punch. He was querulous. He was scared.

Montanans who have long regarded Burt Wheeler as the smartest politician the state ever turned out are still wondering how, this time, he could have done *everything* wrong. He sought, and obtained, President Truman's indorsement—and it probably cost him hundreds of thousands of votes. Truman's prestige was at low ebb in Montana, especially since the Trainmen's President Whitney had informed them that Wheeler had induced the Chief Executive to set aside the rules changes they sought as a condition of the strike settlement. Wheeler also, Whitney wrote the Montana locals, rushed Truman's "slave labor" bill through his committee without hearings. Even George E. Sokolsky, who shares columnist honors in the Company press with Pegler, admitted the Truman indorsement of Wheeler had been a grave mistake.

There were other incidents, of less importance. For the real reason Wheeler lost was simply that Montana was sick and tired of him and his whole outfit. All the other factors, though the votes they brought in were essential, were somehow bound up with that . . . But because no one could be sure about all the elements of such a campaign, Montana was as surprised as anyone when it awoke to find that it was free.

Aside from the Company, which had taken its worst political licking since 1920, the chief mourner was Governor Ford. He rode into office in the Wheeler machine six years ago, ostensibly a "progressive Republican." He was re-elected in an expensive 1944 campaign with the help of the Company, defeating by 25,000 votes the same Leif Erickson who came back in two years to whip the Old Master himself.

Ford's term ends in January, 1949. So does the term of James E. Murray, Montana's consistently liberal junior Senator whom Wheeler has fought at every step since Murray's election. Ford had let it be known that he was not interested in a third term as Governor; he was not so cold, Capitol gossip said, to the idea of becoming United States Senator.

But he has been a political liability for Wheeler. Few among all the inept executives the state has had to endure since the defeat of its one outstanding progressive, Joseph M. Dixon, in 1924, have shucked and reversed their coats with any more alacrity than has Ford. His administration has been remarkable only for timidity and temporizing, which is seldom remarkable in Montana. His voice has been raised but rarely, and then

only to take the stump against a Missouri Valley Authority or to propose a state sales tax for education. Montana education is in a bad way financially, as a result of one of the most contemptible legislative maneuvers of recent times, which had Ford's blessing: five years ago the state assembly robbed the schools of their earmarked funds, diverted them into the general fund to help create a surplus, and enabled the Governor to suspend all state property levies for several of Montana's most prosperous years. In his re-election campaign, Governor Ford's big billboards reminded Montana taxpayers of this beneficience, while the state education department frantically consolidated rural schools, dashed off "emergency certificates" for unqualified teachers.

Wheeler's decision not to run as an independent in November cut the last ground out from under his collaborators in the statehouse and left them teetering alongside the abyss of political oblivion. They are unhappily aware that rebellion among the rank and file of the Wheeler legion throughout the state must have contributed to the chief's defeat, and there is no one in the group strong enough to seize control and hold the demoralized mercenaries in the line.

Ford's plight is the most pitiable. In high places in his official family he has two Wheeler cohorts, known to all the state as Democrats but comfortably in office for the past six years in a Republican administration. They have suddenly become weighty millstones about his neck. And what of his own political dreams? Dan Whetstone, the National Committeeman and thus officially party leader, is as conservative as they come, even in Montana—but he's a Republican, by God, and nobody's stooge: he despises Ford and has said as much frequently in his paper. Zales Ecton, the Republican candidate for Senator in November against Erickson, is a personal friend of Whetstone. No matter who wins the Senatorship, Ford loses.

An Ecton victory is most unlikely. The Democratic primary vote was more than 93,000 to the Republican's 36,000. Some of Wheeler's 44,000 votes will go to Ecton, but Erickson's 49,000 total was more than double Ecton's vote and well in excess of the G.O.P. total. Ecton, a prosperous rancher, is a colorless candidate with no political philosophy other than loyalty to "free enterprise." Some clue to his social philosophy may be found in the fact that in his keynote address to the Republican state convention he singled out for special mention two persons bearing Jewish names among the contributors to Erickson's campaign and demanded to know who they were. He also wanted to know "why a PAC organization in Detroit" contributed to his opponent's funds; no PAC organization, in Detroit or elsewhere, contributed a dime, and W. P. Wright, *Great Falls Tribune* Capitol correspondent, promptly nailed the charge as false.

The Republicans have budgeted $90,000 for the fall campaign, have raised about half of it and anticipate little difficulty in getting the rest. The Anaconda Company and its Siamese twin, Montana Power, have made no secret of their determination to drive Erickson out of public life, and every resource at their command will be available to Ecton. In the good old days Montana's dominant industrial interests were not averse to sending a troublemaker to Washington to get him out of their hair, but times have changed and that strategy is no longer good. Erickson's election, for instance, would immeasurably enhance the chances of a Missouri Valley Authority; next to Senator Murray, he has been MVA's outstanding advocate. And the Montana twins dread MVA above anything else on earth. It was not a major issue, but it figured in the campaign. Erickson proclaimed his support; Wheeler, on record in opposition to it, tried to avoid MVA in his speeches.

Fortunately Erickson won the nomination on his own merits and with a minimum of outside help. The investigation demanded by Wheeler proved, to its instigator's dismay, that Erickson had had no "radical" or even PAC assistance; the fire went out and the "communist" scare used against Erickson in the gubernatorial campaign couldn't be warmed up. Actually the nominee is a sane, middle-of-the-road liberal, with a background in the best rugged American tradition: of Norwegian descent, farm-bred, he worked his way through the University of North Dakota and University of Chicago to obtain his legal education, became a county attorney and, at 32, a state supreme court justice. He was a pioneer in the rural electrification movement; he was also director of

SEYMOUR
NEBENZAL

a bank. He is married and has three children, and the family lives in an old Helena house which they remodeled.

The Company has been licked. The Wheeler machine is falling apart. The Republican leaders hate each other's guts. So here's a friendly tip to the girls of the West Side bridge clubs in Butte:

There's a veteran newspaperman in your town who has a closet full of hats which he has won on election bets, after asking Wheeler's advice. Go ask him to ask Wheeler who'll win in November.

But even if he tells you Ecton's in the bag, girls, don't bet on it. . . . You might burn your fingers.

"Territory" vs. People

BY DR. PAUL S. TAYLOR

Berkeley, September 21

GEORGIA startled the country recently by declaring that the candidate receiving the most votes for governor was defeated. We were told that a "county unit" rule, an anachronistic device tracing back to reconstruction days, made possible this strange result. Under this county unit rule Echols County, with under 3,000 population, cast two electoral votes while Fulton County, with nearly 400,000 population cast only six votes. By virtue of the rule, one person in Echols County is worth about 44 persons in Fulton County when it comes to electing a governor for Georgia.

California has no "county unit" rule, but every two years it elects members of the upper house of its legislature by a device no less startling. California's plan gives 11,000 people in Inyo and Mono counties equal representation in the State Senate with 3,584,000 people of Los Angeles County. It gives to one person in Inyo and Mono counties about 326 times the political power of a person in Los Angeles, for purposes of electing a State Senator. The results of this arrangement are less spectacular than Gene Talmadge's 1946 minority victory in Georgia and have never made national headlines, but they are not less important. They are recorded, not in the rarely changed outcome of an election for governor, but in the acts of every succeeding session of the legislature.

Comparison of Senate representation of Inyo-Mono with Los Angeles is simply the dramatic extreme. Inequality runs throughout the State, and gives power to an extraordinary degree to a sparse population living in wide expanses of territory. Three metropolitan counties — Alameda, Los Angeles and San Francisco — in which 56 percent of the 1945 population of the State reside, have only 3 Senators, or 8 percent of the members of the upper house. In this way representatives from areas with a very minor portion of California's population have been given unchallengable control of the State Senate, together with that additional power which derives from a veto which the Senate can exercise over any and every bill before it becomes law.

Three examples from the 1945 session of the California legislature serve to show the difficulty of enacting progressive legislation under this arrangement. (1) The Assembly passed unanimously a bill to place additional safeguards around child labor. Senators representing 69 percent of the State's population went on record to take up the bill, but other senators, representing districts with only 20 percent of the State-s population, killed the measure easily by voting to postpone it indefinitely. (2) The Assembly passed by vote of 66 to 3 a bill to add three weeks to the present maximum period for drawing unemployment compensation benefits. Senators representing 63 percent of the population voteed "aye," but when senators representing districts with only 36 percent of the people of California voted "nay," they were sufficiently numerous to kill the bill decisively. (3) Another bill, passed by the Assembly 64 to 0, provided that where men and women are doing the same or equal work, they shall receive the same wages. Senators representing 62 percent of the population voted to pass the measure, but they were overwhelmed by the votes of senators representing districts with only 33 percent of the people of the State.

The people of California themselves were persuaded twenty years ago to adopt this plan to use "territory" rather than "population" as the basis for representation in the State Senate. They were persuaded despite the fact that in voting for it most of them thereby were reducing sharply their own influence as citizens. To help accomplish this curious result, those who advocated the plan stirred vigorously the prejudices of the rest of the State against Los Angeles, and fanned into flame the latent hostility of country districts against cities. The unpalatable fact that representation of more than half the voters of the State in the Senate would be reduced to but 3 out of 40 senators, was sugar-coated to those about to lose, by use of a title with prestige value—by

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calling it the "federal plan." As a special appeal to metropolitan voters around San Francisco Bay it was suggested that they could derive more than compensating satisfaction for their own losses from the fact that the losses of Los Angeles voters would be even greater. The virtues of "territory" as a basis of apportionment for one house of the legislature were extolled, and the injustice of apportionment by population was proclaimed with indignation. The voters were told that apportionment by population would "place the great centers of population, comprising about 3 percent of the State's area, in complete control of the State legislature, thus depriving the great rural sections of the State, comprising 97 percent of the State's area, of any effective voice in the State's lawmaking body . . . and permitting a part of the population [i.e., a majority] to control the entire State, which is an intolerable situation." Under the influence of this cross-fire and enveloping attack the voters voted for apportionment of the Senate by "territory," producing by 1945 the result that 97 percent of the territory—with only 44 percent of the population—has 92 percent of the senators.

In the twenties, farm organizations favored the "federal plan" and the State Federation of Labor stood against it; but there was more to the line-up than that. When reports of the financing of the campaign were filed, it appeared—so the veteran political observer Franklin Hichborn later told the Commonwealth Club—that "While the dirt farmers had done the shouting, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, without knowledge of the dirt farmers, had financed the campaign for the 'federal plan'." Los Angeles County voters, alone among those of the State's 58 counties, voted against the "federal plan" in 1926.

In 1926 the President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce stood publicly against this plan which the San Francisco Chamber was pushing through. In the pages of *Southern California Business* he denounced its plainly obstructive character, and its deprivation of the political influence of metropolitan voters. He prophesied that the "federal plan" would align Senate against Assembly, and "made it difficult for needed legislation of a State-wide character to pass with such a class deadlock established." "If the voters blindly cast their ballots for the Federal plan," he warned, "they will be disfranchising themselves and will be creating a condition that would cause havoc in State legislation."

Two years later, however, when the "federal plan" went before the voters of the State a second time, the official organs of the metropolitan chambers of commerce were silent. The Los Angeles *Times,* which had opposed the plan in 1926 now turned about to counsel its readers to vote in favor of it. In this way the *Times* joined two other great metropolitan Republican dailies—San Francisco *Chronicle* and Oakland *Tribune*—to advocate senate apportionment by "territory." Across the countryside the *Pacific Rural Press* spread the news that "the chambers of commerce of every country have endorsed" the plan. Supported by these forces and by these tactics the "federal plan" carried again.

Naturally, to concentrate the power to block bills in the hands of a minority is to expose that minority to special pressures, for the very possession of power provides an incentive to influence the political opinions of those who possess it. It requires very little perspicacity of those who know they have substantial stakes in the outcome of state legislation—whether they happen to live in rural or in metropolitan areas—to arrive at a realization that a vote in thinly settled areas is worth many times a vote in metropolitan areas. Possibly this was in the mind of conservative metropolitan interests which were willing twenty years ago to let at least the appearance of control of the State Senate slip from their own districts—indeed, even to advocate it. Possibly they had in mind also that, given the traditional lack of progressivism found in rural areas, this might be a convenient way to place a brake upon progressive movements such as that which swept Hiram Johnson and the Progressives into effective control of the State in 1910. Progressive measures have had hard sledding in the Senate since the "federal plan" was adopted.

As recently as 1940 the Los Angeles *Times,* whose readers lose more direct influence at each session of the legislature from continuance of the "federal plan" than do any other voters in the State, made this disparaging remark about proposals for a change: "California's Senate is dominated by representatives of her agricultural areas; the assembly by men from urban and industrial communities. This establishes a balance for the compromise of conflicting interests for which, in the light of experience, it would be hard to find a satisfactory substitute." Whether the people of Los Angeles gain as much as they lose by this arrangement, on balance, would be worth their looking into.

Whether the balance really is between rural interests on one hand, and urban-industrial interests on the other, as the *Times* says, and as the supporters of the "federal plan" have repeated over and over, or whether the significant balance is between progressives and conservatives will bear some serious investigation by all citizens of California. Evidently farmers are giving this question scrutiny now. Of the two major farm organizations in California, both of which supported the "federal plan" twenty years ago, the Grange is more progressive in its policies than the Farm Bureau. And there are signs that the more progressive farmers have serious doubts that the "federal plan" gave them the kind of Senate to represent farmers' interests which they had thought they were getting. Some years ago Franklin Hichborn told the Commonwealth Club that the "federal plan" has not worked out as the dirt farmers had anticipated. Far from controlling the Senate, they have found themselves without influence with that body. Instead of Senators economically-minded with

themselves, the dirt farmers have found as Senators, country lawyers, country insurance agents and the like, economically minded with financial, commercial and corporation interests that direct things out of Los Angeles and San Francisco. When the dirt farmers want action from the Legislature, they go to the urban-elected Assembly, not the rural-elected Senate for it. It is significant that today the State Grange assumes leadership on Central Valley issues such as public power, unified water resource development, and defeat of the Elliott rider to repeal the 160-acre water limitation, and that both wings of the labor movement together with progressive opinion generally, cooperate to give support.

Over the years dissatisfaction with the results of Senate apportionment by "territory" has been on the increase in California. Continued growth of metropolitan population has made the disparity between the effectiveness of city votes and of rural votes ever more glaring. Session after session the discomfiture of those who seek progressive legislation accumulates, as the blocking power of the Senate asserts and reasserts itself. Dissatisfaction grows whether the incumbent governor is Democrat or Republican, progressive or conservative, for party controls are not sufficiently strong to effect material alteration in the situation.

Today the State Federation of Labor is preparing to lead a campaign to reapportion the Senate Senate. Its June convention gave instructions to the Executive Committee "to renew their efforts to correct this inequality." Probably this will mean preparation of a bill establishing a basis for apportionment upon which most metropolitan and rural people can agree, then a drive to secure enough signatures to place it as an initiative measure on the ballot at the general election in November, 1948, and finally a campaign to win voters' approval of a new basis for apportionment.

It the Federation goes through with its announced plan, the voters of California are likely to be in a different frame of mind than they were in 1926 and 1928. For one thing, they have seen senate apportionment by "territory" in operation. For another, labor is much more extensively organized than ever before. It may not be so easy to whip up the prejudices of farm against city, and section against section. The "immigrants" who have been flocking to the metropolitan centers have had little indoctrination in old California prejudices. Voters around San Francisco Bay are hardly likely now, as they were before, to be willing to cut off their own political noses to spite their faces, simply because they may prefer the Bay region to Los Angeles. And in rural areas progressive groups are finding that the power which the "federal plan" promised to confer on them is apparent rather than real, and that cooperation with progressive city groups can be very effective. The clearer it becomes that senate apportoinment by "territory" is a check upon the passage of progressive legislation, the sharper will be the issue when it reaches the ballot again.

West Coast Labor

BY STANLEY BAILEY

San Francisco, September 21

THE West Coast labor situation, not unlike the national and international scenes, is marked by confusion.

There are certain definite factors in the shifting patterns, and there are many more that are indefinite. Some are encouraging. Many are discouraging.

Organized labor during the war made tremendous strides in the matter of membership and, in many instances, in the nature of contracts.

Already however, the Washington State Federation of Labor reports its membership back to approximately the pre-war level of 420,000 members, because of the curtailment of shipbuilding and other wartime activities.

On the other hand, the AFL in California and Oregon report material gains, which have largely been held. In California the AFL membership is reported at more than 1,000,000, with 600,000 members of AFL unions that are directly affiliated with the State federation. That compares to a 1941 affiliated membership of 332,000. Officials say that losses of membership in shipbuilding, aircraft and other wartime industries have been made up by growth of membership in other activities, particularly the building trades.

The Oregon Federation similarly reports a 1946 membership of 200,000, compared to 135,000 in 1940.

The CIO claims heavy gains in all three coastal states since the start of the war.

California CIO membership is now placed at 200,000, compared to 68,000 in 1942. In Oregon the member-

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ship has grown from an estimated 35,000 in 1940 to approximately 55,000 in 1946 and Washington reported a growth of from about 25,000 in 1940 to approximately 60,000 workers under CIO contracts.

That, in brief, is something of the statistical picture of organized labor, but the picture of organized labor cannot be isolated from the over-all employment picture and when we look at that scene, we see certain forboding aspects.

One, and a very important factor, is the in-migration of veterans to the West Coast.

In January, 1945, the Army issued a survey which indicated that about 7 percent of all persons in the armed forces planned to settle in sections other than their former residence, and of that number, 52 percent planned to settle on the Pacific Coast, as compared to 10 percent who planned to leave the coastal region.

Professor Samuel C. May of the University of California, on the basis of that survey, estimated that from 200,000 to 350,000 out-of-state veterans could be expected. That has happened. Estimates now place the number of in-migrant veterans in California at 300,000 and more are coming.

Indications are that the vast percentage of those veterans are youths with little or no history of private employment, no union backgrounds or union conditioning. Daniel Del Carlos of the San Francisco Building Trades Council reports vast numbers of youths from out of the state seeking to become apprentices, and says that 85 percent of the present apprentices are from out of the area. Few of the in-migrants are skilled journeymen.

The employment service reports that more than 30 percent of all veterans who come into the office are from out of the state, and the number is increasing weekly.

About 1½ percent of the in-migrant veterans are skilled. Offsetting that picture, but not completely changing it, is the fact that most skilled journeymen would go to their union offices in search of employment—and the Building Trades, for instance, is not getting them.

Many of the veterans, although not qualified as skilled workers, have received training in the services which would serve them in good stead—auto mechanics, electronics—but USES officials report a reluctance and slowness on the part of employers to set up training programs to utilize those partial skills. Also, there is the question of apprenticeships under union regulations which often limit the number being trained.

The in-migrant veterans, that vast army of wandering youths, without training, without roots, seeking a new and better way of life, looking for a place where they can establish roots and become part of some community, are one of the factors that must be considered as we attempt to look into the months ahead.

It is a part of the picture that refuses to drop neatly into place in any form of the jigsaw puzzle.

Superimpose it on anticipated mass unemployment in the late fall and winter, and the result is not pretty, from whatever angle you view the scene.

Professor May and Alfred G. Norris also of the University research staff, estimated last spring that California alone could expect unemployment to reach between 800,000 and 1,200,000 this year. Although reductions in federal employment have not been as great as anticipated, with major reductions just getting underway, Norris believes that unemployment will reach the 800,000 figure about mid-November. That month will see the end of California's great seasonal agricultural and canning employment and curtailment of lumbering and other activities.

And, the projected unemployment figures, on nearly any basis the statisticians adopt, usually comes out about equal to the numbers of veterans in this state. It is pointed out that that does not mean that if unemployment reached 800,000 that 800,000 veterans will be unemployed. The state's veteran population is about 1,000,000, including those from other states.

That fact of great numbers of restless veterans and the forecasts of unemployment cast definite shadows over the coast labor scene.

There are other facts and portents in the realms of organized labor that contribute to the impossibility of saying what is going to happen, but close observers see considerable strife in the not too distant future.

There are other facts and portents in the realm of employers, but unless the situation greatly changes there will be an increase of jurisdictional controversies.

Mervyn Rathborne, secretary of the California CIO Council, sees "great and growing unrest in the ranks of labor" due to the current inflationary situation, uncertainty about the future, fears of a depression and loss of jobs. That unrest, he believes, is bound to lead to an outbreak of industrial disturbances and he cited the AFL Sailors' Union strike which was at the moment tying up the ports of the nation, and the then apparently imminent strike of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the docks of the Pacific Coast.

On the other hand there has been growing organization of employer groups in the state, created for the purpose of doing business with the unions. Such groups, often modeled after the San Francisco Employers Council, are, in effect, unions of employers, created for the purpose of bargaining collectively. Where such groups exist and function with the view of getting along with the unions instead of making constant attempts to destroy unionism, they contribute to industrial harmony. San Francisco has recently seen major controversies settled because of the machinery that has been set up both in employer and union circles.

Wartime governmental controls also have affected the situation. Employers, unable to grant increased wages, and seeking to obtain then scarce workers, ac-

cepted various contractual provisions contributing to job security, year around employment, increased vacations and other so-called fringe issues that make for stability.

Many students of the labor scene are wondering what effect the death of Paul Shoup will have on the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, historically the spearhead in the drive to keep Los Angeles the "open shop citadel."

Many employer spokesmen and some labor leaders have voiced the possibility that the "M. & M. line" may be modified. Some who are close to the employer picture in the southern California metropolis insist there is a growing tendency on the part of management to "get along with the unions" and that it was only the personal prestige and the ardor of the late Mr. Shoup, head of the organization, that kept the association to its anti-union policy. None anticipate an immediate about face, but the growth in councils of employers on an industrial basis is cited to illustrate the trend toward setting up machinery to function in accord with the national laws for collective bargaining.

However, union leaders generally see an increasing "toughness" on the part of employers, but are reluctant to forecast just where that will lead. It is anticipated that there will be strife in certain major industries—shipping is cited and there is mentioned conflict in steel, oil, electrical equipment production, lumber and others.

The inflationary trend will be a factor. Also unemployment. Historically labor dosen't strike during times of decreasing labor markets, but in the instances of well organized, union-shop industries, such as on the waterfront, unemployment may not be a determining factor. In fact it wasn't in 1934 when the longshoremen struck with only skeletal organization.

One of the most definite parts of the labor picture seems to be increased controversy between AFL and CIO. Both major branches of labor are engaged in intensive organizational activities and in most sections of the coast the AFL is setting up groups to combat "CIO raiding."

In most parts of California in the past there has been accepted a historical pattern for jurisdiction—certain fields which were mutually understood to belong to one or the other. That is being broken down.

The CIO, on a national basis, is attempting to organize the non-operating employes of the railroads, the AFL Sailors Union is attempting to broaden its jurisdiction, the AFL warehousemen are becoming more and more active in a northern California field that has been preponderantly CIO, the CIO challenged the right of the AFL to represent the thousands of California cannery workers and has organized plants where AFL had contracts.

The more youthful CIO, aggressive and generally

WILLIAM WYLER

Director

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES

combatting the status quo, while some AFL unions seek only to maintain things as they are, or were, has inspired intensive activity in its rival.

In Los Angeles, San Francisco and elsewhere special AFL strategy committees have been set up to challenge CIO activities

C. J. Haggerty, secretary of the California Federation of Labor, summarized the situation in a statement dealing with the San Francisco strategy committee. He was quoted as saying:

"Oldtime methods are no longer effective. The CIO has been using industrial engineering methods, with a planned program of action. A higher degree of coordination and integration of AFL efforts is essential."

James Carey, national CIO secretary, was quoted at the same time as saying "This will probably result in the AFL taking over some good methods from the CIO and thereby help the whole labor movement."

Haggerty said the "AFL must organize the unorganized." Both labor organizations face big jobs, and if they bog down in jurisdictional controversies they will suffer.

The lines are being drawn. Many AFL leaders who have not been antagonistic toward CIO are in the position of having to choose sides as the jurisdictional disputes become more acute. The forward looking ones of both groups don't like it, but they don't see that it can be avoided.

An incident that may be trivial or may come to have major importance is the fact that when the AFL Sailors announced strike plans, the CIO National Maritime Union, headed by Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen, and Joseph Curran of the CIO Sailors, pledged full support.

And another:

The California CIO newspaper the "Labor Herald" said in a front page editorial September 6:

"Along the coast of northern California in seven company-dominated towns, 5,000 AFL lumber and sawmill workers since January have struck nine lumber companies.

"The Redwood Operators Association, the tightly knit group of employers that controls the nine companies, are importing strikbreakers, evicting the strikers' families from the company owned houses and using every possible means to smash the strike.

"It is time for organized labor to become as united as the employers.

"The California CIO Council has called on all CIO unions to support the AFL lumber strike with organizational and financial aid."

All in all this perhaps represents a gloomy picture. However, there are too many intangibles, too many unknown factors, the scene is shifting too rapidly for anyone to attempt to say with any degree of exactness what is going to happen.

During the hectic days when the writer was with the War Manpower Commission I picked up the telephone and asked our labor market analyst what he knew about a certain situation. He paused. Then, "Did you hear that crash?" "No, what was it?" He answered, "The crystal ball just fell off my desk."

And that's the way it is today.

A Citizen's Guide to Central Valley

BY RICHARD L. BOKE

Sacramento, September 21

CONVENTION has an iron grip on most public descriptions of vast engineering enterprises. They are commonly presented as the eighth, ninth, or tenth wonder of the world, as either larger or only first smaller than the Pyramids, the Empire State, or the Pentagon Building. They are, in truth, remarkable enough as proof of man's technical genius. But by now we know that these engineering skills are on order. We can even divide, subcontract, and put them together again. It is not here that the special challenge lies.

RICHARD L. BOKE is the new Regional Director of the Bureau of Reclamation in California. His forthright leadership has brought new hope to the friends of the Central Valley project in California.

Suffice it to say that the Central Valley Project as presently authorized is a gigantic engineering undertaking involving the storage of very large quantities of irrigation water, the addition of 450,000 kilowatts generating capacity of hydro-electric power for Northern California, the transfer of water, directly and by a series of exchanges from Shasta Dam to points almost 500 miles distant, the control of ravaging floods, the improvement of navigation, the repulsion of salt water encroachment and the development of much needed municipal and industrial water supplies. The project will bring supplementary water to 500,000 acres of very valuable land and a new and complete supply to an additional 500,000 acres.

But this is the project only as now authorized. Congress has called for a comprehensive plan for California's interior basin. The Bureau of Reclamation has

submitted a program which, if approved by the Congress, will produce 1,700,000 kw. of hydroelectric energy where the presently authorized project produces only 450,000; will bring water to about 3,000,000 acres of new land compared with the 500,000 of the present project. The resources thus developed and preserved will have a decisive effect upon the future of California. With the wise use of this water and this power the ends of a democratic society can be furthered. If they are allowed to reinforce present monopolies, democracy can be thwarted by the very techniques that ought to serve it.

California is a well-settled state and its agriculture is highly developed. Part of the project water stored for irrigation is destined for use upon lands already farmed. These lands, over-developed, pumping much of their water from rapidly dwindling underground supplies face serious drought with the first extended series of dry years. A major purpose of the project was to bring new water supplies to these highly developed farms. But there is a condition which the Congress first enacted in 1902 and has frequently reenacted since—no land owner shall be entitled to draw Federally-developed water for more than 160 acres. In a community property state such as California this has been construed as entitling a man and wife to water for 320 acres. The condition for the delivery of water to land in excess of 320 acres is an agreement by the landowner to sell the excess portions at appraised prices within ten years after water is delivered.

This limitation on delivery of water has become an issue of the first importance. The Kern County Land Company, a single owner under the law, holds some 400,000 acres in California. Russell Giffen, who testified before a Congressional Committee that he operated a family-sized farm of 42,000 acres, has sold his family farm to Anderson-Clayton, the world's largest cotton factors. With the entry of the large distillers into California's wine industry new land baronies have come into being. In all, some 50 percent of all the land to be benefited is held by 5 to 10 percent of the owners. The delivery of publicly developed water to the present and developing pattern of privately-owned land would deepen, confirm and for many years fix this pattern of ownership by pledging California's limited unused water resources and the Federal Treasury to its maintenance and support.

The Bureau of Reclamation occupied a generally noncontroversial position in California public life during much of the early period of Central Valley construction. In this phase the Bureau was viewed largely as an agency of master builders, preeminent in its engineering skill, erecting functional edifices that would grace any landscape. It appealed to the deepest and most constructive impulses of the citizenry.

But the Bureau is more than a construction agency. It is a custodian of a national land policy with more than 100 years of American history behind it. When the time came to apply this land policy, with its frank objective of protecting the benefits of reclamation for working farmers; of promoting healthy rural communities of independent land owners; and of denying speculative profits, the Bureau moved rapidly into the center of controversy. The large landowners of the valley, with certain exceptions, made it perfectly clear that they did not subscribe and had no intention of submitting to the limitations of Federal law.

The sides have formed rapidly. Demanding either waiver or repeal of acreage limitation were the California Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Irrigation Districts Association of California, and the California Water Project Authority. To the support of acreage limitations came the California Grange, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, the American Veterans Committees, the AFL, the CIO, the several Catholic welfare organizations, together with many individual small farmers.

Many tactical maneuvers have already taken place. There are undoubtedly many more to come. The major ones are worth a brief description.

Direct assult. In 1944, an amendment was introduced to the Rivers and Harbors Bill to repeal the excess-land provisions of Reclamation law as they migh apply to the Central Valley Project. The amendment passed the House of Representatives but was defeated in the Senate.

The flood control approach. The Federal Government has long assumed responsibility for the control of damaging floods. The construction of works for the control of flood waters is a function of the U. S. Corps of Engineers. The identical structure may be equally suitable for flood control and irrigation purposes. From one point of view, flood control and irrigation are merely prior and subsequent phases of the same system of water management. There is one school of thought which holds that where irrigation is incidental to flood control as the object for which a Federal appropriation is made, reclamation law does not apply. There is considerable evidence to the contrary and in the resent joint venture of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Engineers in the planning of the Pine Flat Project, it is settled issue. The Army will construct and the Bureau will administer in accordance with Reclamation law. Nothwithstanding the weight of the law and more particularly of recent administrative agreements between the two agencies, the flood control tactic still enjoys some popularity.

The Doctrine of Unenforceability. Against the application of the excess-land provisions, it has been argued that these provisions are unenforceable as they relate to underground water and will therefore result in an inequitable burden of payment falling upon the small farmer. The reasoning goes like this—a substantial part of the project water will be delivered to underground water basins, there to be pumped to the surface by the individual farmer. Since water thus delivered pays no attention to property lines or the presence or absence of

signed contracts, much of this water will replenish the underground supplies of excess land owners. If the excess-land provisions of the law are not waived the large land owners will refuse to execute repayment contracts and will simply pump water from wells sunk into their own lands without any payment therefor. The result will be the levying of the entire irrigation charge against the small and complying farmer.

Aside from certain unpleasant ethical aspects of this position, the argument is not weighty. Irrgiation districts under California law have many powers including the right to incorporate holdings into a district without the consent of individual owners as well as the right to make variable assessments against lands within the district. A careful policy in the sale of the limited supply of project water to irrigation districts—a policy desirable on many other grounds—will seriously limit the supply available to those who may propose to appropriate without payment. Finally, the demand for irrigation water is very much greater than the Project supply and the Bureau will certainly prefer to deliver the water supply to those areas where it will serve the public purposes for which it was developed.

The concern that small farmers be not overcharged for their water is one that the Congress and the Bureau share with the advocates of repeal of the excess-land provisions. Congress has expressly provided that charges for water shall be in accord with the farmers' ability to repay and the Bureau naturally will offer water at rates in direct conformity with congressional enactment.

States rights. The Central Valley Project as now authorized and as ultimately conceived, lies entirely within the boundaries of California. The State of California has always shown the liveliest interest in the development and construction of the Central Valley Project. For many years the initiative lay with the State. A Water and Power Act for purposes parelleling those of the C.V.P. was submitted by referendum to the people of California in 1922. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company with the aid of a citizens committee of its own creation and half a million dollars defeated the measure. In 1933, a Central Valley Project Act, passed by the California legislature, was forced to referendum by the same public utility. This time it received a popular majority. However, the revenue bonds authorized by the Act were never issued. Instead, there is a long record of application for Federal aid, commencing in 1931, vigorously pursued at the very time the referendum was before the people and successfully culminating in 1935 when the Central Valley Project, as a result of strenuous efforts by the State, became an official undertaking of the Bureau of Reclamation.

In 1939, the Governor of California, with the endorsement of President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Ickes, sought to have the Project turned over to the State of California for operation and maintenance. The Governor's recommendations were embodied in a piece of legislation known as the Pierovich Bill, which, debated under a special rule in the closing days of the Legislature, failed by two votes of the necessary two-thirds majority. The Governor attributed its defeat to the "power trust representatives." The Central Valley Project is a Federal undertaking today largely because powerful private groups within California were unwilling to have it otherwise.

Many of the same groups who, in 1939, successfully opposed State operation are today in the forefront of the move for State control. It seems reasonably clear that State vs. Federal control is a subsidiary issue. The real issue lies with the policies by which and the objectives for which the Project is to be administered.

From one point of view the States Rights argument marks a broadening of the social horizon of those opposed to the provisions of Federal law. The much stricter position has often been taken that the sovereign body should not be the State at all but rather that group of Valley counties where the benefited lands lie, or more particularly the organized Irrigation Districts within those counties. The claims of other groups to an interest in the Project have been regarded as carpetbagging or worse.

This view neglects elementary financial, as well as political, rights. The price at which Central Valley farmers receive their water will be heavily subsidized and the subsidies will be from two sources. The Federal government assumes the cost of that part of the expenditure which might otherwise be justified for flood control and navigation. Since Shasta Dam serves all three purposes—flood control, navigation, and irrigation—the costs of irrigation are substantially reduced. Further, the Federal funds advanced for irrigation do not bear interest and the necessary capital is advanced to the water users without cost for its use. To this Federal subsidy the citizens of the State of New York make a substantially greater contribution than do the citizens of California.

The second major source of subsidy to the water users of the Valley comes from the users of electric power. The rates governing the sale of power, although substantially lower than those of the private utility, are still high enough to contribute nearly $100,000,000 to the subsidization of the users of irrigation water. The consumers of electric power, although often inarticulate, have a clear interest in the policies of the Project.

Attack upon the contract. The major instrument by which the Bureau of Reclamation applies Federal law is the water contract. This is an agreement entered into between the Secretary of the Interior and an Irrigation District which sets forth the amount of water to be delivered, the price, the obligation of the District to enforce the excess-land provisions of the law and other rights and mutual obligations. Contract negotiations have proceeded at a lively rate throughout the Valley and two contracts have been completed, with others in various stages of negotiations.

These are not the ordinary contracts which the Bureau

offers because this is not the ordinary project. The contract offered to the Irrigation Districts contemplates neither the conferring of absolute water rights nor the transfer to the Districts of Shasta and Friant Dams, and the hundreds of miles of major canals, each the equivalent of a fair-sized river.

For this and other reasons (particularly their application of the excess-land law) the contracts have been vigorously attacked by representatives of the Irrigation Districts Association and others. Leaving aside for the moment the interesting question of what individual Irrigation Districts would propose to do with Shasta Dam if they owned it, it is worth looking briefly at the water management problems involved in a basin-wide operation of this magnitude.

The water stored at Shasta Dam is obligated to a large number of separate but intimately related purposes. The release of water from the Dam must be intricately regulated to meet the commitment to the Districts to deliver irrigation water at the appropriate time, maintain power delivery to its power customers, maintain the depth of the Sacramento River for navigtaion, and furnish the supply of municipal and industrial water which has been contracted for. In addition, the Project must be in a position to store water when flood hazards are present and release it when they are absent. The claimants to the same water and power supply may be in areas as widely separated as Redding in the North and Bakersfield 450 miles to the South, and the task of administration is the very complex one of using and reusing the same storage capacity and the same water supply for the many beneficial purposes and the numerous separate customers of the Project. It is readily apparent these purposes could be more efficiently achieved by a single agency than by a coalition of customers, if, in fact, such a coalition could ever be achieved.

The second objection to the current contract is more plausible. The individual water user does not acquire an absolute right to own water, although it is inconceivable that, after the forty years of use guaranteed by the present contract, the right to continuous beneficial use would be impaired.

Notwithstanding the substantial subsidy from power users and the Federal government, Central Valley water will not be cheap. If the conventional contract were executed requiring amortization in 50 years, a period incidentally which is much less than the useful life of the Project, the resulting water rates would quite probably exceed the long time capacity of the farmer to pay. A substantially lower rate can be offered under the present procedure. The point is widely understood among the working farmers of the Valley who would pay no great price for a small share in the physical possession of Shasta Dam.

This, then, is the outline of the land and water controversy. But this is only one of two major controversies. The second involves the no less important question of who shall have the benefits of the public power generated at Shasta and Keswick Dams.

Here, too, there is clear and unequivocal Federal policy. Congress has enacted and reenacted a policy of public preference in the sale of public power. According to this policy, municipalities, irrigation districts, cooperatives, and other public bodies shall have a prior right to purchase power. There are many muncipalities in California in a position to benefit. Some already own their distribution systems. Other undoubtedly would acquire them.

In theory, the Federal government and the State of California do not differ on this point. One of the stronger statements of public power policy is contained in California's Central Valley Project Act of 1933, which presumably governs the policies of the State and the California Water Project Authority which was created by the Act to give force to those policies.

Neither Federal nor State enactments, however, have proved sufficient to accomplish their purposes. All energy generated by the Project is being sold to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company for resale under such terms as it and the California Railroad Commission deem proper. The circumstances responsible for the present anomalous state of affairs are worth recording.

The situation today can be described simply. A large quantity of hydroelectric energy is generated at Shasta and Keswick Dams. Transmission lines are required to distribute that energy to the various consumers. Without transmission lines the energy is wasted, bottled up at a point where it can have no conceivable function or use. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company has a network of transmission lines. During the war, it would have been unthinkable to permit the waste of Project power. Consequently, a contract was signed with the private utility disposing of the entire output of Central Valley power.

The Project is still without the means to bring its power to those whom Congress and the State of California have declared the preferred beneficiaries. An appropriation has provided for a single transmission line which, at best, can carry only a portion of the energy generated. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company remains the principal beneficiary of this investment of public funds. As matters stand, even the large power requirements of the Project itself—power needed to operate the large pumps by which water will be transferred from the Sacramento to the San Joaquin Valley—must be secured through facilities of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

The principal opponent of public power in California is, of course, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Its opposition has been unremitting, resourceful, and well-adapted to the changing situation. Mention has already been made of the role of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in earlier initiation and referendum measures. There has been a marked change in the tactics of the conflict but the objectives remain unaltered. A review of

the major tactical positions may be useful as a guide through the contemporary phases of the struggle.

The doctrine of glut. During the years prior to 1936, the keystone of the argument against public power was the assertion that the supply of power in Northern and Central California was plentiful, that no market could possibly be found for any additional supply, that the delivery of power from Boulder Dam would make an already bad situation worse and that the generation of additional power by the Central Valley Project would simply glut a market that was already over-supplied. As late as 1941, a substantially similar position was urged by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in testimony before an appropriations committee of Congress. At virtually the same moment, the same company was urging the Federal Power Commission to grant it permission to develop additional power at new sites within the area.

The Pacific Gas and Electric Company was in error on two counts. Even before the war it was perfectly apparent to most observers, as it should have been to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, that far from a glut there was an impending shortage of power even at the rates then prevailing. The company's application for additional power generation facilities suggests that it was not irrevocably wedded to the doctrine of glut.

In addition, the economic preconceptions of the utility were questionable. One of the well established characteristics of the power market is the great increase in the use of power which accompanies a reduction in the rate at which it is sold. The public distribution of Shasta power would accomplish very substantial rate reductions.

The evidence points unmistakably to a market for power more than ample for both the present output of the private utility and the output of the Project.

The sophisticated phase. The arguments mentioned heretofore had for their object the prevention or impairment of public power generation. About 1936 the tactics changed. In this year and for every year thereafter the company announced itself as reconciled to the public generation of power and, as evidence of its desire to cooperate, offered to purchase the entire output of Project power and, as a further evidence of good faith, offered an attractive price for the lot.

Thus begins the second phase. The position of willing customer had much to recommend it. It lent itself to much more flexible use. To begin with it was pointed out that the Federal government would secure larger revenues by sale to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company than by sale to municipalities. A special appeal was made to farmers based on the erroneous supposition that the greater the sum that could be secured from power the less the charge for water. In this argument it was made to appear that the farmer of the Valley was the natural enemy of public power despite the fact that power is one of his major costs. Before Congress it was argued that publicly-owned transmission lines would be an indefensible duplication of existing facilities owned by the company. The while this argument was being pressed, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company announced the commencement of a large scale program for the construction of new transmission lines paralleling the proposed public lines. Having failed to maintain a monopoly in the generation of power, the company has retired to a second and so far partially successful position of exclusive ownership of the distribution facilities.

The situation has much of the Alice-in-Wonderland about it. The seller, the Federal government in this case, offers its power at a reasonable price, the buyer, the P. G. and E. prefers a high one. If the Federal government has entered the power field with the ordinary objectives of a private entrepreneur the Company's offer would have been irresistible. A public power program, however, exists for a wholly different purpose—to bring cheap and plentiful power to the people in the area it serves.

The record is not only one of obstacles. It is equally a record of obstacles surmounted. The final chapter has yet to be written but the present inventory is by no means discouraging. Public power is being generated. A portion of it can be transmitted over public power lines now being built. Contracts have been signed with Irrigation Districts providing not only for the sale of water but the enforcement of the excess-land provisions of Reclamation law. Most encouraging of all is the growing public understanding of the issues. For each advance in public understanding has been a period of growth for the project.

The struggle is an old one. Much of American history is written in its terms. It is the struggle to maintain economic opportunity, the struggle against concentrations of power. It is the struggle against the proletarianization of rural society, the struggle to keep alive in one large and important segment of our economy that fondest of American dreams—free access to economic opportunity, the right to choose an occupation and progress in the chosen field and finally, and perhaps most important, the right to be one's own master, secure in the possession of a share of the nation's resources.

There is undoubtedly much that is sentimental in this dream. The great expanses of arable land that once nourished it are now well settled. The new frontiers are opened only with the aid of gigantic structures of steel and concrete, mammoth dams and vast networks of expensive canal. But it is a dream with power to compel. It has deep meaning for millions of war workers and veterans. And it is a dream to the fulfillment of which the Central Valley Project is pledged.

For further information on Central Valley, consult *History of Legislation and Policy Information of the Central Valley Project* by Mary Montgomery and Marion Clawson, recently published by the Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The Rise of Regionalism in The Mountain States

BY DR. MORRIS E. GARNSEY

Boulder, Colorado, September 21

THERE are many signs today of the rise of a new and significant regional spirit in the Mountain West. This new spirit is evinced by a rapidly growing literature and by scattered, tentative movements toward programs of action designed to facilitate the development of the West. The emphasis of the new spirit is economic rather than cultural. It is not characterized by a nostalgia for the good old days of bonanzas and cattle kings, but by a forward-looking insistence upon the need for the industrialization of the West. As a corollary to its program of industrial development the new regionalism is stirring uneasily under the bonds of Eastern absenteeism, and seekings ways to recapture control over its own economic destinies.

The first significant landmark in the rise of the new spirit was Joseph Kinsey Howard's important book, *Montana: High, Wide and Handsome.* Published in 1943 by the Yale University Press, it was widely reviewed and acclaimed. More important, it has set many Westerners to thinking—a necessary and inescapable prelude to intelligent action.

Howard's book underlined and abundantly illustrated two important facts about the Mountain States. First of all he showed that from the coming of the white man to the end of the '30's, Montana's history has been one long series of careless, reckless exploitations of its natural wealth and the misuse and waste of its abundant resources. The second fact is equally important and packed with significance for the future. In recent years, and particularly since 1933, Montana has been the scene of several successful experiments in the conservation and integrated development of natural resources. These experiments have shown that the range, the forests, and the croplands of the West can be used productively and over long periods without the need of waste and destruction. They have shown too that indigenous, cooperative action by Westerners is possible and promising.

The Westerner who reads this book cannot fail to recognize that Montana's history has been closely paralled in his own backyard and that recent events in Montana offer significant parallels for his own future.

In general, however, the emphasis in *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome* is historical, and although Mr. Howard has carried on his work in a series of notable articles it remained for another book to sound the new note in Western regional development. This is Mr. Wendell Berge's *Economic Freedom for the West,* published in May by the University of Nebraska Press.

Mr. Berge's purpose is clear. He urges upon the West in lucid argument the adoption of policies leading to its long-delayed industrialization. Mr. Berge sees a great future for the West. As a result of the war the West stands on the threshold of an era of industrial development of unprecedented proportions. Private enterprise has been stimulated and strengthened by prodigies of war production, and the region has been endowed with a capital equipment base of great potential value for the development of its resources. Whole industries in steel, aluminum, chemicals, and the processing of agricultural products have been created or greatly expanded. New techniques and new markets challenge the best in Western enterprise and Western capital, and hold the promise in the post-war era of a richer, better-balanced and more stable economy in the fifteen Western states.

Nevertheless, industrialization will be neither easy nor simple. By virtue of his position as Chief of the Anti-trust Division of the Department of Justice, Mr. Berge sees with particular clearness the obstacles raised by monopolies and cartels which threaten Western industrialization. From Nebraska to California the old perennial techniques are at work in full strength and vigor. The basing-point system threatens Western Steel. Price control devices endanger the stability of the aluminum industry. Patent control threatens to stifle the many new enterprises based on technological discoveries in chemicals and food processing; and towering above them all there looms the old regional freight-rate differential which discourages manufacturing in many directions. *Economic Freedom for the West* is noteworthy for the clear and concise way in which the effects on the West of these various monopolistic practices are analysed and assessed.

Mr. Berge's book also makes another important contribution. He is able to show his readers convincingly that Western prosperity is intimately related to American prosperity and to a healthy international economy. It is for this reason that the book is a truly valuable expression of the concept of regionalism. The philosophy of regionalism emphasizes the diversity of the various parts of our great nation, but it is no less insistent upon the essential unity of the whole and the necessity for the integrated and harmonious development of all of the parts. Mr. Berge recognizes this basic concept and in this his book is a bright contrast to the chauvinistic sectionalism so frequently encountered.

Two other 1946 books dealing with Western problems deserve notice: *If the Prospect Pleases—the West the Guidebooks Never Mention* by Ladd Haystead and *The*

DR. MORRIS E. GARNSEY, member of the faculty of the University of Colorado, is currently preparing a social-economic history of the mountain states.

Revolt of the South and Fest by A. G. Mezerik. Both recognize the major problems of the West and sense the growing unrest which is developing among Westerners.

Books such as these four are important evidences of the rise of a regional spirit in the West. Moreover, they serve to crystallize that spirit and to give it a firm theoretical and ideological basis. In consequence their significance should not be overlooked by liberal opinion in the United States.

Equally significant, perhaps, is the fact that Western politicians and other astute observers of Western life are aware of the trend toward regionalism and have found it worthwhile to associate themselves with the new movement. Among such observers none is keener than E. Palmer Hoyt, Editor of the Denver *Post;* and apparently he has set himself the extremely useful and interesting task of bringing to the people of the West the concept of a regional "Rocky Mountain Empire," and of informing them through the pages of the Denver *Post* of the problems and potentialities of their "Empire."

This is one of the most important aspects of the "Revolution in Denver" (*The Nation,* June 29, 1946) brought about by Hoyt's rejuvenation of the old Denver *Post.* It may well be that the new *Post* will serve the Mountain States as a nucleus for the development of a genuine regionalism. So far it has brought a great deal of information to a not-too-well-informed public. In recent months the *Post* has printed a series of articles on the TVA and a debate on the Missouri Valley Authority proposal between the former Colorado Governor, Ralph L. Carr and James A. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union. It has examined the threat of another Dust Bowl in the plains area of the West and has looked into Reclamation and Soil Conservation policies. Equally important it has opened its columns through a series of guest editorials to numerous Westerners, many of whom have discussed regional problems.

Noteworthy among the *Post's* guests are Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Governor Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming. The opinions of these two political leaders are worth quoting at some length because they express clearly the major themes of Western regionalism—the need for industrializiation, recognition of the artifical barriers to that goal and a demand for new programs of action to eliminate the obstacles and achieve the goal.

As Senator Chavez puts it:

> "We need in the west leadership of the type of Governor Arnall of Georgia. The organization of the southern states under his vigorous sponsorship and their concerted fight on the unfairness and inequity of the freight rates should make us ashamed that we in the west, who are penalized just as unfairly, have not provided leadership and organization to undertake a similar fight in our own behalf."
>
> "Public lands should be returned to the states, our immense natural resources should be developed and utilized by industries located within our own borders and close to these sources of supply. Products produced by these industries must reach the markets in other parts of the country without the penalizing burden of unjust freight rates."

Or listen to Governor Hunt:

> 'The strangle hold on industry by large corporations in a few states comprising a very small area in the east must be broken."
>
> "Producing, as we do in the west, over 70 per cent of the electric power, with most of the natural resources such as lumber, oil, and minerals and the greatest known deposits of coal in the nation, and producing a large portion of basic wealth—wool, cattle and wheat, it is ironic that we are content to furnish raw materials for eastern processing instead of producing the finished products ourselves here in the west. For all too long, values in taxes, labor and manufacturing have been allowed to go east when they rightfully belong to the west."
>
> "The west, with 21 per cent of the population, has been content with only 11 per cent of industry.—Manufacturing has become so concentrated in a few states in the east that an area comprising approximately 10 per cent of the United States boasts of over 70 per cent of the manufacturing of the entire country. Why this concentration? Could it be because eastern lobbies are closer to Washington and/or the ancient freight rate structure dividing the country into regions making region 1, the northeastern states, the favored region?"

At the same time Governor Hunt is not unaware of the essential unity of the United States. Like Berge, Mezerik, the historian Walter Prescott Webb and many others, his desire to see the West develop is not narrowly sectional.

> "This nation of ours will grow greater and greater, but to adequately fulfill its destiny, all sections must be developed. None can be neglected. There is no limit to our realization of tomorrow if we, the Rocky Mountain Empire States, work together, all for one and one for all, to bring and retain that development to which the west is justly entitled."

It is encouraging to see these expressions of opinion from two of the outstanding political leaders of the Mountain States. Such an enlightened attitude is rare in a group of congressmen and governors who on the whole are unimaginative, pedestrian and solidly conservative.

In the realm of ideas and opinions, then, there is evidence that the Mountain States are beginning to develop a regional consciousness comparable to that which has grown up in the South in recent decades. There also is evidence that these ideas are beginning to be translated into action, although, as might be expected, the implementation of the concept of regionalism has lagged behind the development of the concept itself.

By and large the idea of regional development has found its greatest support in the universities. At the

University of New Mexico, Professor J. Ortega has organized a development program centering upon the economic and social problems of the Spanish-American cultural group which is the important minority group in the Mountain States. The University of Wyoming has a Natural Resources Research Institute which is engaged in research for the utilization of Wyoming's varied resources. Professor J. R. Mahoney of the Bureau of Business Research at Utah has developed much of the basic research on the economics of the western steel industry; and Utah's new president, A. R. Olpin has come from the University of Ohio with a wide experience in industrial research which no doubt will be utilized effectively here in the West.

In Colorado the State Legislature two years ago appropriated $100,000 for industrial research in the universities of the state. The sum is ludicrously small in comparison with expenditures in the same field in neighboring states to the East but it is at least a beginning; and it has been put to good use in the laboratories of the University of Colorado and the other state schools. In Colorado, also, Denver University recently has received a grant from the Sloan Foundation for a study of the economic problems of under-developed regions with special reference to the Mountain States.

Up to now, however, the most effective regional program has been that of "The Montana Study," which is being carried on by the University of Montana under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Montana Study has been underway since September 1944. Its purpose is "to enrich the quality of living in the State of Montana." To achieve this purpose it has developed a program for bringing the intellectual stimulus of the university directly to the people of the state in their respective communities. This movement has led to extensive self-analysis by the typical Montana community; and self-analysis has led in most cases to programs of self-improvement. In several towns the economic base of the community has been analysed, often around the specific focus of providing jobs for returning veterans. The cultural and social resources of the community have been assessed; and as a result there has been an awakened interest in schools, libraries, drama societies and other forms of community life. In short, Montana is building an economic base and an indigenous culture capable of competing successfully with the more glittering attractions of the urban society beyond the borders of the state.

The evidence of regional thought and action observable in the Mountain States promises well for the future development of the region and the nation. Yet, at present, Rocky Mountain regionalism is still in the infant stage of growth. Many problems are yet to be solved. Regional organization is still embryonic and the problem of inter-regional relationships scarcely recognized. What, for example, is the relationship of the Mountain States to the larger West, and particularly to the three great states of the West Coast? This is a vital question, but so far little consideration has been given it by either the Mountain or Pacific States. Yet the Mountain States are drawn to the coast by the problems of a Western steel industry, by air transport and by a common interest in irrigation and public power. Obviously what we in the West need is a regional organization to give our common interests expression and our views unity and cohesion. We need a Western States Council, organized on a permanent basis, to carry on a continuing program of regional research and to formulate policies for Western development. Through its agency we could plan for the optimum use of our vast resources. Without it we shall miss many a golden opportunity.

Public Power in The Pacific Northwest

BY PAUL J. RAVER

Portland, September 15

THE Pacific Northwest's hardiest political perennial is the public power movement. The region's geography has made this inevitable. When new growth has supplanted the last stand of old growth timber and the last possible arable acre has been reclaimed, the Columbia river will still, in all probability, be the source of a continuing development of hydro power and power-using industry.

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Hydro power is a primary resource in the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and in western Montana. As with all major resources, it has become a bone of tremendous contention: Who'll develop it? Granted that its development will mean profits, who will get them?

There is not much doubt as to the final answer. The facts of public development, federal and local, speak for themselves. Even most old-time utility company managers will admit privately that, all things being equal, the risk capital required for full power development of an entire river, not to speak of multi-purpose projects such as those undertaken by the federal government, and the public advantage to be gained from non-profit operation, are beyond the scope and abilities

of a privately held monopoly. Public power is in the Pacific Northwest for keeps. The public power battle has been, rather, in terms of "how fast and how far?"

There are now about 50 city power operations in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and about 65 cooperatives. The first city system was organized in McMinnville, Oregon in 1889.

Although the public power movement in the northwest is more than 40 years old, the first several decades were in slow motion but the last 15 have seen rapidly increasing momentum.

The New Deal gave the movement great impetus. Global war slowed it down. Currently, the question is: Now that the war is over, will it pick up again or will a resurgent conservatism hold it in check for a while longer?

Regardless of the ultimate outcome, a slowdown in the march of public ownership means much to power company management. Specifically, it means two, five, ten or 15 years more of excess profits payable on common stocks. It means a better bargaining position and a higher price for inflated values if and when the time comes to sell out.

It means an opportunity to "cash in" on the tremendous potential profit in selling power still to be developed by the federal government in future dams on the Columbia river. Such advantages are worth fighting for. The utility companies have some of the best fighters in American business.

The battle is joined principally in the states of Oregon and Washington. Every local or national election and every session of the state legislatures is a skirmish ground. The initiative and referendum are employed by both sides.

Basic tools of public power in the two states are the two state public utility district (PUD) laws. These statutes permit the formation of utility districts, by a vote of the elctorate, as municipal corporations with powers of eminent domain.

Both laws were passed in the early thirties. The Washington law is more liberal, in that it permits Washington PUDs, once formed, to issue revenue bonds by vote of the three district commissioners, for the purpose of acquiring power distribution systems.

Under this law, 32 utility districts have been created in the state of Washington's 39 counties. Twenty-nine of these are countywide in extent.

But with the difficulties posed by condemnation suits, the intervention of war, and similar factors, 16 of the state's 29 PUDs so far have been unable to get into business after formation.

The Oregon PUD law is much less flexible than its Washington counterpart. A succession of conservative legislatures has restricted it until it is almost impossible for an Oregon PUD to organize or sell power. A case in point is that of the Union County, Oregon, PUD which worked out an agreement with a local power company for the purchase of its properties. Although there were a willing buyer and a willing seller, the stringency of the Oregon law made it easy for minority opponents to stop the sale.

In Oregon's 36 counties, there are only 12 PUDUs. Of these, only two thus far have managed to get into business. Four others have been absorbed by cooperatives organized by consumers in their service areas.

With all their shortcomings, however, the PUD laws, plus the growth of the cooperative movement, have resulted in tremendous advantages to Northwest power consumers during the past few years.

The formation of public utility districts and cooperatives reached a high point in the years just before the war—1939, 1940, and 1941. In this period practically all private power companies operating in Oregon and Washington made heavy and rapid rate reductions, apparently in an effort to stem the pressure on the part of the people for ownership of their own distribution agencies.

According to figures from records in the offices of the Oregon and Washington Utility Commissioners, in the period from 1935 to and including the first four months of 1946, company rate reductions to customers totaled $13,224,508. More than $7,000,000, or slightly over half of the ten year total reduction was made in the three years of most intense public power activity. Cumulatively these savings have thus far amounted to about $51,000,000 to company customers. Most of them can be laid to public ownership competition which, in turn, was facilitated by the anti-monopoly language of the Bonneville Act.

In spite of this rate war, lowest retail rates in the region are still found on the public power systems. These systems have methodically extended service to sparsely settled communities to which private operators had denied service.

The public power movement has also taken out of business most of the poorly financed and poorly equipped private utility operations.

The few remaining large operators still have the cream of the business, and are still fighting vigorously. Every PUD election is hotly contested. In some cases, four or five elections are held in a single county before the public utility group makes its cause stick. The war has given the private companies a "war chest" in profits to wage a strong newspaper, radio and door to door anti-public power campaign. Currently they are attempting a merger program to further consolidate financial and political strength.

An example, typical in many ways of this grass roots fight for public ownership, is that of Linn County in Oregon. Economically, Linn is a typical Northwest community—farms and forests are its bread and butter.

The Linn County public ownership committee has put a public utilities district proposal on the local ballot four times during the past 10 years. The first time it

was beaten 4,464 to 2,760. The second time it was defeated 3,863 to 3,008. On the third and fourth attempts, the last of which occurred in the May elections of this year, the margin decreased still further with a spread of less than 600 votes in each case.

On this last election, the Mountain States Power Company spent $13,929 or $4.42 for every vote cast in Linn County against public power. The public power people spent $3,206 or $1.30 for every vote cast for public power.

The farmers and business men on public power committees figure election campaigns are about the only way they have to educate the voters. As this is written the Linn County measure is scheduled to appear on the November ballot for a fifth time. They believe they should be able to beat the power company this time.

This year there are four such local public power elections on the November ballot already scheduled for the state of Oregon. Probably two or three more will appear before the ballots are closed.

In the state of Washington, the November public power fight is over Initiative No. 166, a "let the people vote" proposal which bears many hallmarks of power company origin. Initiative No. 166 would hedge the Washington PUD law in such a way that it would be very difficult for the commissioners of any PUD to acquire a power distribution system.

Without going into details, this Initiative might be broadly described as a measure which requires voter ratification on every major business move which might be undertaken by the directors of a public utility system. It would be as though the Congress were forced to submit every major bill it passes to a vote of the people. Nobody can run a business effectively on this basis, but the slogan "The The People Vote" sounds fair and democratic. Proponents of Initiative No. 166 have great hopes for it.

What the outcome of the November elections will show on this and the other public power proposals is one of the many puzzles of this politically puzzling year.

So much for the grass roots.

Now where does the federal government fit into this picture? The policy of Congress for a number of years has been toward the encouragement of public power in the Pacific Northwest through federal development of hydroelectric resources. There are many federal statutes, both organic and for appropriations, supporting this policy.

Legislation which affects the Northwest most vitally, and which has given the greatest single impetus to the public power movement, is the Bonneville Act, passed in 1937.

It provides that power generated at the Army's Bonneville dam, 40 miles from Portland on the Columbia river, shall be delivered to the Bonneville Administrator, an agent of the Department of the Interior, for sale at the lowest possible cost and over the widest possible area, in such a way as to prevent its monopoly by "limited groups," and in such a way as will particularly benefit rural and domestic consumers.

In order to carry out this purpose, the Bonneville Administrator is given a mandate to construct a transmission system to carry the power from its remote origins to market. The act further tells the Administrator that he is to sell power at wholesale to retail distributors, and that he must give publicly-owned distributors preference over privately-owned distributors.

Pursuant to that act, during the past seven years a large scale transmission system has been built, which carries about 2,000,000 horsepower from Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams to the consuming centers of the Northwest region.

The war and particularly preparation for it gave a tremendous boost to this federal portion of the public power program. Bonneville and Grand Coulee provided a munificent supply of electricity at very low cost—just at a period when most of the rest of the world could scarcely obtain power, let alone get it at a reasonable figure.

The light metals industry was a particular beneficiary of all this. Huge supplies of Columbia river power were delivered over the federal transmission system to new aluminum and other plants which supplied the raw metal for a third of the nation's planes and brought a spanking new basic industry to the Northwest.

But the war worked a hardship on the non-federal part of the public power program. The little power distributors, the PUDs, the municipal systems and the cooperatives, the "rural and domestic consumers" specifically blessed in the Bonneville Act could get no materials for the extension of their systems. Columbia River power, originally dedicated to the rural and domestic consumer and the small publicly-owned distributor, went instead into war ships, war planes and the large enterprise which produced them.

Mindful of the preference in the statute however, the federal government throughout the war made conscious provision for these small public agencies. No war industry was allowed to go without power. No utility was forced to "short" its war customers. But the Bonneville Administration refused to sign long-term contracts with any private utility company. Demand was made, time after time, for five, ten or twenty-year power contracts, but the Administration refused to execute such contracts unless the companies on their side agreed to keep the channels of public ownership open and pass on to the consumers the benefits of low cost hydro power made available to them. None of the companies would sign contracts containing effective provisions to make this possible. They have preferred to make a political fight against the federal transmission line program in the hope that the grass roots public power movement would be killed thereby.

As a result the companies got power on a day-to-day

understanding only, but sufficient for their needs. They are still operating on such a basis without long term contracts.

When the war was over, Bonneville's heavy industrial power load was cut back for a few months. Government-owned light metals plants, the heaviest users, were shut down until they could be disposed of to new operators. This meant a temporary surplus of power supply at Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams.

By mid-summer of 1946, however, the defense plants began re-opening. As this is written, in September, the surplus at the two dams has all but disappeared and customers now in sight and under contract threaten to wipe it out entirely within a year and create what may amount to a severe shortage.

Just how serious this shortage of federal power will be depends pretty largely on a number of factors: new demands now unforseen; next season's precipitation; the extent to which oil burning generator plants can be operated (the Northwest has no local supply of oil).

Such a shortage will, of course, be bad for the region. Without adequate power supplies the Northwest's current industrial boom may be seriously slowed.

More particularly, the shortage will work a hardship on the private power companies. Under the Bonneville statute, the publicly-owned agencies have first chance at whatever power is available. The law makes them preferred customers. The large power-using industries, with which the Bonneville Administration has direct supply contracts on a long-term basis, will have the second preference.

The power companies, which have no long-term contracts, and which now get their supplies on a day-to-day basis only, are at the bottom of the list. If there is not enough federal power to go around, the power companies must run their own less economical standby steam generating plants and perhaps even add to their generating capacity with new construction.

The importance of the region's federal power supply, as distinct from privately generated power, is significant. Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams, through the Bonneville Power Administration, furnish roughly half of the power produced and used in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and western Montana. There is hardly a power company or other utility which does not depend in considerable measure upon the federal system. A few utilities can carry their own consumer load in a pinch; but to do so requires burning expensive oil or coal or scarce wood chips. During the war years they have come to depend, as a matter of course, upon hydro power from the two big federal dams. Like it or not, the Bonneville Administration has become, by common consent and sheer force of fact, the power supplier for the region.

It is apparent that from here on, for the federal government, there will be no escaping this responsibility. Even the largest private enterprise must think several times before it takes on the risk of constructing hydro dams at $100,000,000 or better apiece, or major transmission lines at four or five million dollars apiece.

Although the power companies in the early days often objected to construction of new dams as "subsidized power," they have less objection to the subsidy if they are the beneficiaries. Any utility, public or private, likes a large, dependable source of cheap electricity which can be had without grief or capital investment on its part.

This thrusting of responsibility for the region's supply upon the Bonneville administration makes any shortage of federal power—any delay in the construction of supply facilities by the Congress or the Administration—a serious matter.

It is worth repeating that a power shortage is a bad thing for the entire region—for development, industry, business, employment. The point to be made here is that it will be particularly bad for the utility companies.

All these factors are well recognized on both sides of the public power battlefield. They will add to the bitterness of the fight at the polls in November.

Meantime, ceretain aspects of the public power movement have attracted wide attention in neighboring western states. California has shown great interest in the number of industries attracted to her northern neighbors by low-cost power. The development of Shasta dam in the Central Valley Project has pointed up the public power issue there. Without a liberal statute, such as the Bonneville Act, there appears to be a poorer chance in the Central Valley for the type of low-cost power development which has meant so much in the Pacific Northwest. The huge private utility monopoly which dominates central and northern California, has, with considerable success, fought off the construction by the federal government of transmission lines which would assure delivery of Shasta power to California markets on a non-profit basis.

In spit of these factors, the Bonneville-Grand Coulee Development cannot help but have considerable bearing upon California's economic situation.

Both the Bureau of Reclamation, which operates the Central Valley project, and the Bonneville Administration are aware of numerous possible advantages to be served by a high capacity interconnection between the Columbia river system and the federal power supply at Shasta Dam.

On a long term basis, and regardless of local community rivalries, there is no question but that the economics of the Pacific Northwest and California are one and the same—the economics of the newer, relatively immature western coastal region which needs a broader industrialized economic base—economic opportunities to utilize its vast resources and provide full employment for its growing population.

Bonneville's research engineers have determined it is economically feasible to increase the transmission range

of central station power from around 300 miles to around 500 miles. This would make it possible to send Bonneville and Grand Coulee power into northern California—a distinct advantage for both regions. The benefits of seasonal diversity thus obtained through interconnection would mean augmentation of northern California's inadequate power supply at a cost of only a small portion of the bountiful Pacific Northwest hydro resource which in turn would be firmed up at its transmission extremities by new southerly capacity.

A further point to be considered with the relationship between the states is the fact that river basins do not recognize state lines. The Klamath river basin in southern Oregon drains into the Pacific in California; yet, the people who live in the Klamath basin are more susceptible to benefit by Columbia river power than by Shasta power. Incidentally, the Klamath basin has important power prospects of its own to develop, which ultimately may provide a further linking of Pacific northwest and California power resources.

It is too soon to evaluate the full significance of these factors, but both California and Northwestern business leaders and government executives know they must be reckoned with before long.

The states of Idaho and Montana also have been eying the Columbia river development with steadily growing interest.

Western Montana, for many years, fought for approval of the Hungry Horse dam on the south fork of the Flathead river. As an isolated projejct, it was repeatedly termed as financially infeasible. But three years ago it became apparent that if Hungry Horse power were integrated with the Bonneville-Grand Coulee transmission system it could be made to pay out by providing much needed up-stream storage while assuring substantial down-stream power plant backing for broadening the transmission system into western Montana and in the Pacific northwest as a whole. This story was made to stick with the national administration in 1945, with the result that Hungry Horse dam is now authorized and has an appropriation for beginning construction. The Bonneville Administration has been made the marketing agent for Hungry Horse hydro power.

Other dams have also been authorized as the result of the early success of the Columbia river public power program. Preliminary work has already begun on McNary dam, on the main stem of the Columbia above Bonneville. Foster Creek dam, some distance downstream from Grand Coulee, also has been authorized. The Bonneville administration has been made the power marketing agent for these projects. In Idaho, four dams on the Snake river, the Columbia's principal tributary, also have been approved by the Congress, and the Bonneville administration has been made the marketing agent for power developed at these projejcts, as well as those to be developed in the great upper Snake basin.

Support for the expansion of this basin-wide development has come from many conservatives who, while distrusting "social planners" have been fascinated and convinced by the array of "banker facts," which shows that the program "pays out" in the best traditional business sense.

One key to the financial feasibility of such enormous undertakings on the part of the federal government is revealed in the payout formula developed for the Columbia basin project, the Bonneville project and the Bonneville Power Administration. A study made last year, based upon cost allocation reports for each of the projects and upon an independent commercial audit of the accounts of the Bonneville Power Administration, demonstrates conclusively that not only will the reimbursable portion of the entire investment be returned to the government within a prescribed fifty year period, but that the present "postage-stamp" wholesale rate of $17.50 per kilowatt year is fully adequate to meet all obligations.

The $17.50 rate (effective in all parts of the region), it was shown, will cover, with interest, all operation and maintenance expenses and reimbursable construction costs, including replacements, allocated to power. Construction costs allocated to irrigation will be returned within 50 years after water is first made available to each block of land in the Columbia basin project.

Revenues from the sale of Bonneville and Grand Coulee power by the power administration under existing regulations are required to repay (1) nearly $59,000,000 of the estimated completed cost of approximately $86,000,000 for Bonneville dam, (2) all of the cost of the Bonneville-Grand Coulee transmission system, representing a current investment of more than $83,000,000 and an estimated completed investment of $168,332,747 and (3) $382,547,068 of the $596,459,180 estimated ultimate cost of the Columbia Basin project. The Columbia Basin project amount of $382,547,068 includes $228,404,676 of irrigation costs to be repaid by power revenues and $35,519,577 for river regulation benefits to future downstream hydroelectric plants.

The Administration's power revenues of an estimated $1,863,000,000 over the repayment period will provide 93.07 per cent of the total funds required to repay reimbursable construction costs and operating costs, in-

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cluding interest and a reasonable margin of $160,000,000 for contingencies, on the Columbia river basin program embracing Bonneville dam, Grand Coulee dam and irrigation works and the transmission system.

The proposed billion dollar construction program by the Federal government spells the permanency of public power in the Northwest region. It provides a basic impetus to the public distribution of electricity in the grass roots communities.

The pace at which this last step in public ownership will travel, and the extent to which private utility operation survives, depends wholly upon the people themselves, on their awareness of their great stake in regional resource development, in their economic and political perspective and on their interest and their action at the polls.

Race Relations on The West Coast

BY LAURENCE I. HEWES, JR.

San Francisco, September 21

A FEW weeks ago in Vancouver, British Columbia, I participated at a Workshop on Interracial Problems, held under the joint auspices of the University of British Columbia and the Institute of Interracial Friendship of Vancouver. There, over one hundred Vancouver citizens, white and colored, from all kinds of professions and occupations, were at work on the task of raising the level of relations between the white population of British Columbia and its Chinese, Japanese, Negro, and native Indian population.

My trip to British Columbia from San Francisco began the day after a report was completed on some of the minority group problems in San Diego, California, principally those arising between whites and Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese residents. Interwoven with this work were consultations and conferences with volunteer citizen groups in Los Angeles concerning housing for returning evacuees of Japanese ancestry and discussions with similar groups in San Francisco about two California general election proposals affecting minorities. Also at hand as part of the current day's work was a referral from a citizen interracial group at Spokane, requesting advice about general organizational problems. In addition, there were requests for aid from other Northwest communities, varying from invitations to speak, to questions on how to prepare and carry through an FEPC campaign. In addition, groups in Seattle and Oakland were negotiating for the conduct of an in-service training program on race relations for police officers. Meanwhile, time had to be found to help prepare and present a course of discussion on minority group relations for five hundred college students from California, Nevada, and Hawaii, at the Pacific Southwest Area YMCA-YWCA Conference at Asilomar, California. Thus, it is not hard to see that the awareness of the regional race relations interests and activities of the Pacific Coast is a natural result of my day's work.

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I feel that the causes for this intensive activity can only in part be considered as a Canadian, a North American, or even a Northern and Western trend toward a change in older patterns of race relations. In its drive and vigor the movement reflects influences peculiar to the Pacific Coast. In a larger sense, of course, the Pacific Coast interest in race relations has its roots deep in American tradition, and possibly the chief differences with other sections are of degree rather than of kind. Yet, there are real distinctions between the characteristic problems here and those of the East, South, and Midwest. For example, in addition to problems of Negro-white relations and of anti-Semitism, which are found throughout the country, there are on the Pacific Coast very specific issues affecting Japanese, Chinese, Armenians, Filipinos, native Indians, and Mexicans.

It is too soon to predict—awareness of chaotic conditions in national and international affairs and a drift toward reaction everywhere, plus native caution, preclude it—that under favorable conditions the entire Pacific Coast, from British Columbia to Mexico, an area two thousand miles long, with a population of over twelve million people, could achieve an integrated, regional program for racial justice, based on voluntary citizen effort. Nevertheless, there does exist today in Oregon, California, Washington, and British Columbia, the makings of such a program.

Partly this movement is only a manifestation of an underlying feeling of regional solidarity, which probably results from geographical location and a sense of separation from the Eastern portions of this continent. In other words, we feel that we cannot depend on New York or Chicago stimuli for social action. We have to generate our own impulses.

Of course too, we generate a good many native race baiters. In this respect, it is fortunate that we are not a very subtle people. We have not yet completely learned

the arts of indirection and dissimulation. So, in a way, the race baiters among us on the West Coast, as the war came near, helped the development of an aggressive and militant program for improving race relations by "declaring themselves." Their program of race hatred was never cleverly disguised—the leaders, by their acts and statements, made the issue clear. Perhaps it had never occurred to them that the white supremacy doctrine had any important opposition. At any rate, they gave fair warning and an opportunity to plan and execute resistance. Their proposals were so irresponsible and extreme as to terrify and alienate some people, and to stimulate others into seeking means to defeat them. Frankly, many of us were frightened when we found that many fellow citizens sincerely identified "Americanism" and "democracy" with white supremacy and keeping weaker people "in their place." We were shocked to learn that in this concept, whites who held different views were promptly discounted as "nigger lovers," "Jap lovers," and Communists, even by some responsible union, business, and community leaders. The contribution of Carey McWilliams in clearly delineating and analyzing this aspect of our Pacific Coast culture was of great service to many of us. He showed us why and how these negative attitudes developed and gave us clues for counteraction.

These race baiting groups, to which we had paid so little heed, took the opportunity presented by Pearl Harbor to unite in persecuting the West Coast Japanese. We reaped the evil harvest of our negligence in the spring and summer of 1942. In frozen silence and in numb unbelief, we saw over 100,000 of our fellow residents hauled off under military guard to detention camps for the duration, solely because of their color and ancestry. Almost simultaneously (August, 1942) a group of young Mexican boys in Los Angeles were outrageously mistreated by law enforcement officers and later railroaded to prison under charges of murder. The violent racial bias of the police, and even members of our judiciary, overrode a professional sense of responsibility and respect for democratic tradition. A ranking member of the Southern California law enforcement force went so far as to publish a rationalization of anti-Mexican prejudice as a pseudo-official document. Again, in June, 1943, we witnessed the spectacle of several days of rioting in Los Angeles in which the police and some of the daily press gave at least tacit approval to the manhandling of young Mexican "zoot suiters." We were advised, at about the same time, of police brutality against young Mexicans and Negroes in San Diego.

Along with these events was the shaping up of the entire West Coast as a vast war industrial and military area. New relations and new social patterns literally swamped, by their speed and the impact of the human mass, local social relations, and even the pattern of municipal government, in community after community. Villages of 1500 became towns of 15,000, and in some places, where 15,000 people had lived, 40,000 attempted to reside. Workers from all over the country came to man war industries. Among them were Negroes.

Negroes before the war, except for a group of less than 50,000 in Los Angeles, were represented by very small groups in Pacific Coast cities. Less than five thousand Negroes lived in San Francisco, and Portland had about 1800. The San Francisco Negro population had jumped, by 1943, to above 18,000. Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Oakland, and other communities experienced similar increases. Naturally social friction and a rising racial tension marked these changes. More conservative whites discussed the introduction of Southern, segregated institutions, while more liberal groups favored an opportunity to provide the country with a demonstration of new and more equitable patterns of Negro-white relations in American communities.

It should be noted that within the newcomer group were able and sophisticated Negro spokesmen. For the first time, the colored minority groups of the West Coast had spokesmen who clearly envisaged the problem of racial discrimination and were able to express their ideas in speech and writing without a language handicap. It is to their credit that they did not confine their interest to Negroes alone, but in a sense became spokesmen and advocates for the entire colored, minority group.

But these events might have remained as local community changes had it not been for the regionalizing influence of elements of the West Coast labor movement, chiefly the CIO. This organization's favorable policy toward interracial solidarity was in contrast to the white supremacy doctrine which many segments of Pacific Coast organized labor have upheld since 1870. In the more skilled trades, particularly the metal trades of the AFL, an exclusionist policy toward minority groups had been traditional. The CIO completely reversed this policy and vigorously maintained the right to work regardless of race, creed, or color. This national policy was transmitted with unusual effectiveness from San Diego Bay to Vancouver Harbor. While undoubtedly good business for the CIO, this was also important in developing a regional interchange, among labor and liberal groups, of experience and methods for improving minority-majority group relations. In any analysis of the present regional tempo of race relations work, the war and post-war efforts of the CIO and some AFL units on the Pacific Coast in behalf of racial solidarity should be ranked as important influences.

To the influences making for a regional structure should be added the work of the regional staff of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Labor unions, race relations groups, military officials, and employers were all affected by the work of this agency. In the case of the larger war plants with units scattered widely on the Coast, the public FEPC hearings involved several communities on the Coast. Thus, one hearing re-

cited incidents of racial discrimination and community action covering a number of other communities. For example, the two Kaiser Company hearings in Portland, Oregon, in November, 1943, and October, 1944, also concerned shipyards at Richmond, California, and Los Angeles. The International Association of Boilermakers held contracts at the same places. In addition, several regional policies of the Federal Government were involved. Consequently, the public at Portland, while sitting in on a discussion of Portland incidents, were also exposed to a recital of similar situations elsewhere on the Coast.

A recapitulation of the specific West Coast influences which might in part explain the regional interconnectedness of the efforts in behalf of tolerance and justice for minority groups would include (1) generally held feelings of regional solidarity, (2) a reaction against Axis racist propaganda and local race baiting, (3) shame and guilt over the Japanese evacuation, (4) reaction to the anti-Mexican excesses of the police, the judiciary, and the press of Southern California in connection with the Sleepy Lagoon murder case and the "zoot suit" incidents, (5) the impact of a region-wide war industrial expansion and the in-migration of large numbers of Negroes, (6) the region-wide efforts of the CIO in behalf of equal treatment on the job regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, and (7) the work of the West Coast Regional Staff of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. All these directly and indirectly tended to create a common, regional impulse among progressive people to raise the level of minority-majority group intercourse.

It might be said that this impulse was the incidental and fortuitous result of a combination of factors. It might have "just happened that way" out here on the Coast. Hence, the story would not be complete without a discussion of the planned and directed work of groups and agencies deliberately seeking to create the instrument of organization for the promotion of a better pattern of human relations.

Organization

If we distinguish between racial organizations and interracial organizations, then the organized interracial activities of the Pacific Coast and the public interest in it were at a low ebb in 1942. Some work of an intercultural and interracial character was carried on, particularly among religious groups and social welfare agencies. A similar situation was even more true of the San Francisco International Institute. The American Friends Service Committee was active in this field in several communities. The Pacific Coast branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People carried on work in all the principal communities, but due to the failure of white participation, a good deal of their work was of a strictly racial character. Racial welfare work was carried on among Negroes by Urban League branches in Los Angeles and Seattle. The Japanese American Citizens League had branches throughout California and the Northwest, which disappeared at the time of the Japanese evacuation. Filipino and Chinese organizations were almost exclusively confined to their own people. The Mexican group had practically no organizations whatever, although some efforts were made to achieve this by the Southern California Council on Inter-American Affairs, and in 1942, an organization called the Mexican American Movement was created in Los Angeles.

Beginning late in 1943, startling changes occurred. Voluntary citizens groups sprang up in a number of large communities. The San Francisco Bay Area created a Bay Area Council Against Discrimination. Early in 1944, official committees on race relations began to be appointed by mayors and boards of supervisors in Seattle, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, San Francisco, Oakland, San Diego, and Fresno. In Los Angeles and San Francisco, Councils for Civic Unity, composed of interested groups and citizens, were established. Urban League chapters were established in Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco in 1945. A list of a few other representative cities and towns in the region where citizen groups have joined in this work should include both Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia; Vancouver, Tacoma, and Spokane, Washington; Santa Rosa, Berkeley, Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, Monterey, Long Beach, San Bernardino, Santa Ana, San Diego, Riverside, and Pasadena in California. The year 1945 saw the development of a mass organization—the Los Angeles Mobilization for Democracy—which conducted a militant program of agitation against Gerald L. K. Smith and assisted in conducting a successful recall election against a City Council member who publicly espoused the Smith cause.

The universities and colleges of the area have provided workshops, institutes, and group discussion facilities on race relations, in conjunction with such professional groups as the Bureau for Intercultural Education and the American Council on Education. These have been held in 1944, 1945, and 1946, at the University of California, Stanford University, and Mills College, among others. San Francisco and Portland volunteer groups have initiated and helped to produce valuable, published, research materials: (1) *The Negro War Worker in San Francisco,* with a research staff under the direction of Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, (2) *The Negro in Portland,* by a committee of the Portland City Club. The public school systems of Portland, Los Angeles, and San Diego have been stimulated to introduce intercultural training for both teachers and pupils.

Along with these organization developments are several related events significant of the region's general attitude. After a long fight, the Supreme Court of California forbade the establishment of discriminatory Jim Crow locals by trade unions in the James vs. Marinship Case (January, 1945). Again, in the fall of 1944, the California Appellate Court reversed the conviction of twelve Mex-

ican American youths found "guilty" of murder in the Sleepy Lagoon case, but only after they had spent long months in prison. Both these events were preceded by much public discussion and agitation. In San Diego, over vigorous opposition, a qualified Negro was appointed to teach school in a predominantly white neighborhood. The ubiquitous real estate restrictive covenant has been widely condemned. With wide citizen support, successful resistance by colored property owners to restrictive covenant litigation has been accomplished in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Liberal government officials have achieved a degree of non-segregation in public housing, notably in Seattle, Berkeley (California), and Los Angeles, although citizen pressure has failed to bring housing officials to this policy in other localities, notably in San Francisco and Portland. Active campaigns have been conducted, and with considerable success, against "White trade only" practices by storekeepers, restaurants, soda fountains, and bars. On several occasions, metropolitan police officials have had to make lengthy explanations of their actions when colored offenders have been unfairly or brutally treated. Nevertheless, in some communities, police injustice and brutality to minority group members still continues. The dilatory tactics of courts and police officials in several cases of outrage against persons of Japanese ancestry in 1945 were brought to official notice by citizen groups, and remedial action was had in some instances.

Today public officials on the Pacific Coast, except in the smaller rural communities, cannot hope to escape challenge if a suspicion of racial bias colors their official acts or statements. This contrasts distinctly with much of the earlier history of our region. Several school officials have recently been so challenged in efforts to create or to operate segregated public schools. The same challenge has been encountered by editors of important metropolitan journals. Some have adopted a more progressive editorial policy; others have taken the opposite tack.

Political developments have had an important bearing on race relations on the West Coast. These include the presentation of State Fair Employment Practice Legislation to the Legislatures of Oregon, Washington, and California. These measures were defeated, but only after a thorough airing of the issues. Again, efforts were made during 1945 in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to obtain passage of a Fair Employment Practice city ordinance. These were defeated. Again, in each of the three Western states, the issue of the racial attitude of the candidates for election has been raised, notably in the 1944 and 1946 campaigns and in several instances with good effect.

Insistence by citizen groups on the importance of sound government racial policies has met ready response from a considerable number of public figures. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and Attorney General Robert Kenny of California have met the challenge of race baiters in public statements and official acts. Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas of Los Angeles recently named a Negro as a candidate for appointment to West Point. Also, at her own expense, she distributed a splendid statement analyzing the work of minority groups in the armed forces during the war. Representative Hugh DeLacy of Seattle has made repeated efforts and statements in favor of racial justice. Several other political leaders and elected officials have good records in this respect. They have received commendation and valuable support for this policy.

Regional Planning

The recital of these events, even in conjunction with a description of underying regionalizing influences, lacks completeness as an explanation of the developing regional awareness of race problems. These, in part, have also been the result of deliberate planning.

Among efforts to create solid regional opinion favorable to minority groups was the outstanding work of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, formed in January, 1943, in San Francisco, to disseminate on the West Coast factual information about the Japanese, who had been evacuated from the Pacific Coast. This voluntary organization recruited its membership, solicited its sponsorship, and distributed its literature widely throughout Oregon, Washington, and California. Its leaders visited major communities as spokesmen for tolerance and understanding of the former Japanese residents. Local organizations, affiliated with the regional organization, were created. Other groups soon found their efforts and effectiveness was reinforced by the maintenance of this affiliation. In the fall of 1944 and the spring of 1945, these efforts were aided by a specific organizing drive in the smaller communities of California. This was conducted jointly by the Pacific Coast Fair Play Committee and the American Council on Race Relations. New chapters were created, and a considerable framework of organization resulted. These groups did yeomen work in defending the returning Japanese against race-baiting outrages and hostile local authorities.

Since the Fair Play Committee had only limited objectives—those of preparing the Pacific Coast for the return of the Japanese at the end of war—its existence terminated on December 31, 1945. It had demonstrated that the work of community groups could be greatly strengthened if the services of a central clearing house nature were available. Many local organizations, particularly in their initial stages, needed encouragement and advice at the regional level.

Another agency, the American Council on Race Relations, opened a Pacific Coast Regional office at San Francisco in March, 1944. Its purpose was to provide communities, citizen groups, and govenment agencies on the Coast with a technical and professional consulting service in all kinds of racial matters. It also proposed to develop a Pacific Coast Clearing House for community organizations with similar interests in interracial problems.

In view of parallel interests, the Fair Play Committee

and the American Council on Race Relations cooperated in plans for a successor organization to the Fair Play Committee. The new organization was to be broadened to include all types of interracial and intercultural relations. Consultations were held with many local community organizations. Finally, in February, 1946, at Fresno, The California Council for Civic Unity was created. Later incorporated under California law, this state-wide, interracial organization was established by and for citizen groups in communities all over California. The CCU now serves about fifty groups in all the major communities of the state and in many of its smaller cities and towns. The member groups cooperate in maintaining the state organization and receive service from it. An important function is the exchange of information about techniques and methods. While The California Council for Civic Unity confines its work to California, the work of the American Council on Race Relations extends throughout the region. A large amount of its work is likewise of a clearing house nature, including advice on techniques, informational materials, and personal consultation.

An example of this work was the development of techniques for training law enforcement officers in race relations. This field was first subjected to research investigation in a project carried on jointly at Chicago by the American Council on Race Relations and The International City Managers Association in 1944. Subsequently, in 1945, the American Council on Race Relations was invited by the City of Richmond, California, to conduct a race relations training program for its police officers. Such a program was carried on in September, 1945. Out of this experience, the American Council, in cooperation with Attorney General Kenny of California, proposed a training manual for police officers. From this developed an official publication of the California Department of Justice, *A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers,* published in the spring of 1946. Based on this experience and material, the American Council on Race Relations has undertaken a national program of police training.

There is now no reason for any law enforcement agency to resort, through ignorance, to the old-fashioned, brutal methods of dealing with minority groups. Furthermore, the constituent citizen groups in communities throughout the Pacific Coast—members of The California Council for Civic Unity and of the Pacific Coast Clearing House of the American Council on Race Relations—are prepared to make, and have made, suggestions to law enforcement groups as to specific methods of handling minority-majority group problems.

All our experience is so recent, so untried, and so tentative in many respects that we cannot yet say this region is a happy or secure place for minority groups to live. Part of the challenge of our life here is that social patterns are not fixed. No one group has achieved full control, nor has any group yet accepted a socially inferior position. Change and transition are the constant social factors.

The liberal forces of California have succeeded, after two defeats at the hands of an ineffective State Legislature, in placing the issue of Fair Employment Practice squarely before the voters on the November, 1946, general election ballot. This was achieved by obtaining nearly 300,000 signatures on a state-wide initiative petition, by volunteer workers.

The voters of California at last will have the opportunity of expressing themselves on a crucial issue involving minority groups. After this decision has been reached, it will perhaps be possible to forecast modestly the outlines of race relations on the Pacific Coast and to form a still tentative judgment of the more permanent value of the foregoing activities and organizations.

Population and Politics in California

BY VARDEN FULLER

San Francisco, September 21

FOR every three Democrats in California there are only two Republicans. But in the June primaries, California Democrats nominated as their gubernatorial candidate not Robert W. Kenny, the party's choice and a registered Democrat, but Earl Warren, the Republican national keynoter for 1944. Having cross-filed and won the nomination on both major party tickets, incumbent Warren is assured of election for his second term. How did this happen? Do Democrats characteristically vote Republican in California?

The question is larger than the 1946 primaries for the governorship. It is part of a bigger question—a question of control over state politics, control of one of the largest Congressional delegations, and state and local legislation of far-reaching significance.

A Shifting Political Structure

California was not always Democratic. In 1924 and 1928, when there were approximately two million reg-

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istered voters in California, roughly two-thirds were Republicans. Between 1928 and 1932 the Republican party lost in margin of registration but still held slightly over half of the total in 1932. By 1936 the Democrats had gained the majority and held 58% of the total registration. Since 1936 the picture has remained one of a clear-cut Democratic majority in which the Democratic and Republican registrations have remained approximately in the ratio of three to two. Minor parties in California have never held any signicant proportion of the total registration and the proportion of voters declining to state a party affiliation has also been relatively small. The issue of control is therefore clearly between the two major parties.

In more complete detail the proportional structure of political party affiliation in California is as follows (percentage of total registered voters) :

Year	*Democratic*	*Republican*	*Minor Parties*	*Declining to state*
1924	22	65	2.5	10.5
1928	25.5	67.5	1.5	5.5
1932	40	54	1	5
1936	58	38	.5	3.5
1940	60	36	1	3
1944	58.5	37.5	.5	3.5
1946	58	37	.5	4.5

This remarkable shift from a Republican to a Democratic majority is the more striking when looked at in another way. Between 1924 and 1944 (while the population of California approximately doubled), Republican registration increased only about 30% while Democratic registration increased by six times. Such a spectacular shift in political affiliation cannot, of course, be attributed to a change in attitude on the part of a stabilized citizenry. Rather, this shift is closely correlated with the rapid growth of the California population and its changing composition and characteristics.

The Population Growth and Its Sources

California has always had a dynamic population. It is a population to which ideas and attitudes, some homogenous, some conflicting, have been added by newcomers migrating into the state. The political response of such a population is inevitably different from that of a stable population in which political preconceptions, ideas, and loyalties are handed from father to son. As result of its rapid growth, California has risen from the twenty-first most populous state in 1900 to eighth in 1920, fifth in 1940, and third today As indicated by the following figures, the number of people in California doubled between 1900 and 1920 and doubled again between 1920 and 1940.

Year	*Population (In millions)*
1900	1.5
1910	2.4
1920	3.4
1930	5.7
1940	6.9
1945*	8.8

*Excluding armed forces overseas.

This rapid growth in population has meant that in each presidential election somewhere between one-tenth and one-third of the participating voters were voting in California for the first time.

In each decade since 1900 only 15% of the population growth has been attributable to the excess of births over deaths; the principal source of population growth which accounts for approximately 85% is migration into the state. Back in the 1870's, New York was the principal state from which California's migrants came; thereafter, until 1930, the center of origin shifted to Illinois and surrounding states. Since 1930 the center of origin of migration to California has shifted southward and westward. Oklahoma contributed more people to California during the '30's than did any other state. The southwest area, extending from Missouri through Texas and including Oklahoma, has continued through the war period to supply the major portion of the migration to California.

Notwithstanding the popular concept of California as being a place of retirement, young adults, particularly those in their twenties and thirties, have always been numerically much more important. During the war it was the able-bodied young worker who was most able to pick up and move to a war job in California. Likewise the depression and drought refugee migration of the '30's brought with it largely the young who were mobile and adaptable. Since the war, migration to California has continued and it is apparently made up, to a very large extent, of ex-service men who are attracted to the state because of favorable experiences during their military service.

Migrants to California have always settled principally in the urban areas. This was particularly true of its wartime population growth. California is now one of the most urban states in the nation.

Migration and Political Affiliation

It can scarcely be questioned that the drastically changed balance of power between the two major parties is peculiarly and directly related to rapid growth through migration. This was recognized by the Chamber of Commerce in 1938. In its publication, "California, Magazine of the Pacific" appeared an article entitled "Migrants Are Becoming Voters—And What Will They Vote For? More Relief, More Pensions." The article concludes: " 'Looks to me,' said a valley business man, 'as if someone, somewhere, was packing our relief rolls and our voting lists with white trash. Most of them come from safely Democratic states; in spite of the summer's regis-

tration, California is still to be classed as doubtful. Add two and two under those conditions and you don't get merely four—you get 1940.' " An earlier article had concluded: "for before long the newcomers will be voters in this state—voters with perhaps a balance of power for even more relief than they can get today. That's something to think about.' "

The increase in number of people would in itself probably have caused a considerable re-grouping of political strength, but the origin and characteristics of the migrants have intensified the changes that might have otherwise occurred through population growth alone. A rapid increase in population means, first of all, that political leaders must be alert to recruit new support at each election. The origin of California's migrants, particularly during the past decade, is traditionally Democratic territory. The change in ratios of Democratic and Republican registration indicates that these migrants continue to register in the name of their traditional party. The challenging question is why, after having traditionally registered, the political behavior of these new citizens becomes so untraditional.

These Democratic newcomers are not necessarily thorough-going liberals. They were overwhelmingly behind Roosevelt and his efforts and programs to aid the common man and they will support any program which they can understand and which promises aid to common people. Certainly their ideals and objectives are not the same as those of the Republican party leadership in California. Regardless of recent political behavior, this group unquestionably constitutes a large mass of embryonic or potential liberals.

For many years prior to 1938, California had Republican governors, largely Republican Congressional delegations, and was sometime found in the Republican column at presidential elections. The Republicans to a very large degree were able to utilize successfully their own majority in party affiliation. In contrast to this, the recent years of a pronounced Democratic majority have been years of political confusion and irregularity.

With so marked a majority in Democratic registration, it is clear that in any state-wide election no Republican could be elected to office solely on his own ticket; any Republican elected to office in a state-wide election has to be elected by Democrats. By what means do California Republicans persuade Democrats to elect Republicans?

Disenfranchisement by Confusion

When such a large proportion of the voters participating in any major election are new voters, the opportunities for developing fixed relations, alliances, and machines should be considerably less than in a stable population where the only new voters are those who come of age. The advantage of incumbency should therefore be at a minimum in California. This should be true not only because political affiliations built up in one campaign cannot carry through to the newly arrived contingent voting in a succeeding election, but also because "standing on one's record" should be unpersuasive to a voter who has lived in Oklahoma, Missouri, or Illinois while most of the "record" was made. But in California, as elsewhere, incumbents usually stand on their records, and challengers, lacking the skill or imagination to draw incumbents into constructive analyses of the real problems of today and tomorrow, also campaign largely on the incumbent's record. The newly arrived voter, finding in campaigns based upon the past little that is real or vital to him, is confused and will be inclined to refrain from voting or will vote indifferently.

The above discussion may seem to offer the conclusion that new voters, not being offered a realistic and informed choice either of candidates or platform, will manifest their confusion or indifference by merely voting traditionally. If such were the case the Democrats would have a very substantial advantage. But the political structure or California is well equipped to take care of any such possibility. This is done by means of a keen-edged tool of confusion. And that is cross-filing in primary elections. Cross-filing and its claimed advantages and unsuspected results could well be the subject of an informed analysis; however, here we shall have to be content merely to note that by means of this political technique such confusions are made possible as occurred in June when Earl Warren, Republican keynoter of 1944, appeared at the top of the Democratic primary ballot designated merely EARL WARREN, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA. ROBERT W. KENNY, ATTORNEY GENERAL, appeared in different locations on the two ballots. Even for this major office and for these two well-known men, this device meant the influencing of many votes. For less important offices and less well-known men, many newcomers to California will vote for the first candidate listed on the ballot and this may prove decisive. The primary election in California may be headed toward about the same decisiveness that it has in the South, though for a very different reason.

Cross-filing on the ticket of the opposing party is effected simply by obtaining the endorsements of a mere handful of registered voters of that party. Such a meager requirement to qualify as a candidate of both parties thereafter entitles the would-be office holder throughout the primary election to represent himself as a non-partisan or as the choice of both major parties. Thus by confusion and misrepresentation virtually all of the normal advantages of incumbency are attained.

By methods supplementary to those discussed above, the vested-interest minority in California has found numerous clever ways of retaining a goodly measure of political control even in the face of an unsympathetic majority among the electorate. Business men in California, no less and perhaps more than elsewhere, try to influence political action, for they know that political power and

economic power are only different aspects of the same force.

While one not in the confidence of the politico-business inner circle can only speculate on the strategy as developed by them, a definite pattern seems clear from their observable actions. That everyone among the privileged business group was a party to the maneuvering of political opinion, or that many were even aware of what was going on, or that a plan was formally adopted and followed without error, is not asserted; but it does seem evident beyond reasonable doubt that there was a general political strategy among the Big Business community, and that definite plans were formulated and followed with fair success.

A first and basic tactic is the basis of electing State Senators, which Paul Taylor describes more fully elsewhere in this issue. By this means, an effective veto power is placed in the hands of a small minority of the electorate. This minority includes little representation of organized labor or of urban groups who might be able effectively to influence elections. By narrowing down the number of people who must be influenced, and by excluding organized groups from among them, Big Business considerably simplified its problem of control. The organization of the State Senate in California has led to the curious situation of urban Big Business trying—and fairly successfully—to control rural politics. And it has lead to urban-rural alliances of entrenched economic interests opposing labor unions and unorganized rural people, rather than to a pronounced urban-rural split such as exists in Illinois or New York.

The vested-interest minority has not hesitated to support a reactionary candidate, irrespective of party affiliation. In California, as in other states, the Democrats contain many diverse groups and interests. This, together with the cross-filing system, produces a situation which is ideal for candidates professing one set of views and actually holding holding another.

There is only one regulary liberal major newspaper in California, plus a few others liberal on some issues. The "slanting" of news is clever and interesting for a sophisticated observer to watch, but wholly confusing to the uninformed. The "job" done on Bob Kenny in 1946 by the conservative press in California was truly clever and highly effective. Without ever getting libelous, it surely left no doubt in the unsophisticated mind that he was getting his daily orders direct from the Kremlin. Many people in radio are liberal, and there are a few thoroughly liberal stations, but the majority of radio station management is no more liberal than most of the newspapers.

And so are employed the various techniques of confusion and opinion formation. By their employment and the failure of progressive challengers to offset them by consolidation of the liberal majority on programs affecting vital problems of the day, the vested-interest minority retains effective control. A substantial segment of the California electorate is disenfranchised by a deliberate policy of confusion. True, these voters are allowed at the polls, but they are deprived the opportunity to cast an intelligent ballot.

Continued migration into California is in prespect. Such migration will undoubtedly help to retain a substantial Democratic majority. But the Democratic party will have to adopt more effective strategy if the potentialities of this Democratic majority and of the determinative block of inherently liberal votes which it represents are to be realized.

Political Trends in Colorado

BY CHARLES A. GRAHAM AND DUNCAN CLARK

Denver, September 20

DEAN M. GILLESPIE, Denver's Republican, rotund and reactionary representative in Congress, should have eaten a less-than-hearty breakfast on the morning of last Sept. 11. The big news that morning was that John A. Carroll, liberal Democratic attorney who stands for just about everything that Gillespie dislikes, had won a smashing victory in the primary the day before and was ready for the main event against Gillespie himself. Gillespie, who came back from Bikini with the remark that the atomic bomb was a "helluva thing," should have considered Carroll's primary victory somewhat in the same vein.

Carroll's strong showing in the primary meant several things. It was the first strong indication that a liberal Democratic upsurge, comparable to that which provided backing for the state's greatest senator, the late Edward P. Costigan, is at work in Colorado—a state which has not had a Democratic governor since 1938 and which returned a majority of about 50,000 for Dewey in 1944.

CHARLES A. GRAHAM, formerly regional director of the War Labor Board in Denver, was the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Denver district in 1944. He is an outstanding Colorado liberal. DUNCAN CLARK is a newspaper reporter in Denver.

It meant the Carroll, a liberal Democrat, has a good chance of beating a Gillespie, a conservative Republican, in the race for Congress, and that W. Lee Knous, another liberal Democrat who is the Democratic candidate for governor, has a good chance of beating Leon Lavington, a conservative Republican. In Colorado, where the only Democrats who have been able to stay in office are hard to distinguish from Republicans, that's news.

But something is stirring in Colorado. New forces are at work, and new people are beginning to count. A lot of Coloradans, from the industrial worker in Denver to the dirt farmer on the Eastern plains or the stockman on the fertile Western Slope, are sick and tired of the fumbling, inept record of the GOP state administration during the past four years. Veterans have come home to find the state making no effort to solve their problems. In Denver, where the industrial population is concentrated, few people have forgotten Gillespie's opposition to price control and federal housing and his support of the Hobbs and Case bills.

Although the race between Carroll and Thomas W. Nevin was the only important contest in the Sept. 10 primary, the election was significant. Carroll was opposed by strong machine elements in districts where the heaviest Democratic vote occurs. But a new political element, composed principally of veterans, Young Democrats and union members, got out the vote.

The primary also indicated that a smear campaign won't work in the general election in November. Nevin attempted to pin a Communist label on the Carroll campaign, but too many Denverites knew Carroll's record in public life and in two wars to believe he is a Communist or anything like one.

Carroll, one of the group of Young Democrats who formed the nucleus of the Costigan movement more than a decade ago, recently returned from service as an AMG major in Africa, Italy, Corsica and France. He is a former assistant U. S. attorney, Denver district attorney and regional OPA attorney. He stands on the general Roosevelt program, and is pledged for civilian control of atomic energy, continuance of OPA, veteran's housing and protection of the rights of labor.

Knous, the Democratic candidate for governor, is a canny politician who combines liberal principles with a strong sense of political realism. During his term on the State Supreme Court, he has served as arbiter in several national labor disputes, gaining a wide reputation for acumen and impartiality. He hails from the Western Slope, where good roads are a livelier issue than international co-operation and where Denver sometimes is viewed with distrust as an effete Eastern metropolis. Knous knows the problems of the predominantly Republican areas outside of Denver, and his knowledge will bring him votes.

One of the strongest assets of both Carroll and Knous, however, is the Republican record during the two administrations of the incumbent governor, John C. Vivian.

Vivian writes pleasant light verse for the "Conning Tower" in the Chicago Tribune, but his political actions have failed to scan. In a state accustomed to action and color in politics, he has fiddled and fumbled with every issue, even when inaction added to his troubles.

GOP bigwigs repudiated Vivian when it became apparent that he was one of the party's greatest liabilities. Shortly after he was snubbed by being given only second-high designation at the state Republican assembly, Vivian withdrew. This left the high designee, State Treasurer Leon Lavington, with a clear field in the primary.

GOP leaders hope by this strategy to be able to forget Vivian's record along with Vivian. Colorado voters, however, need some time to forget the inadequacies of Vivian's administration, and Democrats, on the other hand, are hammering hard on the theme that Lavington is "another Vivian."

Lavington, while he probably is a stronger candidate and better administrator than Vivian, seems to be cut from the same political cloth. Already he has made a bad blunder in what began as a laudable attempt to build some kind of a platform from the platitudes produced by the state assembly. The platform won't be adopted until late in September, and Democratic wags have jabbed where it hurts by explaining that GOP now means "Guess Our Platform." Some Republican office-seekers have been miffed at secrecy concerning formation of the platform. Republicans also offended labor by the appointment of State Sen. Arthur H. Laws, a strong supporter of the "Labor Peace" bill, as chairman of the platform committee's sub-committee on labor. This appointment was hastily withdrawn, but withdrawal did not make amends for the original mistake.

While troubles have beset the usually close-knit Republican organization, the Democratic party, for several years bedeviled by conflict between liberal and conservative elements, has attained a surprising degree of working unity. Sen. Ed Johnson, who has displayed a terrific survival value for a Democrat in a Republican state, has cleared the political atmosphere by his recent announcement that he will not seek re-election at the end of his present term.

Few Democrats believe that Big Ed is out of politics. Even if his office-seeking days are over, which is far from certain despite his projected retirement, he will remain a power in the state.

Johnson and Eugene Cervi, the liberal and outspoken state chairman of the Democratic party, have carried on a vocal and bitter feud for years, but now they appear to have an at least temporary peace treaty. Despite the present amity, their beliefs are poles apart and each loves a good rough-and-tumble political fight.

Even though Johnson and Cervi, and the elements they represent, may collide again in the future, Johnson has announced he will stump the state for Knous this fall. His influence will be great. An if the collision comes,

a stronger liberal Democratic wing should be prepared to tackle Ed Johnson on his own ground.

Denver normally is Democratic. Despite Gillespie's strength with business elements, he can be beaten in a heavy election characterized by party unity. Two new organizations—a lively group of Young Democrats and a group of educators, scientists and other professional men forming the Rocky Mountain Council for Social Action—already have an organization reaching down into most of the city's 407 precincts. These two organizations have provided a rallying point for liberals who heretofore have felt almost without a party in the state, and also have attracted to the political arena a number of persons whose previous interest in politics was largely academic.

Coloradans are disturbed by the state's disgraceful health record, spotlighted by the current polio epidemic. They are tired of bouncing along on an outmoded highway system. They aren't pround of the fact schools are closed in many rural towns because of lack of funds and low pay scales prevailing throughout the state. These state issues have given Democrats a readymade platform and a fistful of ammunition to use against the GOP.

There won't be any Democratic landslide in Colorado this year. Incumbent Republican congressmen in districts outside of Denver may well stay in office, and the state legislature probably will remain predominantly Republican. Election of Carroll and Knous, however, would mean a major victory for liberal Democrats in the state.

Whatever happens in November, there is no doubt that forces buried for more than a decade are gaining strength in Colorado. Industrialization has rocked the complacency of Denver and added a new element to the population. Veterans, bitter because of lack of housing and economic opportunity, are tired of being paid off in promises. The state, proud of its Western independence but still dominated by Eastern interests, still weak in labor organization but with a history of bitter struggle for labor's rights, may be entering a new phase in its political and social development.

Report on Utah Politics

BY FRANK H. JONAS

Logan, Utah, September 14

EARLIER in the year it seemed that the three members of Utah's four-man congressional delegation who are up for reelection would find some tough sledding. An effort was made to hold these men—Senator Abe Murdock, and Congressmen Walter Granger and J. Will Robinson—responsible for the loss of Bushnell Hospital, a twelve-million dollar white elephant located in Granger's First District. But the sale of the giant Geneva steel plant to its war-time operator, U. S. Steel, has caused the voters to forget about the loss of Bushnell Hospital and has helped to pull the incumbent liberal Democrats out of a potentially bad hole.

Operation of the Geneva steel plant will add significantly to the labor vote in Utah in the future. Already important, the labor vote has been growing by leaps and bounds in four counties: Weber (food processing, livestock, and transportation in Ogden); Salt Lake City (with about one-third of the state's population); Provo, with its iron and steel mills; and Tooele, with its nearby mines and smelters. The entire Utah delegation has had the labor vote since 1932 and will retain it in the coming election.

DR. FRANK H. JONAS, a member of the faculty of Utah State College, has written an interesting account of Mormonism.

Labor has had rough going in Utah, for the most part, and only came into its own during the New Deal. Interpreting its democratic principle of "free agency" in an undemocratic manner to mean the open shop, the Mormon Church has frowned on labor unions. As a result, it has lost much of its influence and has indirectly aided labor in solidifying its ranks. It is significant that the Mormon Church has not exercised a vital influence in Utah politics since 1932. The hierarchy of the church, about 90 per cent Republican, has tended to ally the church with the big financial and industrial interests at the top of the production scale rather than with the working man and his weekly pay check. It should be noted, however, that the church still retains considerable influence in local politics in the rural districts. Even this influence is not as great as it was in former years. Repudiated by the church authorities in 1940, Governor Maw derives his greatest strength from this rural districts by emphasizing old-age pensions and anti-utility legislation.

Utah's political situation is geographically somewhat different from that of its neighboring states. Salt Lake City is the center of political activity for the state. Utah's physical geography is dominated by the Wasatch Range, running from southern Idaho to the southern boundary of Utah near Cedar City. In the pockets of this range are to be found the typical Mormon villages and towns. With its pleasant valleys and all-important streams, this range forms a natural physio-geographical area and con-

stitutes the basis for the cultural unity, stamped with a singularly religious character, of the region. Since modern transportation facilities have only accentuated the roads that lead to Salt Lake City, no diversions have thus far succeeded in breaking this unity. In Utah political lines of influence and control run to the capitol—lines with their early marks of religious implications, backgrounds, and traditions.

While Geneva will do much for Utah industrially, and labor will profit from it, the liberal forces in the state must recognize that water still constitutes the basis for a sound economy. Additional water must somehow be brought to the farming districts. The great water and hydro-electric potential of the Colorado and the Green Rivers must be developed. With the power that might thus be generated, the great phosphate deposits and other mineral resources could be brought into use for the farmer and the manufacturer. Someday another TVA must be brought to Utah.

In brief, present indications point to the re-election of Senator Abe Murdock and Messrs. Granger and Robinson. Labor will support them and labor holds the balance of voting power in Utah politics today. While the veterans are restive, they are not organized politically and will support the incumbents in about the ratio of the total Democratic and Republican vote. While the Mormon Church may wish for a change, to vindicate the authority of the hierarchy, it will be powerless to effect it.

Voices off The Air

BY EMIL CORWIN

Hollywood, September 14

IF WHAT is happening to liberal commentators on the West Coast is indicative of a trend, the nation is in for the most intensive barrage of reactionary propaganda in the history of radio—and there will be few voices left on the air to combat it.

Here in Hollywood, radio's second biggest center, progressives in radio have been blitzed to the point of annihilation. It has been a rather noiseless coup. This normally demonstrative community, which less than two years ago blew its top over the arbitrary dismissal of half a dozen commentators from Station KFI, has not yet reacted to the even more drastic developments of recent weeks.

Six popular progressive minded commentators—Sam Balter, Averill Berman, John B. Hughes, Bill Pennell, John Dehner, and Peter de Lima—have either been dropped by their sponsors, switched to other departments, broadcasting on sharply curtailed schedules or fired outright by the station.

Why?

One station manager bluntly admitted, "It is not good business to have liberal commentators."

An advertising executive representing commentators, wrote last June, "During the past few months reactionary pressure has been brought to bear in unprecedented volume to force liberal voices off the air. Sponsors of liberal commentators have received everything from veiled threats to outright boycotts by certain groups and individuals."

One of the discharged commentators explains, "There are simply not enough forces to fight the swing to the Right. People are fearful of going against the swim."

That the currents are running swiftly and subtly against liberal expression on the air is clearly seen in recent experiences of the above mentioned commentators.

Averill Berman, young and versatile protagonist of labor and price control, was fired without explanation from a leading independent station and is now hanging grimly on to a spot on one of the city's least effective stations.

Bill Pennell, squeezed out of his sponsored daily commentaries for speaking in behalf of the Fair Employment Practices Commission and against anti-labor legislation, is now perfectly harmless broadcasting movie gossip once each week.

John Dehner, who two weeks ago lashed out against Gerald L. L. Smith on the occasion of that demagogue's triumphant re-entry to Los Angeles, has been given his notice.

And then there is Sam Balter. The loss of Balter's voice in itself would be a major catastrophe for liberalism in any community. This quietspoken champion of the peoples' rights, whose calm and dignified broadcasts have earned him a higher listener rating than every other Pacific Coast commentator and most network commentators, has just been dropped as a daily newscaster on KLAC. Sponsored for the past two and one half years, Balter, high rating notwithstanding, has no takers. He has been removed from the field of controversy and eased into the safe harbor of sports announcing, a development which will doubtlessly come as good news to anti-liberal

EMIL CORWIN is with the radio division of HICCASP — the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

forces. Not so long ago Balter was a network commentator with a nationwide audience of millions. Now only one spot remains open to him—a Sunday morning broadcast over American Broadcasting Company's Hollywood outlet, KECA. When this spot goes (and the chances are even it will be gone by the time this goes to press) the West Coast will lose its most respected liberal voice.

Such is the fate of men who have spoken fearlessly and consistently for the masses of the people, for racial and religious equality, for world unity, for humanitarian causes.

On the other hand, disruptionists like Upton Close are riding the crest. On his August 20 broadcast, Close, the sweetheart of the reactionary press, was able to crow, "The tide is turning. Editors ask me to say the things they would not publish before. I am far more outspoken over the air than I could be but recently." Close, twice fired from radio for making irresponsible statements, is currently enjoying a boom on the Mutual Network, the very same that kicked Balter off a few years back for daring to attack Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune.

It's all very confusing until you pause to consider the recent attitudes, predelictions and behavior of some of the men who run our radio stations—the most powerful media for mass information in the world. Let's examine a few instances of station policy or, rather, the men behind it, in this city of the Angels. It's very educational.

One station is owned by a man who interviewed a prospective commentator by asking, among other things, the following questions: What instructions do you get from Moscow? If a union threatens to strike, isn't that duress? You are a Red, aren't you?

There is another station owner in town whose antics, described by Dixon Wecter (*Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1945), seemed too fantastic to believe. But I have since obtained corroboration, and additional information to boot.

Wecter wrote, "We hear reliably of one station owner who frequently sends snippets from Hearst editorials up to his newsroom ordering that they be read on every newcast that day; who commanded that Henry Wallace's name never be mentioned over the air; who sent his music department an order 'not to play anything by that damned Communist choir,' referring to the Cossack Male Chorus, and banned songs by Paul Robeson, who offended both on the score of politics and of race. When one of his commentators interviewed on the air an officer sent by the Navy, a Commander Goldberg, the owner administered a tongue-lashing. 'Next time,' he growled, 'tell the Navy to send us somebody named Casey.' It is worth remark that in the past three years he has fired seven successive news editors—the last one for answering a query about his politics by saying, 'When I'm in this newsroom, Mr. R—, I have no sympathies either for or against the President'."

I have also been reliably informed that this same station owner instructed his news announcer to "smear" the head of the War Relocations Authority, Mr. Dillon Meyer, on the charge that he was "coddling" relocated Japanese. "The thing for you to do," the station owner instructed one of his announcers, "is plug our great men. You can't say too many good things about the way MacArthur has fought for America. He's one of our greatest examples of Americanism." It was only by the Grace of God, according to the station owner, that the nation escaped getting that Communist, Henry Wallace, as President.

It is interesting to note, in passing, that this station last summer conducted a contest in which prizes of a new car and cash awards were offered for the best letters on the theme, "I believe in free speech because . . ." And oh yes, the station was granted a power increase by the Federal Communications Commission in August, making it one of the most powerful on the Coast.

Not *the* most powerful, though. That distinction belongs to KFI, 50,000 watt clear channel station owned and operated by Earl C. Anthony, Packard Motor Car Distributor for Southern California and former president of the National Association of Broadcasters. In February, 1945, Mr. Anthony fired six sponsored news commentators, among them liberals Alvin Wilder, Sam Balter, and Peter de Lima. No charges were preferred against the six. They were not permitted to give any explanation to their audiences. Under the new station policy only newcasters on the station's payroll, under its control, could henceforth broadcast over its facilities.

KFI's action was protested at great mass meetings, in Congress, and in the California Legislature, where a resolution condemning the policy of censorship on KFI was overwhelmingly passed. Former Congressman Tom Ford became chairman of the effective "Emergency Commitee on KFI" which badgered the station owner for more than a year, reminding him in their pamphlets, "You Have a Problem, Mr. Anthony."

KFI and Mr. Anthony refused to meet with citizens delegations, debate the issue or acknowledge protests. It was not until June of this year, when Anthony testified at an FCC hearing on his application for a television license, that the reasons behind his action were smoked out.

The charge that Anthony dismissed all his commentators in order to get rid of liberals whose views he abhorred, seems borne out in his FCC testimony, Mr. Anthony's motives are revealed for the first time, in this cross examination:

FCC COUNSEL: Do you recall approximately a year or so ago there was quite a fuss made in Los Angeles about KFI—

ANTHONY: I thought that was coming up.

FCC: —dropping five commentators.

ANTHONY: Yes, we did.

FCC: Who made the decision? Whose idea was it?

ANTHONY: I got sore at them.

FCC: At whom?

ANTHONY: The agencies that had announcers on the line on a side payroll and tried to go and monkey with politics, so we just called them all off.

FCC: What is your policy now?

ANTHONY: News.

FCC: Are all commentators paid by the station itself?

ANTHONY: We don't use commentators.

FCC: How many network commentators?

ANTHONY: That is something we can't help. The only one we have got on there, when it comes, is Kaltenborn.

FCC: Don't you think that if a commentator was on a network line and took an attitude that you thought was not proper in the public interest that the station could refuse the program?

ANTHONY: The station can refuse, if it is not in public interest or to the station interest.

FCC (Presiding Officer): I wasn't clear as to one statement you made. You said you got sore and I don't know whether you indicated you got sore at the commentator or the station.

ANTHONY: At the way they were being handled. We all get upset over the thing and we did get upset because one afternoon they would turn around and say that a certain politician was perfectly swellelegant and should be reelected and all that, and the next afternoon the same man would come out there and just pan hell out of him because he couldn't get news from him. So we did away with all of them . . .

FCC: Had Mr. Kaltenborn been one of those commentators instead of the network, would he have been removed, too?

ANTHONY: He was a commentator—in order to make it unanimous I think he would.

FCC: You feel pretty strongly on this commentator issue, do you?

ANTHONY: I feel pretty vicious about it, because we can't control what they are going to say and the station can get in dutch.

FCC: You don't feel strong enough to ask the network to take it off?

ANTHONY: As a matter of fact, I don't think Kaltenborn—of course, I know him personally, that is all right. He is a swell egg. I don't think he is really a commentator. I think he is more of a news analyst, analyzing the news, because he never expresses opinions, political or the other way. Kaltenborn is a very clever news analyst.

FCC: What is the difference between a news analyst and a commentator?

ANTHONY: Oh a lot. Because wait a minute. You get this much tape that comes down through from the Associated Press, we will say, off the machines, and then somebody goes down through and picks out the top lines and the middles lines and analyzes the news. But they don't comment on it or give their opinions on what goes on.

FCC: Was one of the commentators who was dropped, as you recall, Sam Balter?

ANTHONY: Yes.

FCC: Suppose Sam Balter were on a network and not Kaltenborn. Would you feel there was a sufficient difference between Kaltenborn and Sam Balter so you wouldn't carry Sam Balter?

ANTHONY: I would. I wouldn't take it.

FCC: I wanted to make sure you understood what I asked you. I asked you if Sam Balter were on the NBC network, let us say, instead of Kaltenborn, then you wouldn't carry the boardcast, is that correct?

ANTHONY: No, because Kaltenborn is not bought and Sam Balter, we know, is.

FCC: Isn't Kaltenborn on a sponsored program?

ANTHONY: I don't know.

FCC (Presiding Officer): By "being bought," you weren't referring to sponsorship. You were referring to their views, is that it?

ANTHONY: That's what I'm talking about.

It is ironical that Mr. Anthony, who fired his commentators on the unsubstantiated charge they monkeyed with politics, should have been the only station owner in the entire NBC network who refused to carry one of the Fireside Chats of the late President Roosevelt.

For a man who operates one of the most powerful stations in the United States, Mr. Anthony's views on commentators are not particularly well informed. In one place he calls Kaltenborn a commentator; a little later he is not a commentator. Kaltenborn, according to Anthony, is an analyst who "never expresses opinions," a relevation which will be startling news to the ranks of organized labor and those seeking unity with our wartime Allies.

Despite the fact the KFI case made national news, Mr. Anthony's testimony last June was strangely overlooked by the press and even the trade papers. But if it escaped the notice of some people, Sam Balter was not among them. Anthony's charge that Balter could be "bought," brought the commentator to the FCC hearings two days later to reply to his former boss. Over interruptions and objections of KFI counsel, Balter had his say.

"Who is it, I would like to know, who has bought me," Balter asked. "The sponsor and the agency which hired me, will testify that never at any time did I advance any views other than my own. You don't like the views of some men who use your facilities, so you take everybody off in order to get rid of them. You limit listeners to the opinions of the UP and AP men (and don't let anybody tell you *they* don't have opinions). You invent a distinction that doesn't exist between two words: analyst and commentator. Because *you* are fed up with controversy! You! So the people must be too! Where would this country be if there had

been no exchange of views, no differences of opinion, no rebellion against the status quo, no change? What are our amendments to the constitution but slow and ordered change growing out of controversy?"

After describing his experience as commentator, three "bouncings" in two years, Balter went on to say:

"I say that it is a lamentable state of affairs that spokesmen of division and disruption encounter nothing but lush new contracts and earnest assistance by the promotion departments of the radio corporations, while those who speak for the masses of the people encounter nothing but trouble and a never-ending fight to stay on the air. It is because I think, sometimes, that the American way of life is in terrible jeopardy if only those who speak for one strata of the people are given voice, and no other, that I am deeply concerned over KFI's action in this city, and the general situation in all of radio where men who speak for the liberal cause and the humanitarian cause, run into nothing but repression and bickering and insults from those who own and operate radio situations."

Balter has summed it up. The American way of life is in jeopardy. The liberal viewpoint is in danger of being squeezed off the air unless labor and progressive organization fight relentlessly against it. Pressure must be resisted by pressure. Stations are obliged to present a fair balance of opinion under terms of the FCC's Mayflower Decision. It is up to the people to see that this balance is maintained. This is the challenge that faces liberals in 1946.

What Southern California Thinks of Truman

BY ROBERT C. BROWNELL

Los Angeles, September 21

AS political reporter on a Los Angeles metropolitan daily newspaper I talked with President Truman twice before he became President—first, while he was on tour with his estimable Senate committee investigating war production, and then later when he came to Los Angeles in the course of his vice presidential campaign.

I was impressed. I liked his forthright manner, the efficient way he handled his committee, the kind and gentle way he treated a green girl newspaper photographer, the apparent honesty with no cards up his sleeve. Forthrightness and refusal to hedge on searching or tricky questions are refreshing qualities to find in a politician.

After Truman became president, I defended him whenever I could against all the superficial criticisms that popped up during his first months in office, most of them obviously more a reaction to Roosevelt's death than to any shortcomings on the untested new President's part. But my own opinion has undergone a lot of change and so I thought it would be interesting to try to find out, first hand, what other people hereabouts are thinking.

I would question public officials on both sides of the fence as well as those astride it. I would talk to "the housewife," to labor leaders, "the ordinary citizen," and anybody else I could think of to make my rather unscientific survey more reliable.

In almost two days of pretty steady questioning, almost nobody said anything remarkable or searching bearing on the President. The comments I got were responses immediately recognizable as not being the product of personal thought or reflection or strong feeling. I quickly learned that whatever the local public thinks *of* Truman, it is currently doing very little thinking *about* him.

The politicians' eyes glazed, on or off "the record," and they plodded through the platitudes that befitted their positions and alignments. The housewives were hazy and trite, the labor leaders swore belligerently and said little, the ordinary citizens were as fuzzy as the housewives. The conservative businessmen hollowly and without much force repeated what they have been repeating ever since "the Roosevelt depression."

But there was one conclusion that could be drawn from the mass of unhappily expressed statements. With one exception, all kinds and classes of people seemed to be disappointed with Truman if not downright mad at him. The exception was a sprinkling of persons in the patronage platoon—recipients of patronage, dispensers and hopefuls.

The rest were opposed to the President, some strongly but most in a dimly understood, half baked way. Personal interests or the newspapers take care of most person's attitudes in such a field. This is not offered as an original obesrvation, but as what popped into my head while I mulled over this mass of fuzzy opposition and remembered that three of the four Los Angeles newspapers are already against Truman but haven't even begun really to aim their guns yet. Where the fourth paper will be when things get hot politically no one can say with certainty. It does seem certain however, that this mass dissatisfaction with Harry Tru-

ROBERT C. BROWNELL, now on the staff of the Illustrated Daily News *in Los Angeles, was Mr. Upton Sinclair's secretary in the Epic campaign of 1934.*

man isn't going to be lessened by the inevitable heavy barrage against him from the journalistic big guns. Los Angeles will buck its newspapers politically when it's hungry and desperate, but who expects mass economic suffering during the forthcoming presidential campaign? Even with an economic crisis, there isn't much to indicate it would swing things Truman's way.

Within the borders of what I have called the patronage platoon I found one Democratic party leader who really tried to say something. I quote him for two reasons: (1) he spoke honestly and with feeling, despite his vested interest in his party and (2) his statement is a refined version of what the hazy housewives and all the others were trying to say and didn't, carrying with it at the same time an intelligent and liberal Southern California political leader's reaction to this inarticulate mass opinion.

He said:

"Truman is trying hard but he just doesn't know how. He's sincere, but what good does that do when you surround yourself with a bunch of two-bit guys. I wrote national headquarters last week, telling them that if the president pulled any more boners like the railway strike fiasco, we might as well throw the next election out the window as far as Southern California is concerned.

"The majority of Southern California democrats are at least mildly liberal, remember, and the vote in this county, overwhelmingly democratic, constitutes more than 40 per cent of that of the whole state. These people have absolutely no confidence in people like Snyder and Allen—or even Steelman.

"We can still win if the Republicans continue to ride the same old horse. But if they should put up Stassen, for instance, and Truman goes on down his present path, there'll be a lot of people jumping onto Stassen's wagon. I might even jump myself."

Just for fun I decided to close my investigation by asking four fellow newspapermen two questions: 1. What do you think of Truman? 2. What do you think the people of Southern California think of Truman?

An elderly, politically conservative reporter who has worked on half the papers in the country:

"I think Truman is a dud. The people around him are making all his decisions for him, just as everything he reads on the radio is obviously thought by somebody else and written by somebody else.

"You can tell by the way the average person stares at signs along the highway that he doesn't think. He just gapes. The average person around here doesn't like Truman but doesn't know why. How could he like him? What is there to like?"

A politically ardent young left winger:

"President Truman is, I think, carrying forward the program of the great anti-labor monopolies. His fights for progressive issues are weak and half hearted. He's not following in the foot-steps of Roosevelt and we

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The Nation Associates is a non-profit organization whose twofold function it is (a) to publish and extend the services of The Nation, already a potent instrument of education for democracy to meet the imperative needs of our time, (b) to develop a membership organization standing above parties or factional divisions to bring to practical realization the principles of a progressive democracy.

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OBJECTIVES

The fundamental objective of The Nation Associates is to help focus the energies of the progressive forces within our country to an accelerated program of education aimed at enlarging the awareness of the American citizen of his responsibilities for building a world society that may, in the end, justify the agonies and sacrifices of the war.

The principles and objectives to which The Nation Associates is pledged are:

1. To perpetuate the peace through a world government to which the United States should be fully committed, endowed with the powers necessary to enforce its decisions, and revised to meet new threats created by the atomic bomb.
2. To win the war against Nazism and Fascism on the political front at home and abroad.
3. To punish those guilty of crimes against civilization.
4. To maintain security through economic planning to the end that full employment might be guaranteed, the gains of labor protected, and the prosperity of America and the world increased.
5. To protect freedom for all by fighting against reaction, racial and religious discrimination.
6. To inspire free discussion of all issues affecting the life and destiny of the people of the United States and the peoples of the world.

ACTIVITIES

The establishment of a continuing weekly radio program addressed to Education for Democracy, to be a dramatization under the sponsorship of The Nation Associates.

The holding of a national institute as an annual undertaking for discussion of critical problems such as the extension of democratic methods in foreign policy, international cooperation, labor relations, racial equality, etc.

Regional conferences in the Middle West, Far West and South, devoted to problems of local importance but national in their implications.

The organization of local chapters of The Nation Associates for discussion of issues and activities, and wider participation in local and national affairs aimed at achieving social progress.

Renewed efforts to secure the end of diplomatic relations by the United Nations with Franco; the restoration of the Spanish Republic and its inclusion among the United Nations.

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can expect only minor concessions from him as he moves down the path of reaction."

This reporter thought most Southern Californians were generally unhappy about Truman but not enough so to mean much of anything at present.

A middle aged reporter, liberal generally, who "doesn't like politics":

"Truman is administratively unstable, jumps the gun, is too preoccupied with being a quick decision man. I think he might grow in capability but it would be at the expense of the country.

""Roosevelt's death created a greater vacuum here than anywhere else in the country. The people are disappointed and feel lost. They're ready to accept something other than Truman—but what?"

A reporter whose hobby is history and who keeps his politics pretty much to himself:

"I think Truman is a darn sight better than Roosevelt, and I voted for FDR four times. If Truman fails, we'll put in someone else. With Roosevelt we had come to depend too much on the leadership of one man. Truman at least represents the traditional American form of government working and not the 'one man' principle.

"Truman's only strength here is the old Democratic party organization but he'll be bolstered by the three-quarters of a million newcomers from Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas who haven't voted yet. They'll go for Truman."

Perhaps the feeling of most Southern Californians concerning the president can be summed up by the comment of a streetcar rider in front of me who was talking Truman to his companion.

He paused, shook his head and said, more in sorrow than anger:

"I just can't figure out what that fella thinks he's doing."

Authority for Authors?

BY HAROLD J. SALEMSON

September, September 21

At the end of the first year of so-called peace, Hollywood's producers could look over their field of enterprise with complete satisfaction, if it were not for the thoroughly disconcerting moves recently made by the Screen Writers' Guild, which threaten to spoil an otherwise highly-optimistic picture.

What is the fly in the ointment?

The fact that the writers, long held in servitude within the studios, reduced to the rank of just another name in the procession of screen credits, have decided to assert themselves.

It had long been a policy—and a very conscious one—on the part of major studios to play down the importance of writers as much as possible. Directors are still generally credited for the success of all good films, although, with very few exceptions, they are no longer those who deserve the credit: in most modern film-making, 90% of the picture's ultimate value is accounted for by the time the script is written; unlike the situation in the silent days, the director's contribution today, unless he has participated in the scripting and preparation of the production (as many of the better directors—to say nothing of those, like Jean Renoir, Dudley Nichols, and others, who are, or consider themselves, essentially writers, with the directing end just an additional chore after the script is finished), has become a relatively minor one.

Yet the studios have continued to minimize the writer's role. Their two main expressed reasons for this are patently phoney: 1. That the public is not interested in who wrote the script (an unproven assertion, since the studios have never tried, through their publicity departments, to give script-writers the prominence they give directors or stars); 2. That the Screen Writers' Guild's insistence on credit to the men who actually did the writing holds up advertising possibilities and sometimes puts the studios in a position of having to give credit to writers other than those most widely-ballyhooed as having worked on the script. While it is true that studios sometimes have such misadventures, they have mainly themselves and the uninformed hit-or-miss methods employed by their executive producers to blame.

Now, how has the scenarist revolt manifested itself?

After a quiet no-strike period of great distinction in helping win the war, the Screen Writers' Guild was one of the first Hollywood organizations to reconvert with a vengeance. The first inkling of the Guild's postwar attitude came with the launching, in June 1945, of *The Screen Writer,* a little monthly magazine which has since come to be called by innumerable commentators "the most aggressive journal of its kind", "the only Hollywood publication with a sense of humor," "the only house organ with more readers outside the membership than within it," and lately, by *New Movies,* the organ of the National Board of Review, described, with *The Hollywood Quar-*

HAROLD J. SALEMSON is editor of The Screen Writer, *official publication of the Screen Writers Guild in Hollywood.*

terly, as being worth more to the industry "than a million dollars worth of 'public relations'."

Beyond that, at its July 29 membership meeting, the SWG had the temerity to pass a resolution questioning the wisdom of the film-rider imposed on France as a condition to the U. S. loan and, as French trade-union leaders had signified to the Guild, virtually assuring the doom of the French movie industry. The merits of this case are another story— and one which deserves full treatment on its own—but the Johnston Office was officially shocked that any employees' group, such as the SWG, should presume to criticize its employers who, Johnston representatives implied, were only carrying out standard practices of driving as hard a bargain as they could legitimately get away with—a highly-accepted type of conduct, it seems, in the world of international trade.

But the straw that broke the camel's back was the publication in the July *Screen Writer* of James M. Cain's "An American Authors' Authority", and its endorsement in principle, by a vote of 343 to 7, at the July 29 membership meeting.

The "American Authors' Authority", still only in the planning stage, has caused more ink to flow than any other project the Guild has ever been associated with—including most of the highly-touted films its members have worked on. The producers themselves have taken little official cognizance of it. But it is no secret that in their inner councils they feel this is the event described in that time-worn threat, "Comes the Revolution . . ."

The AAA, conceived by Cain many years ago and brought to a head after conferences he held with SWG's Original Material Committee which was concurrently working on the general idea of leasing literary material to studios for a period of years instead of selling it outright, is an over-all administrative body, intended to standardize procedure in all fields of literary endeavor in this country (and ultimately in the world, of it is to be successful), in a way that the French Société des auteurs et compositeurs, or our own Authors' League or ASCAP, or other musical performing-rights societies, have never approached.

It proposes to hold copyright in the name and for the benefit of its members, who should ultimately include all those who write. Supported by a tax levied on those who lease copyrights for book or magazine publication, radio, theatre or film production, or any other ultimate uses, it will keep an up-to-the-minute file on availability of all rights (doing away with doubt as to which rights an author retains when a sale is made); clear all contracts to see that they conform to accepted procedure; perhaps in some cases act as a collection agency; have all rights cleared and the picture straightened out to give greatest protection and benefits to a writers' heirs at the time of his death; represent writers in courts and capitals through lobbying, amending of copyright laws, and legal representation in cases affecting writing crafts; and, over

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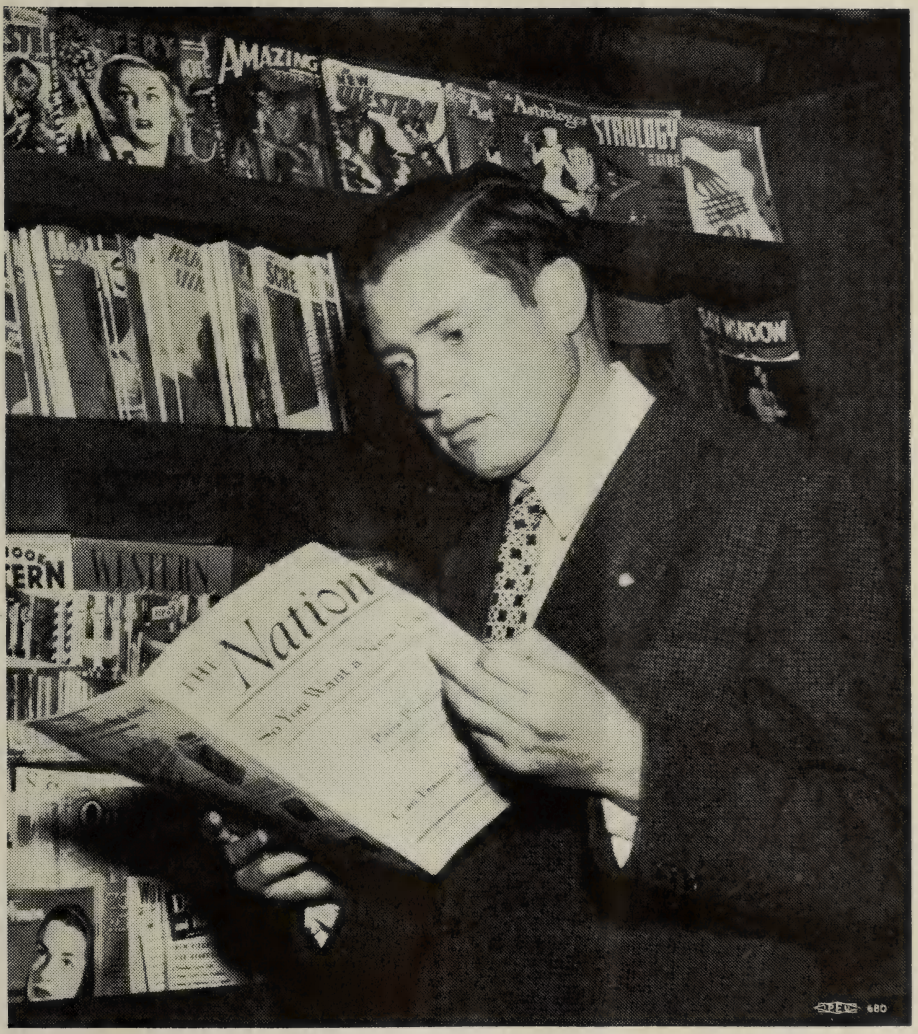

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Citizens Committee for WILL ROGERS JR. for United States Senate

and above all, strictly forbid its members from ever *selling* any rights to anyone: procedure to be adopted will be that any publisher, producer or studio will get rights to the work *for a given medium only, and on a specific time*-lease, all other rights remaining the author's, and those leased reverting to him after a given length of time.

Now, why are the producers so terrified of this perfectly logical plan?

Obviously, what they are most afraid of is loss of "control". They may speak, or think, of the economic losses threatened, but these are a minor item. What terrifies them is the end of the peonage of writers.

If writers lease, instead of selling, studios hoping to renew a lease will of course have to bear in mind that it would be better to do an adaptation that will make the writer happy. Otherwise, at lease end, he will take his wares elsewhere. This means an end to the present system in which a writer has no say whatsoever in the form given his work adapted to the screen, nor even the right to withdraw his name if he feels his ideas have been perverted.

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The mass attack launched against AAA, with producer blessing, but most newspaper editorialists following their publishers' leads with no need of coaching from Hollywood, has stressed two potential dangers in the plan: control of content, and elimination of new writers. The former of these was disposed of at the Guild's July 29 meeting, when endorsement of the plan in principle was immediately followed by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution: "That there be no discrimination in the rights or treatment accorded by AAA to any piece of written material by reason of its content." As for the other objection, it is obvious that writing cannot live without new blood. While Cain's plan calls for obligatory membership of AAA writers in the respective guilds of the Authors' League, this provision has not yet been adopted, since it is the consensus that such a decision would have to be made on the basis of the objective conditions in existence at the time the AAA goes into effect. However, those close to the planning committees are certain that there is no intention of trying to keep young writers out.

But these facts are clear: the Authority, in one form or another *will be* accepted, because it is a Magna Carta for writers, long overdue; economic injustice to writers, acquisition of "all rights" in perpetuity by publishers and producers, will be done away with; there is no intention of controlling content of material, a matter on which no two members of AAA could agree, anway; there is no desire on the part of writers to close literary fields to new talent—quite the contrary; writers will gain new respect and, through the Authority, new authority, which will make the written word meaningful once again—make it the expression of the writers rather than of the employers, in all fields, whether the relatively free ones of novel or drama, or the increasingly restricted ones of radio and motion pictures. Cain, the wags put it, is indeed his brother-writer's keeper, and with his help his brother may again become able.

The editors of *The Nation* would appreciate comments on this special supplement. For example, do its western readers believe that such a supplement on an annual or more frequent basis would be desirable? If so, how frequently? What type of subject matter, not touched upon in this issue, would they like to see explored? What western political or other organizations could assist in securing mass distribution of such special editions? It is along these and related lines that the editors would welcome comments and suggestions. Communications should be sent directly to J. King Gordon, Managing Editor, *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York. Individuals or groups interested in obtaining additional copies of this supplement may do so by writing to the Circulation Department in the New York office.

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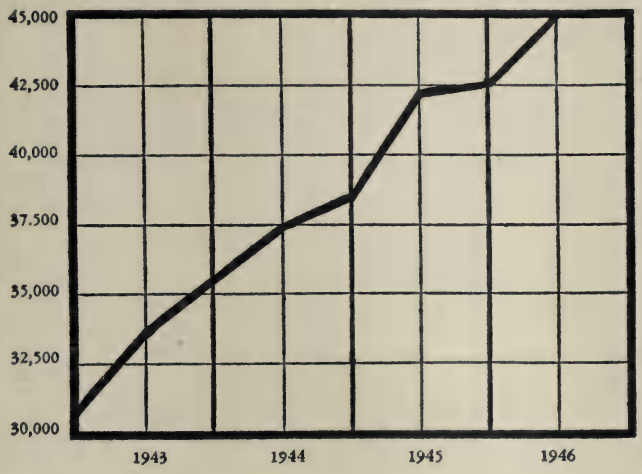

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We are living in an age in which more and more people believe that there can be neither peace nor prosperity in one part of the world, while there are conflicts and starvation in another.

We are living in an age in which the interest in democratic education is gaining new momentum, and in order to increase that momentum citizens as a whole want to be *well informed.*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Challenge of Henry Wallace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

[*The following is an address delivered Sunday, September 22, at the Nation Associates' West Coast Conference in Los Angeles.*]

MR. BYRNES has been sustained and Mr. Wallace has been dismissed from office—and a great issue has been joined. The issue of America's foreign policy is too serious to be lost in intricate debates about subordinate issues. Progressives may disapprove of the tactics used by Mr. Wallace in making his protest against the tendencies prevailing in our State Department. I disapprove of them. I think he should have resigned, and gone out on his own feet. Progressives may disagree with certain of the positions he took: the unimportance of the veto in atomic control or the implied acceptance of "blocs" or spheres of powers—an implication Mr. Wallace has, however, himself disavowed. One may disagree or disapprove or question this or that. But one must not allow these exercises in political analysis to blur the great issue.

Are we to have a progressive, democratic foreign policy? A policy based securely where President Roosevelt intended it to be based—on a close alliance among the three great powers continued into the peace? Or are we to have a foreign policy based on ruthless struggle for power, in which the East and the West compete for the favors of our late enemy in order to build up strong rival coalitions? Within this broad formulation there is plenty of room for debate on detailed specific problems —not insignificant ones. But our approach to those detailed problems, our way of handling them, will be totally different, depending upon which over-all policy we are committed to. This is the great issue that the action of Henry Wallace has raised, and that the country, because of his action, has been forced to face. It will not be pushed aside—not by the ousting of Wallace, or the exigencies of this fall's election campaign, or by the Peace Conference itself. Whether Henry Wallace decides to use the freedom of speech so kindly presented to him last Friday by the President or whether he adheres to the vow of silence previously exacted, the rest of us are obligated to carry on the fight he started.

The battle won't wait even if Mr. Wallace takes a furlough, for he has set in motion a political operation whose force will begin to dissipate if it is held in suspension pending October 23 or November 5.

For those of us who, not today or yesterday but during the whole desperate struggle for collective security, finally and conclusively lost at Munich and during the war which inevitably followed—for those of us who all these years have argued and campaigned for a democratic American foreign policy, the action of Henry Wallace must be seized upon as a new call to arms. For it is a fact that before Wallace spoke out, the mood of the American people was becoming dangerously apathetic on the one side and more dangerously hysterical on the other. Those who look upon every negative vote by Mr. Molotov as a challenge to the final showdown between socialism and capitalism had begun to talk about a "quick preventive war"—utilizing the modest advantage of the atomic bomb to insure its success. Those who had watched with dismay the hardening ring of mutual provocation and counter-attack, saw no way to crack it. Then came Henry Wallace's proposal that the United States, as incomparably the strongest nation on earth—today literally unassailable, however temporary that immunity may be—should use its power not to win small niggling pin-prick successes on a hundred contested issues at Paris or Lake Success but in a statesman-like effort to crack the circle of enmity by a direct effort to relieve Russia's fears and dissipate its suspicions. He did not say that Russia's fears were all justified. I am dead sure the Administration, of which he and Mr. Byrnes were both members, wants to avoid war with Russia; and that Mr. Byrnes is convinced his policy of meeting stubbornness with stubbornness right down the line is the surest way to avoid war. But granting the peaceful purposes of our government, Mr. Wallace did put his finger directly on a long series of acts and attitudes which, viewed from Moscow, look both hostile and frightening. I don't need to repeat them here. It is enough to say that Henry Wallace would end, promptly and forever, the schoolyard-bully technique in dealing with Russia. "We'll sail our ships wherever we blank blank please" is not a useful

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slogan for the times we are living through. In other words, Wallace would avoid provocations; he would make every legitimate effort to draw Russia back into the Big Three fraternity with all the rights and privileges of membership; he would try to work out closer trade and financial relations with the Soviet Union. And at the same time, he would ask of Russia (as was made emphatically clear in the Madison Square Garden speech) a reciprocal effort at understanding and conciliation.

I think it should be made very plain, however, why Mr. Wallace talked more about American mistakes than about Russian mistakes in his remarkable letter to the President. He did so I am sure because he was not instructing the Kremlin on how to run its foreign relations; he was writing as a Cabinet member to his own chief about American policy. And while I strongly disapprove of both the manners and many of the specific attitudes displayed by our Russian allies, I believe our job is to reform our own foreign policy before we go overboard in excited horror at the policy of the Russians. The elections in Rumania and in Bulgaria may have been of very questionable validity, but our protests might sound a little more impressive if the whole world had not witnessed the successive stages of military control and ruthless extermination of left and liberal elements which culminated in the recent sad plebiscite in Greece.

For the real issue is not an issue arising from the temporary provocations which have become the daily practice on both sides of every frontier in Europe and Asia as well as at Paris. The real issue is the continuance of policies which, before the war, discredited democracies in the face of the worldwide fascist drive and, during the war, sacrificed our friends to placate our enemies and, today, threatens to maintain in power all over the world —in China as in Greece, in Spain as in Latin America— those elements of reaction which can survive only at the expense of every democratic principle we have ever professed.

Mr. Wallace talked about the degree to which American foreign policy has been geared to the necessities of British colonialism. After recent visits to several of those Middle Eastern countries which provide the chief strategic and material underpinnings of the British Empire, I agree that no independent American policy exists in that part of the world; our diplomacy there is wholly subordinate to that of Britain, even against our immediate material interests. But I want to say one thing that may seem to conflict with all I have recently written on Palestine. While Britain is today chiefly responsible for the most glaring mistakes of Western policy, tomorrow's villain is far more likely to be the United States. Slowly, but I think quite certainly, we and the British are exchanging roles.

Lately in the English political weeklies I have detected a new note—a note of fear and suspicion in their discussions of American policy. Labor and liberal writers

in England are beginning to see in this country a threat not only to peace but to the political objectives for which the Allies pretended to fight. They are coming more and more to look upon us as the great imperialist-isolationist power of the years to come. They have watched the decay of the democratic energy and faith that somehow, under Roosevelt, survived even the shameful expediencies of our policy toward Franco and toward Vichy. They have watched while American power in Europe has been martialed against every manifestation of the social revolution of which the Great War was only a single, if a monumental, act. Liberals and leftists in England, and in France too, today talk about the necessity of "moderating" between the defiant socialist power of Russia and the arrogant capitalist power of America.

They believe, above all, that the fact of fundamental social change in Europe must be recognized and accepted by the United States if peace is to be made and maintained, for they know, as our officials and business men do not know, or refuse to admit, that free enterprise and unplanned economy are finished in Europe. Or perhaps this fact should be stated in reverse: Europe is finished for free enterprise. Finished. And unless we are willing to come to terms with socialism in Europe, there will be no hope of peace and, as a corollary, no chance of the survival of democracy.

The large bulk of Ernie Bevin tends to obscure the shape of things to come in Britain. But I think I am right in my belief that profound changes are taking place. It is possible, of course, that they will be arrested by outside pressure. It is possible that the economic and political influence of the United States will check progress towards socialism in Western Europe, helping to power men and parties which the American authorities consider more likely to preserve our conception of democracy and promote profitable business relations.

This may happen. If it does, the old game of empire will go on for a while longer, and reaction will be shored up in Spain and given a fresh start in Italy. And relations with Russia will get worse. But it need not happen. The United States, it is true, has no labor party, not even an effectively organized national liberal movement. But it has powerful progressive forces within both old parties; not in their top control—even the cadres of the New Deal have been mostly dissipated—but among the independent voters, the people who kept Roosevelt in office and kept the New Deal alive. They are still there, and today they face a new challenge and a new chance.

The challenge is a staggering one. How shall we meet it? Many liberals and radicals are demanding a new national party—a new progressive party to express the will of the great body of American voters who followed the New Deal and Wendell Willkie, and who today look hopefully to Henry Wallace for leadership. I believe this country needs a new party. But I must admit doubts about taking the plunge at this moment. I have lived through two major efforts to start a third national party, one under Theodore Roosevelt, one under Robert La Follette—"Old Bob." Both failed—and I think I know why they failed. Each one was the expression of a strong popular reaction against the Old Guard in power; both enlisted the energies of great numbers of decent independent voters, but neither one was able to command a continuing solid mass support, with strong organizational foundations. I do not believe a progressive third party can become effective or even survive in America unless it emerges from the organized workers. And I do not think the workers are ready to build a labor party in this country.

But I do see immediate hope in a greatly intensified, steady effort to create committees of action, locally and nationally, and through them to penetrate and even, (who knows?) to dominate one of the major parties. I see a desperate need for honest collaboration among progressive groups of all shades, to take the place of the sniping and undermining tactics that today vitiate so large a part of their effort. I see a desperate need of strengthening the few journals of progressive thought and action in America. And I see a possibility of creating, if not a third party, at least an effective realignment within the two old parties, so that the progressive sentiment in this country, which for many years has been the dominant sentiment, can find organized expression in every town and city—and in Washington too.

The time to push the fight is now—between today and November; and then between November, 1946, and November, 1948. The crisis in which we move provides the greatest impetus to action that human beings could find. Henry Wallace has issued a summons to action and a platform to which progressives can rally. Only if we take up that challenge, and take it up with courage and determination, can we check the steady drift in America toward reaction and a new war.

Economic Crossroads

THE national economy has reached a critical point in the road back from war. Superficially, the country has never been more prosperous. Employment is at a record peace-time high. Industrial production is at its post-war peak. Farm output is setting all-time records. Profits are good, hourly wages are far beyond pre-war levels. Yet business men everywhere are complaining about strikes and about interruptions in their production schedules caused by lack of raw materials. Building has been slowed to a walk despite unprecedented need for houses and other structures. There are rumors that goods of all kinds are being held back for higher prices, that raw materials are being hoarded by big firms, and that the little men are being frozen out.

Although few business men would care to admit it, it is evident that the present economic crisis has arisen chiefly because of the haste to throw off economic controls after V-J Day. Business men insisted that reconversion need not be planned, but one has only to compare the colossal production achievements of the first year of the war with the uneven record of the past year to recognize how wrong they were. The present raw-material shortages are due primarily to the abandonment of the priority system. Gradually some of the wartime controls, particularly in the allocation of materials, are being restored at the demand of the industries concerned. But the primary post-war problem—labor unrest arising from a failure to hold the price line—remains as far from solution as ever.

Labor has been caught in a terrific squeeze between wage controls and increased living costs. The gains represented by the 18½-cent hourly wage increases of last spring have been wiped out by the tide of rising prices. Despite a succession of victorious strikes real wages declined more than 10 per cent in the past year and are still dropping. The government's action in the maritime strike has administered the coup de grâce to the wage formula that seemed so satisfactory a bare six months ago. Confronted with the imminent collapse of the entire stabilization structure, the President has sent out an emergency call to five of his top-flight advisers in the OWMR to work out a new formula.

This new board is under great pressure to abandon wage control altogether. The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have both asked that wages be left to collective bargaining and that the government's sole check be the OPA's power to grant or refuse an industry's appeal for higher prices on the basis of increased labor costs. John L. Lewis has gone a step farther and demanded the lifting of both price and wage controls. A substantial section of the press, while blaming labor for the crisis, advocates the elimination of wage curbs as a step in the return to a "free market." The farm bloc is almost hysterical in its demand for an early end to all curbs.

It is virtually certain that if wages are freed from control, the demand for the further decontrol of industrial and agricultural prices will mount until it becomes irresistible. Senator Taft has already launched a campaign to end the control of all prices except rents by spring. The drive for the lifting of the existing controls on meat prices has been reinforced by a virtual strike of meat producers.

The elimination of all wage and price controls might be pleasing to big business, but it would not stimulate production or make for labor peace. Even the most conservative economists are agreed that increased prices would not help much in relieving the current commodity shortages. Time alone can restore productive facilities in the war-torn colonial countries that are among our chief sources of raw material. Meanwhile, a better system of allocation is needed, and that necessitates continued price control. We had a sample last summer of what happens when price control is suddenly ended. If wage controls were also lifted and each industry left free to determine its wage scale by collective bargaining, we should be faced with an even more chaotic situation. For if the Administration's price-wage policy had not been operative then, many of the strikes of that period might still be unsettled.

Out of fairness to labor the new wage formula should be tied more closely than the old to the cost of living and so permit frequent upward adjustments as long as living costs continue to mount. Nothing less will suffice to restore industrial peace. But such a policy will be ineffectual unless at the same time drastic steps are taken to check the upward spiral of prices. Since under the present law the OPA is helpless to prevent wage increases from being translated into price increases, Congress should be called back and forced to face the consequences of its so-called decontrol measures. A Congress that was in emergency session a few weeks before elections could hardly resist popular pressure for a restoration of an effective OPA. If the President holds to his refusal to reconvene Congress, the responsibility for the ensuing economic chaos will plainly be his.

The Shape of Things

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF Europe is an ideal long cherished by *The Nation*. Nevertheless, we read with regret and alarm Mr. Churchill's speech at Zurich calling for a United States of Europe, since advocacy from such a source is calculated to strengthen opposition to the idea. As the London *Times* points out in a critical editorial, many people will conclude that the British Tory leader was really calling for a United States of Western Europe. More than that, they will conclude, and rightly, that what he is after is the creation of a conservative bloc dedicated to the task of stopping Russia. But no genuine union could be built on so negative a foundation, and even if it could, it would inevitably provoke a war which would complete the destruction of Europe. The only hope of bringing European countries together in a positive way lies in the development of integrated socialist economies—a proposal which can hardly command the support of Mr. Churchill. In so far as most European countries are reconstructing their industries on socialist lines, the foundations of greater economic unity are perhaps being laid. The completion of the structure will not be achieved in the early future, but there are some signs of action transcending boundaries. One example is the Anglo-French accord signed in the past few days. Its immediate purpose is the funding of the French commercial debt to Britain on generous terms; but by providing for regular consulta-

tion between the two countries on trade problems and for the coordination of industrial plans, it also points the way to permanently closer economic relations.

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JOURNALISTICALLY EMBARRASSING BUT least important among the sad aspects of Chester Bowles's defeat at Hartford was the false assumption in these columns last week that he would be the Democratic choice for the governorship of Connecticut. We were not alone, of course, in taking his nomination for granted. Apparently he had more than enough delegates committed to him, he had the formal indorsement of party bosses McMahon and Cummings, and no observer credited any of his rival contenders with half a chance. We did point out, be it recalled, that McMahon's support was "late and grudging" and that there was "some question as to how enthusiastically he [would] deploy his forces" in support of Bowles. The fact is that he deployed no forces at all and confined his enthusiasm to the bald statement that he personally would vote for the former stabilization director. Bowles's only serious rival was Lieutenant Governor Wilbert Snow, who enjoyed the backing of the rural district delegates and the bosses of a few local city machines. With no whips cracked from above, these elements gave Snow enough strength at the start of the roll-call to produce a band-wagon psychology, which McMahon did nothing to head off. Scores of Bowles delegates swung over to avoid the cardinal political sin of being on the losing side, and the deed was done.

Chester Bowles

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IT WOULD HARDLY BECOME US TO BEWAIL the failure of a state boss to dominate a convention, but we do bewail the defeat of Mr. Bowles. And we believe his party will have reason to regret it as much. The rural and small-town Democrats who put Snow across are in the position of Southern Republicans: they have strength at party conventions but are not even expected to deliver their districts in the election itself. The city Democrats on the other hand—particularly labor voters—are angered at the treatment accorded to Bowles and may well forget to go to the polls in November. Moreover, the independent vote, without which the Democrats stand small chance of victory, is far less likely to come out in force for Snow than for a dynamic national figure like Bowles. We can only hope that this will not prove true, because Snow is a proved liberal in his own right and would make a good governor, even though his election would have less national significance than a victory for Bowles. As for Bowles himself, he is young, hopeful, and committed to the political life. He learned a great deal at Hartford, and we are certain that the country has not enjoyed the last of his much-needed services.

✶

PLAYING THE CLOWN HAS PUT MORE THAN one demagogue in Congress, and Senator Bilbo is now trying to discover whether the same technique can be used to keep him there. "I just had my mouth reamed out," he announced, "and now I got more mouth than ever"; and he explains that those Mississippi citizens who signed a petition asking the Senate not to seat him are only trying "to get me some publicity for my book on racial equality." But his humor has the evil quality of Hermann Göring's, and through it one can detect the same sweaty nervousness, for Bilbo is in real trouble. His indorsement of the Ku Klux Klan and his boast of membership appear to have genuinely shocked many Senators. Worse than that, from the Bilbo viewpoint, they have become a political issue. His right to sit in the Senate is now being challenged before a special committee to investigate campaign expenditures and before the standing Committee on Privileges and Elections. The first of these, which is headed by Ellender of Louisiana and from which little is to be hoped, is soon to hear testimony that Bilbo received a $25,000 campaign gift from a Mississippi firm. The second is to consider evidence that he conducted "the most violent anti-Negro campaign in the history of Mississippi," with thirty Negroes in the town of Greenwood alone kept from the polls by threats of death issued by the mayor in person. The standing committee is weighted with Northerners of both parties, fully conscious that their conduct in the Bilbo affair is being watched back home by all Negro voters and a good many white ones. Two Republican members, Bridges and Ferguson, have characterized the charges as "extremely serious," and the New York State Democratic platform has pledged its senatorial nominee to work for Bilbo's expulsion. In desperation Bilbo has already raised the cry of "Communist plot," thereby for the first time linking the right wing of the G. O. P. with Moscow.

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REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MEAT INDUSTRY arguing before the Control Board in August insisted that meat supplies were adequate to fill demand at reasonable prices. Yet the moment ceilings were reimposed, meat disappeared from the stores. Why? In part the answer appears to be that there is a genuine, though temporary, shortage of finished animals caused by the unprecedented scale of slaughtering during July and

August, when stock raisers rushed every possible animal they could to market. But this shortage is not the whole explanation. It does not account, for instance, for the disappearance of meat processed during the OPA holiday but not consumed during that period. When controls were reinstituted, there must have been millions of pounds of meat in cold storage. Who is now holding it back? Another question awaiting an answer is the reason for the suspension of buying by the big packers. They say that they cannot buy livestock at prices that will permit them to comply with OPA regulations. Do they mean that they are being consistently outbid by dealers willing to go over the ceilings? If so, they must have some inkling of the identity of these illegal buyers. Have they passed on their information to the authorities? Or are they, in fact, only too anxious to turn a blind

eye to violations of OPA orders while they, in company with many wholesalers and retailers, stage a sitdown strike designed to force the abolition of ceilings and to defeat the purposes of the government and people of the United States?

Truman's Second Guess

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 22

OUT of the confusion of these last ten days the Washington correspondent can draw only one certain conclusion: American foreign policy will now be debated over the radio, on lecture platforms, in Congress, and throughout the world.

At a press conference last week Assistant Secretary of State Clayton was asked where a government executive who wanted to make a speech could find out what our foreign policy was. The Secretary gulped and referred the reporters to addresses of the President and Secretary of State, and to the newspapers. That is about as much enlightenment on foreign policy as one can get.

The story of these past ten days goes back for its beginning to the last months of Franklin D. Roosevelt's life. Roosevelt had divided the aims of our foreign policy into three parts: first, getting an agreement with Russia to throw all available strength against Japan so the war would end quickly; second, gaining Soviet confidence and cooperation in building a new world; third, the realization of an almost fabulously ambitious program for a global planned economy. F. D. R. had two basic convictions — that economic pressures were the root causes of war, and that civilization could not stand another war. He was willing to make broad concessions to the Russians to gain their support. His feeling toward the British government then in power was one of extreme irritation.

Jimmy Byrnes, former Senator and White House handy man, on becoming Secretary of State started somewhat timidly to follow the Roosevelt approach of granting concessions to Russia. His press conference upon his return from the Moscow and London conferences was almost gay. Byrnes was jubilant. He thought he would be congratulated on all sides for doing a good job. At this meeting with the press he built up a case for his position by revealing major concessions to the U. S. S. R. made at Yalta by Roosevelt. Then he walked across the street to the White House and was grumbled at by Admiral Leahy, chief of staff to the President. What in the hell had he got in return for all he gave the Russians? Truman also was decidedly cool and at his next news conference lashed out fiercely. A reporter had innocently asked, "Do you agree with the State Department policy of . . . ?" Truman cut him off, saying there was *no* foreign policy unless he approved it. The State Department, he said, could have no policy of its own. This was followed by a planted newspaper story from the White House that Byrnes would soon be replaced by General Marshall.

Two more things happened that spring. A Presidential special train bearing Truman and his guest, Winston Churchill, and numerous correspondents gaily left Washington for Westminster College in Missouri. In the evening Churchill's speech was passed out. A British spokesman suggested as a lead: "Churchill proposes Anglo-American alliance as Russian shadow darkens over the world." I remember vividly how the mood of the correspondents changed and their gloomy, frightened comments. Men roamed up and down the swaying train trying to find someone to assure them this was not the beginning of the end of the United Nations. Card games broke up, but no one went to bed early.

Next day Churchill said to a silent, bewildered audience of Midwestern Americans, "A shadow has fallen over the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist inter-

national organization intends to do or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive tendencies." President Truman, who had happily introduced Churchill by saying, "I know he will have something constructive to say," sat on the stage playing with the tassel on his mortarboard hat.

Byrnes was pressed from another side. Arthur Vandenberg told the Senate scornfully, "If we abandon the miserable fiction that we somehow jeopardize the peace if our candor is as firm as Russia's always is, and if we assume a moral leadership . . . we must have positive foreign policies."

Secretary Byrnes is, first of all, a consummate politician. All during his political career he has made his way by skilfully gauging the strongest pressures and yielding to them. Early this spring Byrnes put his finger in the wind. The surly, suspicious Soviet nationalism after Roosevelt's death had turned American opinion. Even liberal opinion was dismayed and confused by Russian harshness toward non-Communist progressives in Eastern Europe. But what counted most with Byrnes was that President Truman had been impressed by Churchill and was listening to Admiral Leahy, who makes no secret of his hatred of Russia. The Secretary of State, realizing that the White House was capable of changing its mind every other day, looked around for another source of support. With Senate backing he would be more secure. The man making foreign policy in the Senate was Vandenberg.

For the last four months Vandenberg has been the greatest influence on Byrnes. Decisions made on the lower levels of the State Department, up to and including Under Secretary Acheson, were overruled by Byrnes on advice from the Senator.

The military have had a hand in making foreign policy—MacArthur in Japan, Marshall in China, Clay in Germany, and the military ambassadors to Russia, Belgium, Panama, and the minister to the Union of South Africa.

Byrnes has been playing more closely with the British, too, particularly in the cases of Greece, Yugoslavia, and the Middle East. A big difference of opinion about our Greek policy existed within the State Department, with Dean Acheson protesting against sending the fleet to the Mediterranean.

Except for Wallace and his followers, no one in Washington has any fundamental objection to a firm policy with Russia. But there has been much criticism of the way in which Byrnes has handled the Greek situation, of our policies in the occupied areas, and of the severity of Byrnes's tone toward the Soviet Union. Much of the moderate criticism of Byrnes is stimulated by the indiscreet talk of army and navy brass hats who speak of "the coming war" and refer to Russia as "our enemy."

Admiral Leahy's influence on Truman, plus such factors as our possession of the greatest peace-time army and navy we have ever had, a proposal for industrial mobilization, the delay in taking atomic laboratory control from the army, and plans to turn Germany and Japan into American air bases, has created an atmosphere of uneasiness in Washington. It is feared, rightly or wrongly, that military thinking is a large factor in our foreign policy.

Henry Wallace became deeply concerned. He has a religious faith in the "brave new world." He was badly frightened by the power of the atomic bomb and dreamed of the world going up in flames. He was so shaken that he used the undiplomatic phrase "appeasement of Russia."

At a Cabinet meeting this summer Wallace said our policies were leading to war. He called on Byrnes to develop an independent American policy and accused him of trailing after the British. He expressed these views in writing in the letter released last Tuesday. There followed a series of conversations between Truman and Wallace, with Wallace, who has always got along well with Truman, as the teacher. Truman swung over completely: he is easily convinced, he distrusts the State Department, he has developed a stubborn personal dislike of Byrnes, and he is irritated by the British. Wallace had such influence with his pupil that the President indorsed the New York speech without qualification at his news conference a week ago Thursday.

Tough talking by Vandenberg and Connally over the transatlantic telephone brought a conference between Truman and Bernard Baruch, Byrnes's political godfather. On Saturday Truman reneged part way: he did not sponsor Wallace's remarks as official policy. He still, however, thought Wallace was right. During the two-and-a-half-hour talk between Truman and Wallace last Wednesday the Secretary of Commerce quickly agreed to keep quiet for three weeks until basic agreements could be worked out. The rest of the time was largely devoted to discussing a proposed statement on foreign policy to be issued by the White House. Several main points were agreed to: the United States was devoted to the cause of peace; war was impossible; United States policy was not directed against any country.

Then came the teletype conversation between Truman and Byrnes on Thursday. The situation had become downright "unpleasant" for the President. It was easier to fire Wallace than oppose Byrnes. At ten o'clock Friday morning the telephone rang in the Secretary's office. The White House was calling. The conversation lasted three minutes. Truman was sorry but he wanted Wallace's resignation. Wallace was startled but said he would comply.

Actually Henry Wallace was relieved. Correspondents saw him briefly Friday afternoon and night. He looked like a new man—vigorous, alive, cheerful. He was morally certain of his rightness. He was encouraged by the terrific volume of his mail. A peculiar combination

of mystic, political figure, and student, Wallace enjoys being the champion of a "righteous cause." Unlike Roosevelt, he wraps himself up entirely in it.

Many officials in Washington stand somewhere between Wallace and Byrnes. Dean Acheson is one. He believes in close cooperation with the British. He is shocked and dismayed by Russian "imperialism." But he thinks Byrnes and the various forces now dominant in foreign policy have gone too far.

The outcome of these ten days depends on the Russians and on American public opinion during an election year. It is a good bet that Jimmy Byrnes will once more put his finger in the wind and shout that he too is fighting for peace.

Greece and Its Allies

BY BASIL VLAVIANOS

PREPARATIONS are being rushed in Athens for King George's return, made possible by the plebiscite held throughout Greece on September 1. Meanwhile, in the towns, in the villages, and in the mountains of that tortured country Greeks are killing Greeks at a steadily increasing rate, and tyranny is once more being imposed upon the people under the old pretext of securing "law and order." The police are seizing citizens without warrants; anti-Royalists are being branded Communist and subjected to all kinds of violence; more and more hounded individuals and families are seeking refuge in the mountains.

This situation demonstrates how inadequate a solution to Greek political problems was provided by a plebiscite held under extremely abnormal conditions. For in spite of the presence of British "observers," and in spite of assertions that exceptional order prevailed on the day of the voting, the fact remains that had the Greek people been left free to decide their future government, they would never have voted for a man who a few years before was busily organizing Greece, according to the New York *Times*, "on the German and Italian models."

The "observers" were correct in stating that there was relatively little physical violence on the day of the plebiscite. But they do not seem to have dealt with the fact that long before the actual voting took place, terroristic bands supported by the government had displaced thousands of democratic voters and had made it impossible for democratic leaders to move freely through the country, visit their districts, or inform the people of the true situation. While the campaign was going on, almost all democratic leaders were held virtually incomunicado in Athens. Moreover—and this is of far greater importance—the Greek people were subjected to tremendous psychological pressure before they voted.

But before going into this, a word about the decision to hold the plebiscite. On September 19, 1945, after long negotiations and a thorough examination of the situation in Greece, a joint statement was issued by the great powers to the effect that in the interest of the Greek people the plebiscite should be indefinitely postponed. This statement was supplemented on November 20, 1945, when the British, in full agreement with the United States government, asked the old liberal leader, Themistocles Sophoulis, to form a government and formally stated that the plebiscite would not take place before 1948. Then, suddenly, in March of this year, the British government went back on its word and declared that—again in the interest of the Greek people—the plebiscite should be held on September 1, 1946.

This was surely a master stroke of old-style British diplomacy. For Greek democratic leaders could not possibly conduct a campaign with terrorism raging in Greece, with the Peace Conference in session, and with the Greek government making constant appeals for unity pending the discussion of Greek questions in Paris.

In the meantime the idea was being widely spread among the Greeks that their only friends were the British, that without British protection the Slavs would have occupied Greece and killed all non-Communists, that British troops were staying in Greece for the sole purpose of saving the country from this menace, and—here is the core—that the British and Americans would be unable to help the country without the presence in Greece of the King, who was their trusted friend.

I was in London not long ago on my way home from Greece, where I had marked the extent and effectiveness of this propaganda. I suggested to friends of mine in and around the British government that the inevitable detrimental consequences of such propaganda could be forestalled by a clear-cut statement that Greece would get British protection and help, no matter what form of government the Greek people chose. The same request was made on many occasions before the plebiscite by prominent Greek liberals—without practical results. Obviously it was too late to expect to change British policy, which for many years had consisted of discouraging Greek democracy by the old method of first dividing the Greek people and then bolstering anti-democratic forces.

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However, British and Royalist propaganda would not have made the headway it did if the Soviet government had not substantially, if unconsciously, assisted. Against whom could the British have pretended that they were protecting Greece if Russia had not revived the old Slavic menace? What could better have reinforced the argument of the Greek monarchists that Greece would be lost without England than Russia's unbelievable support of Hitler's accomplice, Bulgaria, and its still more unbelievable attack on Greece? Greece has always been fearful of the Slavs. Yugoslav nationalists for a long time have had an eye turned toward Salonika, and Bulgarian aggressors have repeatedly attacked Greece in an effort to wrest territory from it. Obviously, Russia hoped that by supporting the Slavs its own access to the Aegean would be facilitated.

The great majority of the Greek people believed, nevertheless, that the old czarist methods had been abandoned by the Soviet government. They believed that after the contributions and sacrifices they had made in the war and the words of encouragement and recognition they had won from the Soviet government, no further attempt would be made by Russia to advance its own interests at Greece's expense. They imagined, on the contrary, that they would have Russia's support for their national claims, and that Russia would be the fountainhead of a new spirit of justice, democracy, and cooperation in the Balkans.

The first blow came when Russia allowed the British Tories a free hand in killing Greek democrats and laying the foundations for the return of the King. Although hardly innocent in the events of December, 1944, the United States protested against Churchill's methods. Russia did not. Then came the senseless behavior of the Greek Communists, who exploited the E. A. M. for their own narrow political aims and used old-fashioned revolutionary methods entirely incompatible with the spirit of popular democracy which they professed. They inspired fear and anxiety not only among the upper but also among the lower classes of the people. Almost every problem with which they were confronted, from the Conference of Lebanon until today, has been handled miserably. Last but not least, the Soviet government disappointed the Greek people by opposing Greek national claims at the Paris conference and by supporting the Axis satellites and attacking Greece before the Security Council of the United Nations.

Russia's support of Bulgaria is against all reason. Bulgaria was an active member of the Axis. It helped Hitler in his war against Russia, invaded Greece, massacred thousands of the people, displaced hundreds of thousands more, and caused indescribable damage to the country. Bulgaria is to the Greeks what Japan is to the Americans, what Hitler's Germany was to the Russians. The Greeks seek no revenge against the Bulgarian people, but they are shocked that Russia should want to deprive them of territories rightfully theirs for the benefit of an Axis satellite, territories 98 per cent inhabited by Greeks. And the argument that an outlet on the Aegean is necessary to Bulgarian trade is no more sensible than would be a demand for Galveston, Texas, on the part of Japan, based on its need for an outlet on the Gulf of Mexico. Moreover, I might point out, Greece has always been willing to grant Bulgaria an outlet in the form of a free port in Alexandronpolis or even Salonika.

Indeed, Soviet reasoning has been remarkable. When Mr. Byrnes praised Greece at the Peace Conference and took up its defense against the Bulgarian claims, Mr. Molotov admitted that everything said about the valuable contribution of Greece to the war was correct. He went even farther, calling Mr. Byrnes to task for omitting mention of the heroic exploits of the Greek resistance led by the E. A. M. This, however, did not keep him from backing the claim of the Slavic group that important Greek territories should be given to Bulgaria.

Then the Ukrainian delegate accused Greece of being a menace to the peace of the world because of the presence of British troops within its borders and because of the character of the present government. But is it not true that British troops entered Greece with the full consent of the Soviet government? Did not Russia agree that Greece belonged to the British sphere of influence? When the Russians call unarmed and devastated Greece a menace to the peace of the world, do they not inevitably create the impression that they are at least as cynical as the British in the pursuit of their interests? When they demand the immediate evacuation of British troops from Greece, what guaranty do they offer that the next day Bulgarian and Yugoslav troops will not invade Macedonia and Thrace? Unfortunately, the spirit of Munich is still so much alive that, under the circumstances, no one can blame those Greeks who feel that their only security lies in the presence of British troops.

The result of the plebiscite held on September 1 can be explained only in the light of these facts. It was not a personal victory for the King. I venture to say that George II is less popular today than he was during the war. Most of those who voted for him did so with the feeling of having to take a bitter dose. And we should not forget that in spite of the tricks, the terrorism, and the psychological coercion, a large part of the Greek people found the courage to vote against the King. According to official estimates, George II got only 68 per cent of the votes. Taking into consideration the character of the present Greek government and the advantages it would naturally have in an election of this sort, we can conservatively assume that more than 40 per cent of the real voters cast their ballot for democracy. That is too many to kill or force into silence.

By employing tyrannical methods and violence the Greek government will only provoke more violence and strengthen the extremists, just as they strengthen communism by calling all liberals Communists—pushing them into the party through persecution and oppression. If Great Britain and the United States allow these methods to be continued, the outlook for Greece is gloomy. Only democracy can still save Greece and transform it from a battlefield into a bridge between the interests of East and West.

But democracy is more than a word; it is an achievement. And if it is to be achieved in Greece, or anywhere, a sincere and prolonged effort must be made by the great powers. It is extremely sad to have to say that until now they have not made that effort but on the contrary have sought to discourage democracy almost everywhere.

Politics and the Intellectual

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

DURING my six months in Europe I left France several times to visit other countries. Each time I returned to Paris I sensed a change for the better, not only in the material aspects of the city but in the spirit of its people. Where this change was least reflected was in the intellectual magazines; the August issues looked very much like those of last February—in both one found the same inevitable articles on existentialism.

If philosophy is the mirror of an era, the expression of the collective conscience at any given moment in a nation's life, then it is proper that my last article in this series on Europe should be devoted to a movement that has brought together some of the most brilliant minds of France. After the Bergson vogue and the more significant Nietzsche vogue, we are now witnessing another philosophical upsurge in France and in many other Western countries. Existentialism is already familiar to American readers, but its political meaning has been little discussed. Its popularity derives not so much from its way of dealing with problems as from the problems themselves, which grip the mind and emotion of all thinking men.

Existentialism received its first strong impetus from Germany, where two professors of the University of Baden—Heidegger and Jaspers—founded a new school of philosophy. Actually the ideas they advanced were not original; theirs was a kind of second-hand existentialism based on principles which the Danish philosopher, Soren Kierkegaard, a disciple and later an enemy of Hegel, had enunciated at the beginning of the century. Nor could the Baden professors even claim the credit of having discovered Kierkegaar; years ago that genial Spaniard, Miguel de Unamuno, talked to me enthusiastically of Kierkegaard and had already written an essay on the fundamental aspects of his philosophy in "The Tragic Sense of Life." From Germany the existentialist spark was carried to France, where soon it began to burn brightly in many intellectual circles.

In France the keeper of the flame is Jean-Paul Sartre. No one could be more French than he, more versatile and many-sided. Sartre is not only a philosopher but a poet as well, an admirable example of the "thinker-poet," as Jaspers somewhat enviously used to describe men like Kierkegaard and Unamuno. Novelist, playwright, critic, and essayist, Sartre uses his philosophy and his poetry as interchangeable instruments. The protagonists of his novels and plays are created to illustrate his philosophy, and at the same time these creatures of his poetic imagination provide the subject matter of further philosophical elaboration. Sartre has the advantage over his teachers of being, or aspiring to be, a man of action. He is not a philosopher of the library or of the salon who tries to escape contact with the street. The distinction of his disciples, like the gifted Simone de Beauvoir, and the homage paid him in both the Bohemian cafes of Paris and the austere university centers of the provinces do not satisfy his ambition to reach great masses of people. I have the feeling that he would gladly exchange his élite following for one of those noisy, enthusiastic crowds that invade the Vélodrome d'Hiver for a great political rally. But, for reasons which I shall try to explain, Sartre's cherished dream of becoming the cicerone of France's political renaissance will never be fulfilled.

The main reason why existentialism has failed to attract a mass following is its lack of faith in the sustained collective effort by which the French people turned defeat into resistance. Instead of strengthening the élan that carried the nation through the most terrible ordeal of its history, the existentialists delight in emphasizing the tragic aspects of human existence, the fate of man whose last great effort is the effort to die. These are familiar themes, old as time itself—reflections on the misery and futility of man's existence, periodically re-

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, European editor of The Nation, *concludes with this article the series in which he has been reporting on conditions in Europe as observed during his recent stay there. He will soon resume his regular page of comment.*

discovered by the philosophers in every age and expressed usually with insupportable dulness or, occasionally, as in the case of Schopenhauer, with grace and humor. The single contribution of existentialism has been to inject into the old lamentations the theories perfected by modern psychologists to explain *la condition humaine*.

Cast into an alien world, buffeted by mutually antagonistic forces, groping blindly between two eternities, man stands on shifting ground, ignorant of whence he came and where he is going. Pascal in his "Pensées" expressed all this in terms of classical elegance. The Baden professors and their disciples have chosen to force these tortures of the soul into a rigid philosophical system. The anguish of the existentialist is a "Kierkegaardian" anguish, a cosmic worry born of the inability to overcome weakness and the constant preoccupation with death. "Nothingness" occupies a large place in Sartre's philosophy; it is present everywhere, brooding and oppressive.

In describing life all existentialists use the same dark palette. It is only when they draw the conclusions from their analysis that the proponents of the new philosophy part ways. Believers like Jaspers, who tend toward the religiosity of Kierkegaard, escape from hostile reality by projecting their thoughts on to a transcendental plane. The atheists, on the other hand, reject the consolation of faith. Their phenomenological introspection has led them to conclude that there is no God, and so they are unguided and defenseless. They would be left absolutely naked were it not for a small fig leaf called "human freedom." "Man is created free," said Schiller. But Sartre, who does not accept the existence of God, cannot take over the formula of the German poet. Man creates himself, says Sartre. First he "exists" and then he "thinks."

For Sartre it is imperative to push the concept of a world without a God to its ultimate conclusion, since only in such a world can emerge the truly free man, dependent on himself alone, owing nothing to anyone. His responsibility thus is enormous: he has taken upon himself the direction of the destiny of mankind. Sartre asks of man the attitude of the old Stoics who resisted the assaults of a hostile world with unalterable equanimity and retained, even in defeat, the consciousness of their own superiority.

But while this gospel of strength makes the philosopher Sartre sound very impressive, the poet Sartre speaks to us in a different tone. His novels and plays present a series of frail, depraved, insane, or homosexual characters that prove existentialism a rather poor instrument for creating men. A little functionary, impelled by an irrational hatred of all mankind, fires blindly into a group of passers-by; a wife who cannot bring herself to leave her mad husband finally escapes into the world of madness; a woman who has tried to live apart from the man she despises returns to him in the end, knowing well that he offers nothing but the saddest erotic compensations. With minor exceptions Sartre gives us only the negative aspects of life. It is a long walk through the infernal region that we take under the guidance of this modern Virgil.

It was natural that existentialism should attract the intellectuals, precipitated out of war into an era of disruption in which only the very strong can hold firm. The last world war produced a group of sensitive, at times remarkable, writers for whom the clash of arms had been almost too much to bear. But that literary generation was pampered by destiny in comparison with the poor intellectuals of World War II. The writers of the early twenties had not yet suffered disillusionment with the Revolution; the purges and internal struggles on the left were to come; the League of Nations still held promise; the dry rot of fascism had not yet infected the middle class. In 1946 few intellectuals in either Europe or America see a way out through positive political action. Classic fascism has been discredited forever, and neofascism is still in the making; traditional social democracy appears weak and vacillating, while communism is for many of them essentially the negation of free thought. In sullen irritation they turn their backs on those who go on fighting because they believe in the ultimate victory of the left and follow blindly any new faith whether it is labeled existentialism, sixth international, or world government.

Sartre is too much a man of his time not to feel irresistibly attracted by the proletariat. But it is a love that is not reciprocated. Without having read either Kierkegaard or Heidegger, the workers of France have a clear idea of the world in which they live; a profound instinct puts them constantly on guard against the seduction of the Sartre doctrine. Though he has asserted that his conception of man is little different from that of Marx, his tendency to view objects solely as phenomena or representations makes him suspect. In the final analysis he takes his place with Husserl and the empirio-critics with whom Lenin years ago crossed swords. To the miners of France who sweated last winter to increase coal production, the objects of this world are not mere phenomena but hard and resistant things the handling of which tires arms and shoulders. What attraction for them can be found in poor creatures, frail and wavering, in whom every impulse toward freedom is drowned in a sea of contradictions? What can the workers find in an empty heroism that is the very negation of life, that suspends judgment on the social past and reads only futility into the social future? What could appeal less to a class that has before it the concrete task of finishing the social revolution than Sartre's defeatist phrase: "Never were we freer than under the German occupation"?

Of course the Resistance presented the intellectuals with few of the contradictions that cloud the meaning of

the present conflict. Vichy drew a dividing line: on one side the *capitulards*, on the other the *résistants*. A kind of brotherhood of decency reunited the seigneur and his servant, the industrialist and the toolmaker, the atheist and the priest. Everyone knew his post; he had no doubts. Looking back, the existentialist asks himself whether a hero's death might not have been easier than the return to the confused and prosaic struggle of today. Now he must listen patiently as an uninspired Assembly debates a new constitution that in the end will broadly resemble the old one; as power politicians at a peace conference destroy bit by bit all hope in the century of the common man. Now he must watch the Socialists engaging in the same tactics that thwarted working-class unity between the two wars, and the Communists riding roughshod over sincere anti-fascists who dare to voice the slightest criticism of party tactics or policy. In a word, he is being asked to travel the painful road of revolution, to accept retreats along with apparently insignificant advances, to plunge resolutely into a task which calls for work, strong nerves, and a certain capacity for humor and contempt.

That is too much to ask of the average intellectual. In every great crisis he searches for an avenue of escape in some new philosophical or artistic doctrine. World War I produced dadaism; World War II, existentialism. And each school had its own comfortable physical shelter from the storm: in 1914 it was the Cabaret Voltaire; today it is the Cafe de Flore.

Paradoxically, the one who feels least comfortable in that shelter is the one who created it. Sartre is continually leaving his charmed circle in search of contacts with the left. In an article Mise au point, published by the Communist weekly *Action*, and in a volume entitled "L'Existentialisme est un humanisme," Sartre attempts to answer the principal objections to his doctrine raised by Naville and other Marxist critics with whom he is in constant disagreement. He dismisses the charge of pessimism by saying that if man is free, as he himself has asserted, then it is within his power to change the world to conform with his ideals. Almost as if to illustrate this point, Sartre injects a new note into his latest novels. Now the cosmic worry contains overtones of pity for man faced with immense responsibility in every moral decision. Desperation assumes the nature of a warning that man must depend on himself, that he cannot rely for help on any external force, supernatural or historical. Man is alone, but this solitude endows him with enormous energies and unexpected possibilities.

Unfortunately, at the very moment when he appears ready to take the step toward positive action, Sartre falls back into the confusion and contradiction of his earlier works. For he is, above all, an incorrigible irrationalist. Reason is his enemy. He leaves everything to intuition and inspiration. His heroes—like Mathieu of "Chemins de la liberté"—are always looking for some emotion or inspiration that will impel them along the road to action. Freedom as conceived by Sartre offers not the slightest guaranty of success. It suggests a painful mountain ascent, with the climber in constant danger of falling into the abyss and the final goal wrapped in an impenetrable blanket of clouds. This kind of freedom negates the influence of man's will on human actions. The simplest issue raises questions of whether one is doing the right thing. Often we see the protagonists of Sartre's novels suddenly forgetting their role and acting in a way that contradicts their character. We are faced with a logical discontinuity.

Sartre himself has described an incident which reveals the full measure of his vacillation. A young man, faced with an important decision, came to him for advice. Sartre sent him away without an answer because, he says, the boy's course was determined in advance. "He contemplated a concrete action, whose implications he understood perfectly and which he would undertake with comrades he knew and trusted. But he could only engage himself for a limited time. How can he commit himself irrevocably to an action that will continue beyond his death, when he has no way of knowing what his comrades will do once he is gone? Who can tell—at that moment they might decide to reestablish fascism." Georges Mounin is right when he says that the social revolution of which Sartre dreams has evolved to such a subjective plane that it no longer holds any terrors for capitalism.

If the existentialist philosophy is carried to its ultimate conclusion, the entire history of the world resolves itself into a series of private, unrelated actions which have no real meaning. History becomes a carrousel of human events, or rather of human accidents, turning round and round without ever reaching a destination. In such a situation man must either accept collective suicide, as was suggested by the German philosopher Hartmann, who long before the advent of the atomic bomb envisaged the day when men would by common consent dig a great hole in the earth, line up in it, and blow themselves to pieces; or he must rely on the heroic but isolated actions of individuals whose personal genius has lifted them above the impotent mass.

Sartre's doctrine, like his literary work, is still in the process of formation. He has just announced that he is writing a treatise on ethics. His novel—a trilogy—still awaits its third part. In his last book three names—Descartes, Kant, and Marx—began to compete with those of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and Jaspers; perhaps through them he may find a way out of his own contradictions. But as it stands today, existentialism, for all political purposes, is a confusing, negative, self-defeating doctrine. From existentialism to cynicism the way is easy;

and it is always in the ranks of the disillusioned that reaction finds, in the decisive moment, the intellectual complicity so useful in making every retreat appear harmless, even praiseworthy, to those who no longer have the nerve to fight.

Let the existentialists, or their successors, enjoy the liberty to make Nothing the hero of their poems, novels, plays. One may admire their virtuosity; enjoy their ingenuity. But their exercises must not be permitted to confuse or depress those who are carrying on the fight to free the world from the forces—intellectual as well as political and social—which have produced two major wars in twenty-five years. If the post-war philosophers are too weak to fight the hard battles that lie ahead, they should stay away from politics and surrender their claim to leadership.

Better Pay for Better Teachers

THE GLENCOE PLAN IN ACTION

BY M. R. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

VISITING an empty schoolroom, a skilled observer can tell quickly, from the work thumbtacked on the walls and the notes on the blackboard, whether the teacher has the life and imagination that stimulate children to learn. Thoughtful parents usually know intuitively whether Johnny is catching a spark from his teacher. These meaningful signs, however, are frequently ignored where they should be heeded most: school systems generally have failed to recognize the difference between good and bad teaching except at the most obtrusive extremes. Teachers' pay has been not only shamefully low but illogical; until recently no serious attempt to measure and reward teaching quality had been developed.

That higher salaries for teachers and compelling incentives to better teaching are within practical reach has now been demonstrated by the public schools at Glencoe, Illinois. In addition, the Glencoe program, which has been in operation for nearly a year, provides a needed tonic for the whole educational process. "You can't be half-hearted about your job here!" is the way one Glencoe teacher expresses it.

That is the way all teachers should feel about their work, Paul J. Misner, Glencoe's superintendent of schools, believes. Yet professional keenness has been tragically lacking among teachers. Building it up was one of the chief goals that Misner and the Glencoe Board of Education had in mind when they started some intensive fact-facing and fact-finding two years ago. Tempted by war-time wages in other fields, teachers were turning their backs on the profession in ever-increasing numbers. In three years the annual teacher turnover in Glencoe, where teachers' salaries were comparatively high, had risen from 5 to 20 per cent.

Obviously, teachers' salaries had to go up. But higher salaries alone would not accomplish other aims that Misner and some of the Glencoe board members had been thinking about for years. Something was wrong with the theory, as well as the level, of teachers' pay. Teaching was the supreme purpose of the entire school system, but salaries were so arranged that the only way a teacher could make more money was to become a supervisor or principal. In other words, the best teachers were paid a premium to stop teaching! Another thing that didn't seem right was the advancement program, under which teachers with a given amount of preparation were started at a certain salary, which was then increased yearly. "Seniority should be counted, of course," said Misner, "but we ought to be rewarding teachers for teaching better—not just for living longer." Moreover, the group realized, some women who are ill adjusted socially or emotionally actually deteriorate in teaching ability, instead of improving, as the years pass. Yet these teachers get automatic increases along with the others.

How, Misner and the Glencoe board asked, could you make sure that higher pay would buy better teachers, would prod teachers to strive for professional improvement? To help break this problem down, they called in Dr. Arthur B. Moehlman, professor of school administration at the University of Michigan and editor of *The Nation's Schools*, who is considered one of the country's leading specialists in educational finance and personnel. Dr. Moehlman studied the Glencoe schools for a year, concentrating on the measurements used to establish salary and salary-advancement schedules for teachers and other school personnel. If you could find a way to take the premium off becoming a supervisor or principal and put it on becoming a better teacher, he reasoned, you could

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provide the stimulus to superior performance that teaching, in contrast to more competitive occupations, has always lacked. Incidentally, then, you wouldn't need so many supervisors and special-service people, whose only function is to help the teachers teach, and you could pay higher salaries without spending much more money.

Like many modern schools, Glencoe had a teacher rating plan, providing regular checkups on teaching efficiency. Every year each teacher was given a descriptive rating evaluating her performance in the four principal areas of her work—personal-social relationships, pupil-teacher-relationships, community relationships, and professional development. Each teacher was also scored as to character, intelligence, vitality, emotional stability, professional competence, growth, and other pertinent qualities.

Rating plans are nothing new in public-school systems. For the most part, though, they have fallen into disrepute because in many cases the rating has been an arbitrary yardstick applied by a single supervisor or principal, often in a belated attempt to justify the dismissal of incompetent personnel. Many times, too, the rating has emerged as nothing more than an expression of the rater's personal feelings. Misner, however, had always believed firmly in ratings and used them intelligently. "A lot of educators think that teaching ability is too intangible to lend itself to any form of measurement," he says. "As a matter of fact, it is just because a teacher's effectiveness *is* such an intensely personal, elusive thing that I believe we must everlastingly try to analyze and evaluate teaching success as objectively as we can."

In Glencoe a teacher's rating was never left to the judgment of a single person. It was arrived at rather in a series of conferences among supervisors, principal, superintendent, and, significantly, the teacher herself. Self-appraisal by the teacher, in fact, is the keystone of Glencoe's democratic rating plan.

Because they had participated in the formulation and application of their own rating plan, Glencoe's teachers were ready for the revolutionary proposal that Moehlman and Misner ultimately made: Let's use ratings as the basis for determining salaries. Without a dissenting vote the teachers told them to go ahead and work it out.

As it emerged from several months of additional study, with the Board of Education taking part, the Glencoe plan has these main features:

1. *Teachers are employed on a twelve-month basis, instead of for ten months as in the past, but they are paid at the same monthly rate.*

This gave every teacher a 20 per cent raise right away. In addition, it accomplished other important objectives. Under the year-long program some teachers remain to direct the summer academic-recreation schedule that parents welcome as an addition to the school's community services. Others participate in local workshop activities to improve their teaching skills in the fields of art, music, dramatics, speech, science, and other subjects commonly assigned to special teachers. Some concentrate on curriculum studies and reviews of the year's teacher training, and some travel or attend advanced study sessions at a teachers' college. All these activities have one goal—better teaching. As a by-product, the teachers' summer program reduces the need for extra personnel for special services and thus loosens the budget for classroom teachers.

Actually, the twelve-month plan more than pays for the two extra months of teacher time. "We used to spend the month of May hunting for a summer job—and letting our school work slide," teachers confess. "We had to," they add, "and so do thousands of other underpaid teachers." That is one reason learning slows up in the closing weeks of every school year. Time is also wasted at the beginning of a school year, with a week or more devoted largely to getting organized and oriented—making lists, ordering texts and supplies, assigning lockers, and so on. Under the new plan teachers say that learning has momentum from the first day of school.

2. *Salaries for classroom teachers are determined on the same basis as those of special teachers, counselors, and administrators.*

For years public schools have paid lip-service to the obvious fact that the classroom teacher is the most important person in the educational process—but have paid more money to everybody else in the school, including, in some cases, the janitors. The Glencoe plan is making its concept of the classroom function stick by paying teachers, supervisors, administrators, and special-service people on the same basis. The starting level is determined by training; increases depend on competent performance. The teacher who stays in the classroom has the same earning opportunities as the one who aims for the principal's office.

3. *A single salary schedule eliminates sex differentials.*

"Equal pay for equal work" is another principle which has had obeisance but little practical recognition from educators. Little as men teachers have been paid, it has usually been more than their woman colleagues—a tacit acknowledgment that salaries were based not on professional contributions but on the going market price for people who would teach. Any merit plan would be destroyed or badly diluted at the outset, the Glencoe board realized, if this differential were continued. So Glencoe faced up to the educational alarmists who predicted that equal pay would only discourage men teachers. "Current school personnel practices are equally discouraging to men and women alike," was Misner's reply. "We're concerned with the improvement of teaching. We want to attract and retain the most competent teachers, and we think the way to do it is to reward them not on the basis of sex but on performance." The num-

ber of his own men teachers—and of the others who want to get into the Glencoe school system today—is proof that he was right.

4. *All salary advancements are determined on open merit ratings established cooperatively by teachers, counselors, and administrators.*

Briefly, the salary-advancement schedule for teachers as worked out by Moehlman and Misner and put into operation last year by the Board of Education provides that within the appropriate classification according to preparation any teacher may earn increased compensation on the strength of superior professional spirit and ability, individual contributions of value to instruction or administration, or exceptional service to the community—all these to be determined by the merit-rating plan. In addition to annual increases given on the merit basis, a teacher is eligible for special merit awards, with accompanying bonuses, after three years' service. These awards are made for three-year periods, after which the conditions are reviewed to determine whether the extra compensation, which may amount to as much as 15 per cent of the teacher's annual salary, shall be terminated, modified, or continued.

This plan makes sense in an American community that is accustomed to paying for results. One Glencoe taxpayer who hasn't any children and had resisted every school-tax proposal for the last fifteen years wrote to Misner and offered to triple his tax contribution if necessary to guarantee continuation of the new setup. While that was not needed, the Glencoe board is convinced that most communities should pay much higher school taxes than they do, and would gladly pay them if they were assured that better education for their children would be obtained. However, careful projection of costs in Glencoe through 1960 indicates that the economies inherent in extending teacher effectiveness over broader areas will quickly catch up with the additional outlay required to finance the $800-to-$1,400 annual salary increases called for right away.

Educators who have studied the plan believe that this building up of professional self-respect will do more than anything else to bring into teaching the kind of men and women that the profession needs so desperately today. Better pay for teachers will help, of course, but most teachers and educators agree that recognition of professional ability is even more important.

Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

VII. Dinuba, California

THE Bureau of Agricultural Economics, a fact-finding board for agricultural policy-makers and to some extent a policy-making organization itself, has been having trouble ever since Henry Wallace left the Department of Agriculture in 1940. First it was blamed for the setting of price ceilings for cotton and then for saying that Southern Negroes were learning organizing techniques from Northern Negroes. But it was its study of Dinuba, California, that brought down the killing blow.

Dinuba is a flat, well-paved Central Valley town, its pleasant, uncrowded bungalows set in grass and shaded by olive and palm trees. It is clearly prosperous, though there is a small slum area and the forty-three ramshackle buildings of a farm-labor camp across the tracks are occupied by Japanese families cultivating their own tiny vegetable gardens. On the main street is the inevitable Bank of America and a branch of the Security–First National. There are drugstores, variety stores, hardware, furniture, and electrical-appliance stores. For movies Dinuba has the State and the Pep. Along the tracks are a Del Monte and two other packing plants. Among the fourteen churches are a Methodist church, a Mennonite, a Mormon, a Seventh Day Adventist, a Nazarene, Aimee Semple McPherson's Foursquare, and a Korean Presbyterian. The town has no powerful labor organization and no important cooperative, but it has Masons, Odd Fellows, Rotary, Lions, and Wisemen.

In 1944 Walter Goldschmidt, a field worker from the Berkeley regional office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, was assigned to investigate the effect of large-scale farming on the people who do it. He made a comparative study of Dinuba and Arvin, another farming community a hundred miles south. These two areas were picked because normally the value of their products is almost exactly the same (about $2,500,000 in 1940), their populations are comparable (the Dinuba farming area 7,700; the Arvin area 6,500), and their actual cultivated acreages not too different (Dinuba 28,000, Arvin 41,000). In both regions high-value crops are grown by irrigation.

There are, however, important differences between the two towns. In the Dinuba area 34 per cent of the breadwinners are farm owner-operators, in the Arvin area only 11 per cent. In Dinuba 29 per cent are farm laborers, against 65 per cent in Arvin. Professional and white-

collar people make up 16 per cent of Dinuba's population but only 8 per cent of Arvin's. Dinuba has twice as many business establishments and twice as many churches.

While there were a number of reasons for the variation, such as the greater age of Dinuba, the principal one was quite clear. Goldschmidt found that the size of the average farm around Dinuba was 57 acres and the average annual production $3,300; around Arvin it was 497 acres, with an average production of $18,000. In the Dinuba area there are almost no large operators, and in Arvin there are almost no small operators. Dinuba, with its paved streets, brick buildings, and furniture stores, is a small-family, straight-capitalist farm community. Arvin, with its dusty, poorly lighted streets, wooden shacks, and saloons, is a backward, semi-feudal industrial village.

Drawing by Golden

Arvin works mostly for Joe Di Giorgio, who is said to control more fruit land than any other man in the United States. In a WPA community building at Arvin is a bronze bust of Joe, who regards himself as a great benefactor of the town and its people, and who poses as just a poor immigrant boy and hard-working farmer. When Joe, flanked by high-priced lawyers and assuming a strong accent, testified before a Senate committee he said he was just a plain dirt farmer, not a "long-distance telephone farmer." (This is a fairly typical performance; one of Joe's contemporaries said to the Senate Commerce Committee: "I operate a family-sized farm. It is operated by my wife, my four children, and myself. It is composed of about 42,000 acres.")

Arvin has a two-lane pavement down the center of its broad main street. It has no other paved streets. To the casual tourist driving through, a Dinuba man's contemptuous description of it as just "a wide place in the road" seems accurate enough. You would never imagine that this impermanent-appearing collection of jerry-built shacks jammed together often two on a lot was in any way comparable with Dinuba. Yet the BAE figures show that it is. The difference in the homes is reflected in the fact that in Arvin only $103 is spent on furniture for every $100 spent on liquor, whereas in Dinuba $232 goes for furniture for every $100 for liquor.

The same volume of farm production supports about 15 per cent more people in the Dinuba area at a level of living, based on material possessions, approximately 34 per cent higher. In addition, social opportunities in Dinuba are far greater, as shown by the fact that it has five service and commercial organizations against Arvin's two, two fraternal organizations against none in Arvin, four active women's clubs against none in Arvin, and two scout troops, each with its own building, against one in Arvin with no building. As though to demonstrate the differences in social opportunity, Goldschmidt reports one Arvin farm operator planning to become an absentee landlord in order to give his children better surroundings, while a much-traveled business man selected Dinuba as the place to start his own enterprise because it seemed an ideal community in which to raise a family.

To top off the differences, Dinuba has been incorporated for forty years and thus makes local decisions by democratic methods. Arvin is unincorporated.

The comparison between Arvin and Dinuba has an important lesson for the nation. The Bureau of Reclamation has always had a regulation that no more than 160 acres of any one person's land may be irrigated from one of its projects. A man may irrigate additional holdings himself if water is available, but this is more expensive. Large California operators have been trying to get this rule set aside for the Central Valley project. Their desire to have unlimited cheap water is understandable, but from the national point of view the rule is desirable because it offers opportunity to many more farmers and the Dinuba study shows that owner-operated farms averaging as few as fifty-seven acres make for more prosperous citizens and a happier community than big industrialized operations employing larger numbers of hired workers.

This proof that small irrigated farms are better than large brought about a resolution by the directors of the California Farm Bureau Federation, friend of the big farmers, disapproving ". . . the personnel of the BAE spending a considerable portion of their time in preparing reports on various Central Valley study problems." In the next Department of Agriculture appropriation bill the following provision mysteriously appeared:

> No part of the funds herein appropriated or made available to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics shall be used for state and county land-use planning, for conducting cultural surveys, or for the maintenance of more than one worker in the respective regional offices.

Howard R. Tolley, realizing that the bureau he had built and directed was now stripped of its fact-finding ability and of its freedom, resigned as chief, and the usefulness of the bureau came virtually to an end. The Dinuba study, which showed that its small family farms make a better way of life than the large factory farms of Arvin, and that less than 160 acres of irrigated land is enough to support a family, was used to destroy one of the most honest and courageous organizations in Washington, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Wall Street's Nervous Breakdown

THE graph of stock averages for the past few weeks looks very like the profile of a cascade. Values have tumbled precipitately, come to rest precariously and temporarily on narrow ledges, and then sped downward again. Eventually the market will level out, but the point where this will happen does not yet seem to be in sight.

Is there any good economic reason for this break in the stock markets? I must confess that I have failed to find one among the many explanations by "authorities" that I have been reading. Like doctors baffled by lack of recognizable physical symptoms, they all, in the end, fall back on references to psychological conditions. Investors, we are told, are acting this way because they are suffering from "frustration" and "loss of confidence." But that leaves us asking why such neurotic tendencies should develop in the face of a situation which, objectively considered, appears highly promising. For business as a whole is good and shows signs of getting better as reconversion problems are ironed out. Employment has reached new highs, production is rising, retail sales continue to beat all records.

Nor can the situation be described as one of "profitless prosperity" when every day adds to the tale of increased dividends. It is true that a few industries which had been beset by a combination of labor troubles and material shortages—automobiles are the outstanding example—made a poor showing for the first half of 1946. But the earnings picture, taken all around, is extremely favorable and for many industries positively rosy. The *Journal of Commerce* has recently declared that no early decline in profits is in sight and that, in fact, earnings for the current half-year are expected to be higher than those reported for either the six months ending June 30 or the second half of 1945. In another business organ, *Barron's*, H. J. Nelson, contributor of a regular column on the stock market, pointed out on September 2 that "earning power is strong and bids fair to be stronger in the current half-year, notably in the case of railroads and heavy industries. It is to future earning power that the stock market always looks."

Since these words were written, the slump has come, and one can only conclude either that the market is expressing a disbelief in apparent future earning power or that it has been so scared by something that it is neglecting this normally important factor. One non-professional theory, put forward by Representative Sabath, is that the break has been caused by "bear raids" conducted in the political interests of the Republicans. There seems to be no evidence to support this suggestion. Figures published by the Securities and Exchange Commission show that during the month ending September 13 the short interest on the New York Stock Exchange declined from 732,649 shares to 627,946, the smallest total since January, 1943. This means that in the first days of the break the bears, as a group, were buying to cover sales made previously and thus were supporting rather than depressing the market.

In 1929 over-extended credit was an important factor in the collapse. The pyramiding of holdings on very slim margins had been carried to fantastic lengths, and when the bubble burst there was forced liquidation on a tremendous scale as speculators unable to keep their loans covered jettisoned stocks at any price. But during the bull market which began shortly after Pearl Harbor margin trading has not been of great significance, and for many months past new margin commitments have been prohibited. Hence involuntary liquidation has played a very minor part in the recent landslide. If investors have scrambled to sell, it is not because their bankers have been snapping at their heels but because they have sought to salvage profits or to cut losses.

It is strange, however, that at a moment when talk of inflation is filling the air, there should be such a rush to convert equities, which in effect represent goods, into depreciating currency. Nor is this puzzle solved by references to fears engendered by the international situation. For what could give a more powerful boost to the massive inflationary forces in existence than the outbreak of war?

Thus logic and economic analysis alike seem of small help in providing a convincing diagnosis of the market's ills, and like others I find myself compelled to seek psychological explanations. One thing to remember is the longevity of the late bull market. As it grew older many investors with large paper profits grew increasingly fidgety. Yet, in its final months this market exhibited particular virility, thanks mainly to the abolition of the excess-profits tax, which automatically doubled and trebled the profits of numerous concerns, and to lively anticipations of the great killing to be made from restocking war-stripped shelves.

Although, however, as I have already pointed out, that killing has been, and is being, enjoyed by many concerns, the return to normalcy has not been as immediate and uninhibited as many business men anticipated. The OPA and the unions have clouded the hoped-for unrestrained carnival of profits in a way that has, indeed, proved frustrating to numerous capitalists. Even those who have not actually been hurt in the least have been squealing so loudly that they have almost convinced themselves of their ruin. In short, Wall Street—using that expression in a much wider than geographical sense—may be said to have wailed itself into a nervous breakdown.

That, perhaps, should not worry the majority of people. But a market slump without economic cause will not necessarily remain without economic effects. In our society a stock-market depression can do much to slow down the whole economy both by checking consumption in the upper brackets—paper losses make investors feel poor even though their incomes are unaffected—and still more by frightening business men from expanding investments. Continued long enough, a break in the market often provides its own economic justification. Whether it will do so on this occasion, it is not yet possible to say, but failing an early recovery of nerve the outlook is ominous. KEITH HUTCHISON

P.S. Since this page went to the printer the market has rallied as a result of Wallace's dismissal—further proof of its irrational and neurotic behavior.—K. H.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Modest Expert

NORTH & SOUTH. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

ELIZABETH BISHOP is spectacular in being unspectacular. Why has no one ever thought of this, one asks oneself; why not be accurate and modest? Miss Bishop's mechanics of presentation with its underlying knowledges, moreover, reduces critical cold blood to cautious self-inquiry.

The adornments are structural, as with alliteration, contrast, and the reiterated word as a substitute for rhyme. And rhyme, when used, outshines restraint. Miss Bishop says, "icebergs behoove the soul," "being self-made from elements least visible . . . fleshed, fair, erected indivisible"; and of "snow-fort" "sand-fort" Paris at 7 a.m.,

> . . . It is like introspection
> to stare inside, or retrospection,
> a star inside a rectangle, a recollection:

One notes the difficult rhyme-scheme of Roosters, sustained through many stanzas: "Peter's sin was

> of spirit, Peter's
> folly, beneath the flares
> among the servants and officers.

Among the many musicianly strategies is an expert disposition of pauses; and the near-rhymes are impeccable, as in Wading at Wellfleet, "The sea is 'all a case of knives'

> Lying so close, they catch the sun,
> the spokes directed at the shin."

One has here a verisimilitude that avoids embarrassingly direct descriptiveness; when journeying from the Country to the City, for instance: "flocks of shining wires seem to be flying sidewise"; and direct description is neat, never loose, as when the asphalt is said to be "watermelon-striped, light-dry, dark-wet," after the water-wagon's "hissing, snowy fan" has passed. We find that enumerative description—one of Miss Bishop's specialties—can be easy and compact:

> Now can you see the monument? It is of wood
> built somewhat like a box. No. Built
> like several boxes in descending sizes
> one above the other.
> Each is turned half-way round so that
> its corners point toward the sides
> of the one below and the angles alternate.

The wake of the barge is foliage with "Mercury-veins on the giant leaves," always the accurate word; and sensation, yet more difficult to capture than appearance, is objectified mysteriously well:

> Alone on the railroad track
> I walked with pounding heart.
> The ties were too close together
> or maybe too far apart.

Miss Bishop does not avoid "fearful pleasantries," and in The Fish, as in the subject of the poem, one is not glad of the creature's every perquisite; but the poem dominates recollection; Anaphora does; and The Weed has so somber an authority, surrealism should take a course in it.

Dignity has been sacrificed to exactness in the word "neatly": "The mangrove island with bright green leaves edged neatly with bird-droppings like illuminations in silver"; and in Songs for a Colored Singer, where impulsiveness is the verbal machinery, has every phrase the feel of the rest of the words—the auxiliary verb "will" for instance? "And if I protest Le Roy will answer with a frown." Like Pyramus and Thisbe, however, ardor in art finds a way, and apostrophe *s* is the deft spelling for "is": "All we got for his dollars and cents/ 's a pile of bottles by the fence." The omission of three poems which appeared in "Trial Balances" is a loss—The Reprimand, and Valentines I and II.

Art which "cuts its facets from within" can mitigate suffering, can even be an instrument of happiness; as also forgiveness, symbolized in Miss Bishop's meditation on St. Peter by the cock, seems essential to happiness. Reinhold Niebuhr recently drew attention in *The Nation* to the fact that the cure for international incompatibilities is not diplomacy but contrition. Nor is it permissible to select the wrongs for which to be contrite; we are contrite; we won't be happy till we are sorry. Miss Bishop's speculation also, concerning faith—religious faith—is a carefully plumbed depth in this small-large book of beautifully formulated aesthetic-moral mathematics. The unbeliever is not ridiculed; but is not anything that is adamant, self-ironized?

> . . . Up here
> I tower through the sky
> For the marble wings on my tower-top fly.

With poetry as with homiletics, tentativeness can be more positive than positiveness; and in "North & South," a much instructed persuasiveness is emphasized by uninsistence. At last we have a prize book that has no creditable mannerisms. At last we have someone who knows, who is not didactic.

MARIANNE MOORE

Nehru's India

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. By Jawaharlal Nehru. The John Day Company. $5.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is a great leader of people who has had numerous periods of leisure interspersed through a long career of public activity in which to meditate, generalize, and write about the causes to which he is devoted. These periods of leisure have been forced upon him by the government of India in nine confinements in jail. A man of reflection and unusual capacity for literary expression, he has used much of his imprisonment for writing, and he has produced three important books: "Glimpses of World History," his "Autobiography" (published in this country as "Toward Freedom"), and now "The Discovery of India." This last

work, of nearly six hundred pages, was written during five months of the almost three years which constituted his latest term—August 9, 1942, to June 15, 1945.

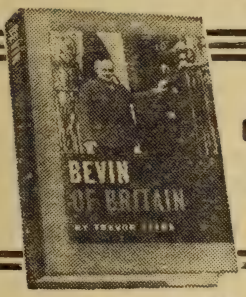
The purpose of the present volume is to survey the past and present of India so as to assess the country's strength and weakness and its position in the world, but not in any academic fashion. The whole undertaking is in response to "the call of action . . . not action divorced from thought, but rather flowing from it in one continuous sequence." The course of action which he endeavors to indicate is at once national as constituting policy for India and individual as a directive for himself.

This purpose gives the book a very personal character, since Nehru is talking about himself as well as India. Some of the material is directly autobiographical, notably that which deals with his wife's death in Switzerland in February, 1936. More consists of an exposition of his personal philosophy, the springs of his activity, his response to mankind, individually or in the mass, and to nature, the moods developed by the sight or thought of the Bengal famine or by his imprisonment. Still more consists of informal essays, varying in length from a paragraph to several pages, giving his personal opinions on Indian or world institutions or cultural phenomena, from any period of history, appraising them in their time and locality and evaluating them for the present world, especially for India.

After a brief introductory section the book falls into two great parts. The first of these, 230 pages in length, treats India's past from the time of the Indus Valley civilization in the third millennium B. C. through the termination of Indian rule. The second, almost 300 pages long, deals with India as a British possession: the consolidation of British rule; the motives and methods of British administration; its effect upon the country; the rise, growth, and character of the nationalist movement and especially the Indian National Congress, with discussion of its social, economic, and political aims and some remarks about its leaders, more particularly Gandhi; characterization of other parties, especially the Moslem League, its viewpoint, which he regards as medieval and feudal, and its leader, M. A. Jinnah; India during the war; current problems.

The survey of India's past deals with humanistic, social, and technical data. It is in no sense a conventional treatment. Nehru is not a professional historian—he says so himself—and the professional historian would find the discussion unsatisfactory. The value of Nehru's discussion, however, is definite. Any topic which he happens to be considering he embellishes with his own opinions concerning its meaning today. For example, he shows that the discovery of the Indus civilization, first announced in 1924, helped to build up India's self-esteem by proving that the country shares the glory of antiquity with the Near East and China, but he makes it clear that Indians must not ignore the needs and opportunities of the present in day-dreaming about that or any other period of India's greatness. The religion of the Rig Veda was interesting and important around 1500-1000 B. C., but present-day efforts to resurrect it as a practical cult are futile. The system of caste, he admits, developed in response to the social and economic demands of ancient India, but excesses and corruptions became a part of it and have made it a liability, not an asset; it hinders India's advance, and must be abolished. The great message which he would give to India in this part of the book is "not to break with the past, and yet not to live in it; realize the present and look to the future." India's history, he says repeatedly, has had its periods of growth and periods of stagnation, and it has now been for some centuries in one of the latter. The growth came when there was a willingness to change, to accept new material and amalgamate it with the existing culture. That is India's need now. To Indians, who live close to their civilization, Nehru's linking of the past and the present must be most suggestive and instructive; even in a new country like our own, where tradition is a very young thing, appraisal of our religious, educational, and other social institutions is a perennial subject for investigators; but they are rarely examined by a man so close to his people, yet so rich in thought and word, as Nehru. To Westerners his treatment is perhaps the most illuminating ever published on the significance to India today of its inherited civilization.

In his long treatise on India under Britain Nehru again writes unconventionally, but with a better command of the source material. This is the part of India's history which bears most directly upon his mission. He writes in discursive fashion, speaking without any fixed order and with considerable repetition of the motives of British imperialism, the difference between the domination for exploitation which it practiced and the domination by India's previous conquerors, who settled in the country. He finds that Britain destroyed India's economy, both agricultural and industrial,



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encouraged feudal and antiquated systems of landholding, wiped out the old local village government, instituted a political administration divorced from contact with the people, supported and in some cases created Indian states, which as a class are a liability, and has in general been so indifferent to the interests of the country that it is impossible for India to remain in the British Empire (or Commonwealth of Nations) on any terms. These are all old propositions, but Nehru develops them with great eloquence and power. Such improvements as Britain has brought to India, in the way of railways or other modernization, he discounts as meant to further British exploitation. He summarizes the Congress's point of view in not giving the war vigorous support, in spite of its hostility to Germany, Italy, and Japan. He shows in an excellent analysis exactly why the Cripps proposals of 1942 were loaded with harm. Americans would do well to read these accounts to correct the misconceptions that still linger in many minds. He shows why the Congress objects to dividing India along the lines of "Pakistan," and tells how the Churchill government tried to destroy the Congress as a political force.

Nehru's main points are, first, that India is culturally a unit; the Hindu-Moslem antipathy he considers greatly exaggerated and largely produced by the British policies in India; it must be remarked here that he does not seem to give very convincing material for supporting the thesis that the two communities are or ever were sufficiently assimilated culturally to be regarded as one. He thinks, second, that India's greatness resulted from a combination of philosophic search and material development. Third, India is at present in a trough which has lasted for a number of centuries, and for which India itself must take full share of the blame. Fourth, India must exert itself to new creativeness so as to take its place in the modern world, and absolute prerequisites to this end are internal unity, which Indians can achieve if they wish, and complete freedom from Britain.

The true measure of Nehru appears in his international view of the world. Nationalism he regards as not in itself desirable, except as satisfaction of it must precede any cooperation of one country with others. For a country under foreign domination, he says often, nationalism cannot be ignored or displaced by internationalism. Nevertheless, he sees the larger goal clearly and predicts, in words written while the war was still in progress, much of the bickering between the allies that is now going on. As leader of India's new popular government he may be expected to throw his country's support to the promotion of his international aims. Emotionally as well as intellectually his interest is in mankind as a whole, not in a local group.

W. NORMAN BROWN

The Blind Men and the Elephant

G. B. S.—90. Edited by S. Winsten. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

EVERYBODY except the village idiot—and, reading some of this prose, you can feel none too sure of the exception—seems to have been invited to contribute words of praise for George Bernard Shaw on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday. Some of the tributes, particularly those of the elders—Gilbert Murray, Max Beerbohm, Sidney Webb, H. G. Wells—are touching to the point of pathos; and some of the essays, notably those by C. E. M. Joad and Dean W. R. Inge, can be taken seriously; here and there, in many places, for that matter, one can find small nuggets for which to be grateful.

For example, Professor Edward J. Dent quotes our hero on the subject of Mahler's orchestra, with its brass "a huge tribe of mongrels, differing chiefly in size. I felt that some ancestor of the trombones had been guilty of a mésalliance with a bombardon; that each cornet, though itself already an admittedly half-bred trumpet, was further disgracing itself by a leaning towards the flügel horn; and that the mother of the horns must have run away with a whole military band."

Or James Bridie with a few words of sense in what seems to me a very silly effort indeed on Shaw as dramatist: "He has given us Alfred Doolittle, Androcles, General Gascoigne (*sic*), William the Waiter, Warwick, Bluntschli, Lady Cecily, Dubedat, Shotover, Lickcheese, Mrs. Warren and Ellie Dunn, and fifty more varied and living characters. His John Tanner is as good as Molière's Don in an entirely different way. I have no patience with people who say that Shaw can only create walking gramophones."

But, in general, it does not add up to very much of anything; judging the original by the tributes, one would be inclined to wonder what all the furor was about. Everybody takes a little segment, walks around it from the outside, feels it and handles it, like the story of the blind men and the elephant, and never gets to the total reality: the book comes out more fromage than homage. In particular, I think more might have been made of the emotion in Shaw's plays, the music, the poetry, the color, the great dramatic effects, extending even to the stage directions. Read, to see what I mean, the setting for the beginning of the first act of "Caesar and Cleopatra"; or study the magnificent fourth act, with its changes of light to the final curtain, the darkness, and the moonlight, and the tableau: "Ftatateeta is lying dead on the altar of Ra, with her throat cut. Her blood deluges the white stone." Or other scenes, in other plays: the shifting of the wind at Joan's entrance, interrupting the lovely lyric interlude between Dunois and the page; the wonderful description of the stage setting at the beginning of the epilogue in "Saint Joan"; the terrible irony of the *"Immenso Giubilo"* passage in "Major Barbara"—so many places: what do you mean, no emotion, no poetry, no drama, in Bernard Shaw?

Still, he frightens people. Karl Marx made a man of me, he said; so he frightens those who are frightened by Marx. Mozart, who showed him how to be profound without being gloomy, had something to do with it; so he frightens those who prefer Brahms. Their name is legion, unhappily, who cannot see "gaiety transfiguring all that dread," who cannot hear, as Gilbert Murray heard, the benevolence in the chuckle behind the holly bush. "Supreme strength," Chesterton wrote in "The Man Who Was Thursday," "is shown in levity," and he goes on to quote the Bible: "Why leap ye so, ye high hills?" Shaw has levity, in this sense, in the best sense of the word: lightness, and lift. The only words of his that ever gave me a sinking feeling were those at the end of the latest newsreel picture of him that I saw: "Goodby," he said, three

times, "Goodby, goodby." Oh, no, stay for ever! We need you.

"This shall be written of our time," wrote Chesterton in his book on Shaw, "that when the spirit who denies besieged the last citadel, blaspheming life itself, there were some, there was one especially, whose voice was heard and whose spear was never broken." Amen. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Lone Ranger Rides Again

TWO WORLDS. By William B. Ziff. Harper and Brothers. $3.

IT WOULD probably be sufficient to say of "Two Worlds" that Old Faithful is at it again, but that this time the ejected mud has a slightly different chemical composition and the colored lights Mr. Ziff turns upon the cloud of steam are of more lurid hues.

At any rate, the normal methods of reviewing a book can hardly be applied to this conglomerate ejaculation. Old Faithful does not state his axioms, present the facts, analyze their import in consecutive stages as other men do. He does all these things on every page, with varying degrees of explicitness and rigor, so that one is contantly listening, with diminishing aural tolerance, to the same complex of points. Nor does Mr. Ziff distinguish between his rational judgments and his emotional reactions, for they all have the same effect of maintaining thermal pressure. Facts, errors, allegations, oversimplified dramatizations of history, scraps of myth, infantile rationalizations, sound intuitions, and great lumps of realistic tufa whirl around in his volcanic caldron until the moment of release, when Boom! or Pouf! Then for a brief minute the mud of a new vision of order patters down upon one's clothes.

I am not being unfair. In two consecutive paragraphs on page 310 Mr. Ziff marshals his reasons for believing that the "Western" non-Russian world can be welded—with a North American blow torch—into an economic and military unity. They are: (1) The British, Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders have a cultural outlook like our own. (2) Many of the Latin countries of South America are melting-pots, like the United States. (3) Brazil and Chile are European for the most part; Uruguay and the Argentine are almost purely European. Proof? See Point 4. (4) Perón had an English grandfather.

With his eye upon the newspaper, or at least the clippings, Mr. Ziff declares there are two worlds. Geographically these are the Eurasian and the Western world. Diplomatically they are or should be the Russian and the North American world. Politically they are to be considered as communist and capitalist respectively. The attempt to institute world government, Mr. Ziff says, can only lead to war, which will probably involve the defeat of America. Therefore America should neither fear Russian imperialism nor its methods but should go and do likewise. The United States should federate the Western world with the aid of Ziffian persuasion and a number of flattops. Then we should join with the Russians to federate the world.

Like Mr. Ingersoll, Mr. Ziff has been reading *PM,* and he is therefore stuffed with understanding about Britain.

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Britain is cunningly trying to put over the idea that its commercial survival is necessary to America. At the same time, "Britain must be viewed as the most eastern extension of this hemisphere and, in certain respects, the key to its military defense." It is hopeless for Britain to try to restore its economy by nationalization, Mr. Ziff declares. Britain alone cannot defend the Empire; so it is "apparent that Britain can only be rescued by an act of voluntary renunciation which divested her of her Empire and caused her to become a working partner in a federate union of equals."

Is it unfair to suspect that Mr. Ziff, once a Five-World, now a Two-World man, is on the way to becoming a Non-Willkian One-World man, and that somewhere at the back of his boiler he thinks we should liberate Britain with a voluntary renunciation of its empire? On page 330 he writes, "We could settle the Argentine question with a minimum of effort by sending a few airplane carriers to the mouth of the Rio Plata, where an expeditious end would be placed to both Perón and his pretensions."

That the "Western bloc" in the U. N., unlike the "Soviet bloc," has no articulated common philosophy Mr. Ziff knows, and he quite properly argues that it is useless to oppose the Soviet dynamism with negative solutions. The basis for our philosophy must be a faith in the practice of free enterprise and the parliamentary system. But there is no sort of discussion in this book of what sort of strains the attempt to impose this faith in free enterprise upon European parliaments might produce. Analysis designed to discover whether free enterprise is economically practicable in Europe is also missing.

Mr. Ziff is aware that the two worlds would necessarily be military agglomerations. That does not frighten him, for he believes that "our" prosperity and force would be so impressive that the Russian dynamism would come to terms. I can swallow a gnat or two like a flattop off the Argentine coast, but I balk at too many camels on my plate at one helping. It is a gratuitous assumption that the two Ziffian vulcanisms, ideologically so different, so vast in their federal extension, spreading over such ambiguously turbulent areas as they must, would either federate or work together more peacefully than the world emerging from the public volcano of the U. N.

RALPH BATES

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FICTION IN REVIEW

Wishful Writing

I HAVE several times written in this column about the work of John Hersey as a very marked example of our recent political-literary tendency to reduce the complexity of the world to a series of easy choices between right and wrong social and personal attitudes. Irwin Shaw, whose short fiction frequently appears in the *New Yorker*, is another notable exponent of the same school of liberalistic over-simplification. There are twelve stories in Mr. Shaw's new volume, "Act of Faith" (Random House, $2.50), all on war themes. Even a brief synopsis of their content should indicate the facility with which they make their discriminations between human good and evil.

In Preach on the Dusty Road, a successful accountant, seeing his son off to war, wonders why he has spent his time trimming down the income taxes of his wealthy employers instead of working to save the world from its present doom. In Faith at Sea, a thirty-five-year-old naval lieutenant, sustained by the responsibility of his position and the confidence of his men, performs an appendectomy on a sick sailor. In Walking Wounded, a war-fatigued soldier contrasts the behavior of his gallant English wife and the war-profiteering of the women he meets in Cairo. In Retreat, a German major, retiring before the American advance on Paris, drinks beer with a French Jew and vainly protests his innocence of Nazi guilt. In Part in a Play, a French actor atones for the fact that he has played in the occupation theater by getting himself killed fighting the Germans. In Medal from Jerusalem, a German Jewess in Palestine scorns her Arab admirer and gives her love, and a St. Christopher medal, to a young Vermonter. In The Veterans Reflect, an American soldier, returning to his family in Chicago, is outraged by overhearing a rich business man insisting that the real danger in the world is Russia. In Act of Faith, a young Jewish soldier, whose friends have been persuading him to finance their leave by selling the Lüger he captured from a German, receives a letter from home describing the anti-Semitism in America; he wonders if it is wise to part with his gun, until he is reassured by the decency of his Gentile comrades.

This omits four of Mr. Shaw's stories—Gunner's Passage and Night in Algiers, which are merely fragmentary impres-

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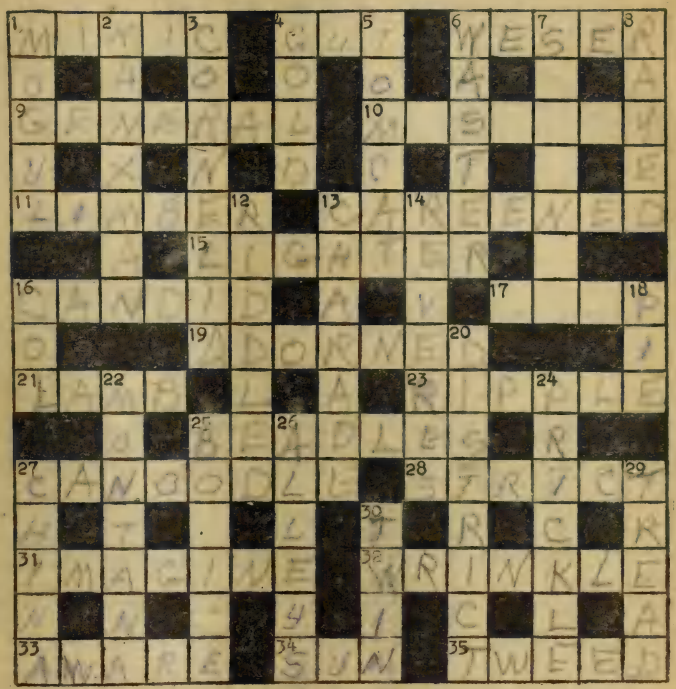
September 12

Crossword Puzzle No. 180

By JACK BARRETT



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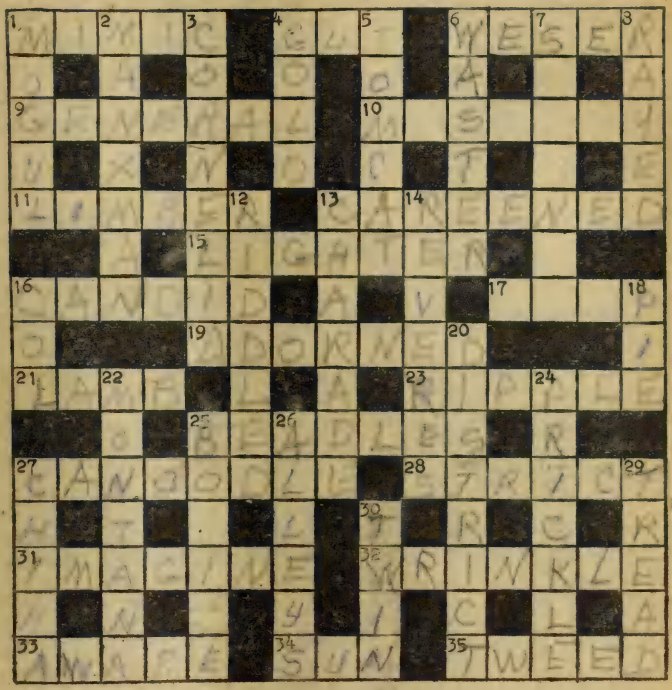

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEE of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has issued a report as illuminating to the layman as to those intrusted with devising means of keeping our world safe from atomic war. For a moment the shadow of Hiroshima is lifted, and we catch a glimpse of the vast potentialities of atomic energy in a world without bombs. The highly readable document presents a clear picture of the processes by which nuclear fuels and radioactive products are extracted from the two basic materials, uranium and thorium. It reaches the important conclusion that technical safeguards are possible to prevent fissionable materials from being diverted from peaceful to war-time uses. But it insists that such safeguards must be applied at every stage of the process from mine to atomic-fuel installations. The later stages are obviously the most dangerous and require the most rigorous supervision to prevent the diversion of nuclear material. Not only has the material reached a high degree of U-235 concentration, but the installations needed to make bombs from nuclear fuel are comparatively small and require only a limited, highly trained personnel for their operation. At this stage clandestine activities would be most difficult to detect. The committee deliberately excludes questions of the political feasibility of the necessary safeguards. But its line of reasoning leads directly to the acceptance of the main findings of the Lilienthal-Acheson and Baruch reports. The free exchange of scientific information and the close consultation of nuclear scientists may, as the committee suggests, aid in detecting possible clandestine activities. But nothing short of an over-all international Authority with full control over all atomic-energy development will provide adequate safeguards. It is to be hoped that the Soviet representative on the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission, who gave his assent to the technical report, will join with the other commission members in recognizing its much wider implications.

*

TODAY, WHEN A KING RETURNS FROM EXILE it's news—and not too good news at that. It can hardly be said that George II's return to Greece brings to a martyred people the fulfilment of hopes raised by the often-repeated war aims of the Allies. For in his name the days of the Metaxas terror have been restored. Former fascist leaders and Nazi collaborators direct the monarchist gendarmerie and vigilantes in their war of extermination against all Greeks who persist in their belief in freedom. UNRRA supplies are withheld from the wives and children of peasants who have fled to the mountains. Anti-malaria planes are commandeered to hunt down political refugees. Liberal and left leaders are deported to concentration camps in Greek islands, their lives at the mercy of monarchist jailers. The harvest stands ungathered because the peasants have fled from the terror. All plans for economic rehabilitation are suspended. And on the northern frontiers of Thrace and the Epirus, guerrilla bands infiltrate from Bulgaria and Albania, to provide the rightists with the pretext that their actions are in defense of Greek soil. It is too much to expect that George II will emerge as a heroic liberal figure who would bind up the wounds of his nation and actively support the rebuilding of democracy. His past record contains no sign of political enlightenment. But at least those outside powers who engineered his return should insist that he call off his supporters from their savage depredations, that he restore civil liberties, and that he widen his government to permit an infusion of liberal elements. It is also fair to insist that, in keeping with Stalin's recent assurances, the pro-Soviet states to the north desist from their pressure on the frontier and give the Greek people a chance to begin their long, painful march back to freedom.

*

CHARLES DE GAULLE'S UNCOMPROMISING opposition to the new French draft constitution places squarely upon him the responsibility for dividing France into two bitterly antagonistic groups. His speech at Epinal last Sunday was an example of the iniquitous policy of bloc-building, which is undermining the chances of real peace between nations, applied on a national scale. The man who symbolized "unity among Frenchmen" and who still protested at Epinal that he belongs neither to the right nor the left, has become the undisputed leader of French reaction. Having renounced the support of the M. R. P., which not only voted for the draft constitution but had a large hand in its preparation, De Gaulle must turn henceforth for support to the Parti Républicain de la Liberté and to the Cagoulards

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who have succeeded in entrenching themselves in the French army. Instead of fulfilling the roll he originally assigned himself—that of national conciliator ready to use his great moral influence to weld together opposing parties and factions—he has chosen to become the chief of the very faction that today is rallying the former Vichy forces against the Resistance. *The Nation*, which firmly supported De Gaulle when the General was leading France's fight for liberation, is sorry to see him in this new and tragic role.

*

INSIDE INFORMATION FROM CHINA CASTS grave doubt on Nanking's claims of great victories in its recent anti-Communist drive. Kuomintang losses in the past six weeks of fighting are estimated to be in the neighborhood of 130,000, or 15 per cent of the combat effectives at Chiang's disposal. This figure is accounted for by large-scale desertions and the surrender of several important units. Communist losses are not known, but they are believed to be much lighter because there have been few desertions and no instances in which whole units have gone over to the enemy. Chou En-lai, second-ranking Communist leader, is quoted as saying that the American arms captured will equip three Communist divisions. American correspondents have also reported noticing an increasing amount of Lend-Lease material in the hands of Yenan soldiers. Although the Kuomintang troops, aided by American arms and planes, have succeeded in taking a number of important cities, including the Communist base of Hwaiyin in North Kiangsu, the Communists, through their greater mobility and the support received from the peasants, have constantly harassed the flanks of the Kuomintang columns with a success not generally reported in the American press. The pattern is a familiar one in China. Anti-Communist liquidation campaigns were invariably "successful" during the early 1930's. If the recent campaigns have yielded no greater results than the above information suggests, the present moment would seem a propitious one for renewed American pressure for all-round political and military settlement.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN DESERVES THE SUPPORT of every American citizen in his firm stand against the lifting of meat ceilings. That the meat shortage is caused by a strike of packers and cattle growers against OPA regulations is so obvious a fact that the public should have no difficulty in fixing the blame. But with Republicans and Democrats alike seeking to make political capital out of the shortage, a forthright statement by the President was necessary to allay misunderstandings. Moreover, the statement should help in alleviating the shortage. For in serving notice that there would be no change in government policy, that the present ceilings

on meat would be rigorously enforced, the President must have reassured thousands of small growers who had been withholding their cattle because of the rumors that meat would shortly be decontrolled. The statement was well-timed. As Secretary Anderson has pointed out, October is the month when the cattle-raisers usually begin to market their grass-fed stock. While the bumper corn crop will make it possible for a larger number of animals to be fattened for later sale, Department of Agriculture statistics indicated that only about 25 per cent of the cattle are normally held back for grain feeding. Last week's figures show an increase of 50 per cent in the number of cattle slaughtered as compared with the previous week. Thus, we should expect a distinct improvement in the meat situation within a few weeks if the present effective measures against the black market can be maintained and strengthened. It is essential, however, that all of us keep our heads and not allow either packer propaganda or the Republican search for an election issue to create a state of public hysteria that would force a change in Administration policy.

Their Own Petards

IN THESE frantic and complex days when the vintage of wrath is being trampled out in the capitals of the world, when global conflicts and national politics demand more and more attention, the harried liberal has reason to be thankful that certain individuals and groups keep on fighting those less dramatic battles which tend to get lost in the cosmic shuffle, but which must nevertheless be won, and won the hard way.

Such a deserving group is the Committee for the Nation's Health, an organization headed by Dr. Channing Frothingham, which carries on the good fight for national health insurance as embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, S. 1606.

Among the more intriguing products of Dr. Frothingham's campaign is a recently published statement submitted to the Senate Education and Labor Committee to refute the hysterical pamphleteering of the National Physicians' Committee, an independent protégé of the American Medical Association, bound by the latter's policies. The fillip in this particular statement is in the method of refutation: the N. P. C. is confounded with a factual analysis of S. 1606 prepared by the Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the A. M. A. itself and published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. The A. M. A. is thus permitted to make a liar out of one of its own unofficial spokesmen, and the spectacle is thoroughly enjoyable.

For example, the N. P. C. stated in one of its fulminations: "The doctor would have little if any interest in the *patient who is compelled to visit him.* . . . Sick people must depend on a *doctor that has been assigned by a political bureaucrat.*" Dr. Frothingham supplied the italics and the *Journal* supplied the answer: "A beneficiary may select any practitioner appearing on a panel to treat him subject to the consent of the practitioner or the group of practitioners, as the case may be." The N. P. C. tells the public: "The Surgeon General would be authorized to determine what hospitals or clinics may provide service for patients and under what conditions." The A. M. A. analysis, on the other hand, explains: "The Surgeon General shall exercise no supervision or control over a participating hospital unless it is owned or leased and operated by the United States." There are many more confutations, just as startling, the sum total of which should illustrate the hopeless confusion of the cause which our medical pontiffs promote; men who descend to scare campaigns are usually hard-pressed for logic. No less than six public-opinion polls have sampled sentiment on national health insurance, and all found a majority of the people in favor, in proportions ranging from 59 to 85 per cent. Against such popular indorsement, and against such alert protagonists as Dr. Frothingham and his cohorts, the A. M. A. should make sure that its spokesmen at least compare notes hereafter if it would succeed in its efforts to keep adequate medical care for all American citizens from ever becoming a reality.

TWO SPECIAL FEATURES

are introduced in this week's *Nation*

Pre-Election U. S. A.

Each week, from now until the November voting, *The Nation* will carry on-the-spot reports from the key districts where a slight shift of votes will spell the difference between a Democratic and a Republican victory. Robert Bendiner, *Nation* associate editor, leads off with three articles on the New England states and New York. He will make two further trips into the Middle West and the Mid-Atlantic states. Ernest Kirschten will write from St. Louis, Pete Akers from Chicago, Dick Neuberger from Portland, and Carey McWilliams from Los Angeles.

In One Ear: A NEW RADIO COLUMN

The Nation's new radio page will be edited by Lou Frankel, one-time radio editor of *Variety* and of *Billboard* and now continuity director of Station WHCU, Cornell University. No one associated with radio is better qualified to write on the radio industry, on radio advertising, on radio programs, and to provide *Nation* listeners with a critical guide to the airways. We predict this will become one of our most talked-of columns.

Stalin's Letter

IN FRAMING his answers to the questionaire submitted by the British correspondent, Alexander Werth, Premier Stalin clearly took into account the internal as well as the external situation. His letter was immediately broadcast throughout the Soviet Union and served to produce a perceptible relaxation of tension. The Russian people needed reassurance that war was not imminent. For months the Soviet propaganda machine had been telling them of capitalistic conspiracies to encircle Russia, and the dismissal of Mr. Wallace had aroused fears that the Western warmongers had triumphed and were about to launch their attack. Stalin, in effect, reversed this propaganda line. He said that there was no "real danger of a new war," that the atom bomb was not a decisive military weapon, and that the foreign warmongers were a noisy but politically impotent minority.

Outside the Soviet Union the letter also produced a drop in the temperature, while adding new material to the debate begun by the Wallace episode. It was, in fact, well designed to increase the doubts about official American policy held by many middle-of-the-roaders whose thinking is not dictated by Moscow but who refuse to accept the theory of "irrepressible conflict" between East and West. In Britain, particularly, the Stalin letter seems likely to reinforce those who feel that Foreign Secretary Bevin has backed uncritically an American policy which has passed lightheartedly from firmness to provocation. It is not only the Labor left wing which voices such views. They have been expressed with equal emphasis by the liberal *Economist* and indorsed, albeit with diplomatic circumlocution, by the conservative leader, Anthony Eden. With Stalin's letter offering a hope that the "new spirit and new approach" asked for by Eden are practicable, the pressure on Bevin to adopt a more independent attitude is likely to be increased.

Reactions of the State Department to the Stalin letter have been decidedly cool. On the one hand, there is a complacent tendency to regard it as a tribute to the effectiveness of the Byrnes policies; on the other, there is a demand that fair words be followed by fair deeds in the shape of a less aggressive Soviet attitude in international negotiations. Of this, admittedly, there has been no sign since Stalin spoke. The Russian delegation in Paris has pursued its objectives with undiminished truculence, and the Kremlin has dispatched a new note to Turkey on the Dardanelles question framed in ominously minatory terms. But an immediate softening of Russian policies was hardly to be expected; in the absence of some positive response by the Western powers to Stalin's gesture, that might be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

Before the real worth of that gesture can properly be evaluated, some sign of reciprocity rather more arresting than Mr. Truman's expression of belief in permanent peace is surely called for. It ought to be possible for our statesmen, without loss of face, to discover whether Stalin is really prepared to discuss a way out of the impasse that has been reached in American-Soviet relations. It may be, as Walter Lippmann has suggested, that the Soviet government is looking for "a breathing spell," and is willing to call a halt to expansion until it has restored Russia's war-wilted economy and provided itself with the atomic bomb. Even so, we ought not to reject any opportunity for a truce, since we, just as much as Russia, need a breathing spell. Without it we cannot hope to rebuild the economic foundations of the Western world and provide it with a structure of social security —the only real fortification against the eventual advance of communism.

In his letter Stalin twice declared that peaceful collaboration and friendly competition between the Soviets and Western democracy was possible. It has hardly seemed so during the Paris conference, where the American policy of the open door has been squarely opposed by Russia. Moreover, the Soviets have consistently cold-shouldered the international institutions which this country has sponsored as a means of freeing and expanding world trade. Does Stalin's declaration of belief in the possibilities of peaceful collaboration indicate a change in this line? It may be so and for very practical reasons. On another page in this issue Keith Hutchison presents facts which suggest that the food situation in Russia is critical. Recent reports by American correspondents in the Ukraine show that industrial reconstruction is proceeding slowly because of lack of man-power. Workers must be recruited from the farms, but until more farm machinery is provided they cannot be spared. This year UNRRA is helping to fill the gap between production and consumption in western Russia, but when it ceases its activities the shortage of goods may become alarming. Equally, UNRRA has been providing a life-belt for some of Russia's satellites in Eastern Europe. When it packs up, these countries will be on their own except to the extent that the Soviet Union can render aid out of its own attenuated resources. The logical conclusion of the policies which the Soviets have been pursuing up to now is economic isolation. That seems likely to mean a period of intense hardship both for the Russians and the inhabitants of the Russian sphere of influence, and perhaps inability to fulfill her Five-Year Plan.

That is the reason why, in return for economic assistance, Stalin may be ready to modify present Russian hostility to the American international economic program. Hard-boiled Russophobes may argue that we should refuse any deal and let the Russians stew in their own juice. Experience after the last war should be sufficient to warn us against the danger of an isolated Russia.

In any case we should remember that if the Russians need our help, we need theirs. We are, perhaps, in a position to slow up reconstruction in Eastern Europe, but they have the power to check recovery in Western Europe and particularly to prevent the reintegration of Germany into the European economy. The possibilities of a deal are obvious, and if Stalin is ready to trade, let us not lightly reject the opportunity.

Liberalism at Los Angeles

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

UNDER any circumstances the recent conference at Los Angeles conducted by The Nation Associates would have aroused immense interest, for the question under discussion — The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement—is an urgent one and a distinguished group of men and women contributed to the program. But events added an almost poignant intensity to the meeting. If the committee in charge had employed Hollywood's best publicity experts to give the conference a build-up they could never have thought of a stunt to compete with the Wallace incident.

Henry Wallace dominated the sessions, symbolizing in both his position and his fate the issue between the progressive forces in his country and those which are creating a right-wing coalition masquerading under the label of bi-partisanship. Although he had been belatedly adopted by the extreme left, it was the non-Communist groups who saw in the whole incident a dramatization of their basic dilemma—the dilemma of a progressive mass disunited and cut off by changing political currents from the organizational base from which, during the Roosevelt era, it had exercised effective power.

The conference also gained significance from the fact that it was a regional enterprise, though geared to national and world events. Organized by Lillie Shultz, director of The Nation Associates, it was carried through in close and continuous consultation with a number of West Coast progressive leaders. Chief among them was our staff contributor, Carey McWilliams, whose knowledge of the region—political, social, even geographical —is unequaled. It was Mr. McWilliams who edited the special conference edition of *The Nation,* described on the inside front cover this week, and who helped prepare the program of the five sessions. As a consequence the discussions were intimately related to the chief problems of the Pacific Coast, both economic and political. Speakers were mostly drawn from the area, with a few imported from the East to emphasize national and international aspects of the program. Most of the important independent civic and political groups cooperated and sent delegations. The sessions were crowded—several to overflowing; I have never attended a serious meeting where attention was keener or where everyone present participated more actively and intelligently.

Although domestic issues aroused plenty of interest, especially those bearing on the political campaign, the international crisis in all its aspects stirred the conference most profoundly. At the session on world affairs Mr. del Vayo's talk on Spain and Greece got the warmest response, and not only because it was eloquent and moving. In that gathering, the fate of the two nations, expressing so dramatically and painfully the failure of the democracies' foreign policy, was taken as a symbol of the fight that must be won in our own country if the hold of the Old Guard is to be broken. Similarly, at the dinner, Bartley Crum's urgent plea for a new approach to world problems—not only to Russia—won the greatest applause, while his dramatic proposal that a third party be created to crystallize liberal sentiment had a mixed reception. Without question, West Coast progressives have made the Administration's record in foreign affairs the test of its claim to liberal support in every field.

California is a state where political interest is lively, discussion free, lines loosely drawn, personalities important. People like to say: "In California, politics are fluid." No words could express the situation better. Until recently the left groupings, from Communists and their sympathizers to the liberal elements in the old parties, have supported a loose coalition or at least maintained a truce. The factional fight has been less bitter, open breaks less sharp and final, than in the East. Lately, however, for a variety of reasons even the appearance of a popular front has been harder to keep up. The state political fight in particular—described by Carey McWilliams in *The Nation* for June 22—crystallized existing animosities and created a demand for new alignments that would more exactly express the honest differences among progressive groups. An extremely interesting paper read at the conference by Harry Girvetz of the University of Santa Barbara, representing what might be termed the "right liberal" position, called for a new political organization which would explicitly disavow communism and the Communist Party but at the same time refuse to become involved in anti-Communist polemics or "make the mistake of identifying communism with fascism," and which would set about putting into effect a program based upon clearly formulated liberal principles. That such an organization will come into being is questionable, since many independent progressives prefer to minimize the issue of communism as far as possible, concentrating on positive, though independent, action and avoiding open factional conflict.

But whatever their opinion about political organization on the left, progressives in California, like progressives everywhere, realize that a vacuum exists today in

the political life of America. The place occupied in Roosevelt's day by the New Deal and the elements that backed it, nationally and locally, is empty. No political force now operating has been able to prevent a rapid shift of power within the Democratic Party to its more reactionary elements. That is why the stand taken by Henry Wallace aroused such anxious hope in all progressive groups, and why, in California, the coincidence of Wallace's dismissal converted the conference of The Nation Associates into a political convention of the independent progressive forces of the Coast.

[*Next week* The Nation *will discuss editorially the political significance of the plans and program formulated by the conference of progressives held last Saturday and Sunday at Chicago.*]

In the Light of Bikini

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 28

ON Monday afternoon an elderly Negro messenger trundled a car through a narrow hall in the Commerce Department. It was piled high with paper cartons crammed with Henry Wallace's personal files. After thirteen years in the Cabinet, this was the exit.

In his handsome wood-paneled office Wallace was saying goodby to old friends. His was the only cheerful face in the smoke-filled room. One reason for his good humor was the mail stacked on desks, chairs, and tables in the outer office. It came from every section of the nation. The phrases were emotional. It was the kind of mail Franklin Roosevelt used to get.

President Truman's part in the Wallace controversy brought a curious reaction at his news conference this afternoon. He was reading a prepared statement on the meat situation and wandered off the written script for emphasis. He said earnestly, and without realizing the connotation, that he knew what he was talking about—*this time*. A roar of laughter swept the room.

Henry Wallace had been a private citizen only a few days when the military began to speak its mind on war and peace. Vice-Admiral Denfeld, who is being groomed for chief of naval operations, told an audience at William and Mary College that the United States must be ready to defend itself "at the drop of a hat."

Tuesday afternoon a sleek naval transport lay beside a pier in the Washington Navy Yard. It was the U. S. S. Burleson, home from the Pacific after being headquarters ship at the Bikini atomic-bomb tests. When the reporters were all assembled, Vice-Admiral Blandy, deputy chief of naval operations for special weapons, strode into the wardroom. He got down to business right away, speaking in a crisp professional voice: "These tests are one form of being prepared for war. The best way to avert war is to be prepared for it. Our slipshod methods in the past have resulted in great loss of life. We have a chance to prevent the next war—I do not refer to any specific war—by preparing for it."

This philosophy off his chest, Admiral Blandy turned the press conference over to the medical officers. They had news of what might happen to the world in an atomic war. It was all very scientific and sterile—an account of the effect of atomic radiation on animals used in the Bikini tests. From a five-page mimeographed statement we learned:

> Deaths may be expected up to and even months after the animals are exposed to radiation sickness. Animals affected by severe radiation become apathetic, lose appetite, appear weak, and are prone to develop secondary infections causing deaths. Those with the heaviest doses die within a few days. Those with lighter doses show no immediate ill effects. They develop mild but more prolonged symptoms which may result in death.
>
> Radiation sickness is painless in its effects on animals. Since the animal has no knowledge it has the disease, there is none of the mental anguish that assails a human being. The animal merely languishes or dies a painless death. Suffering among the animals was negligible.

Vice-Admiral McIntire, chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, was asked by an uneasy reporter if the tests had revealed any way of preventing damage to *man*. He replied vaguely, "There is no question we saved the lives of some animals. This is a continuing thing."

Some of his subordinates, men who had worked on the tests, were not so reassuring. A reporter said, "I read the other day that an Oak Ridge scientist died from atomic radiation. Have you had any successful treatment for human beings?" The answer was, "We hope we will learn methods to save those exposed to moderate amounts of radiation. I do not believe it will ever be possible to cure those with heavy doses."

The man answering most of the questions, Captain Shields Warren, a reserve officer, was asked what he meant by a "moderate" dose of radiation. He replied thoughtfully, "That depends upon the animal. Insects can stand up to 100,000 R units. If man gets from 300

to 500 R units, that is sufficient to kill. Guinea pigs are slightly more susceptible than man. The rat is more resistant. A moderate dose would be less than 300 R units."

Besides the loss of white blood cells, radiation, Captain Warren explained, caused sterility. "The sex cells of the body are more sensitive to radiation. It is possible for animals or man not to be killed but to have the sex cells destroyed. In some animals used in the test there is evidence of atrophy of the testes." In his professional manner he added, "The mice were not harmed."

In the second Bikini test all the pigs, which have about the same susceptibility as man, were killed. A reporter mused, "I assume, then, all the men on a ship so exposed would have been killed." Captain Warren said his guess was they would have died unless evacuated immediately. Admiral Blandy was not enjoying this line of talk. He interrupted to say positively, "The fact that all pigs were killed does not mean all men would have been, too." That ended that.

Were there any changes in the habits of the animals? Yes, Captain Warren said, they were restless, irritable, and aggressive for two or three weeks. If they recovered, they got over it.

Was there any means of protecting an individual on shipboard from atomic radiation? The captain said that any armor that might be devised would be useless, because it would keep the individual motionless. Admiral Blandy explained, "The men have duties to perform and they can't be tied down."

The Admiral was asked whether the results of the tests would be made available internationally. He answered in firm tones, "No, they remain secret United States property." He could not even reveal the position of the animals on the target ships. He had a strict security directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The questions moved on—was there anything to the idea that electronics might be useful in atomic warfare? Admiral Blandy replied, "This has not been pursued. It is just conjecture. I don't believe it's feasible."

Were any structural changes on ships being contemplated as safety measures? The Admiral said drily, "Principally, removal of the patient before exposure. The best protection is not to be there when the bomb goes off."

His last statement was offered crisply, "We are bringing some of the ships back to the naval yard to acquaint personnel with the hazards in a possible war."

After the conference the correspondents clambered down the wooden steps built alongside the ship on the pier and walked off through the Navy Yard in a heavy rain. It was a relief to get away from the world of atomic war.

Will Germany Go Communist?

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Berlin, September 20

GERMAN political life is still developing in an unreal world because the crucial issues—relations between Russia and the West, the forcing of millions of persons expelled from Eastern Europe on an already overcrowded population, and the paralysis of German economy—cannot be discussed, all criticism of military government or any Allied power being prohibited. It is on these issues, however, that the people are dividing into political parties, and on their resolution that the political future of Germany depends.

In the states of the American zone the old Socialist Party, the S. P. D., has a voting strength of from 28 to 43 per cent. The Communists have a uniform strength of about 10 per cent. Russian-supported efforts to combine the Socialists and Communists have been resisted in western Germany but have been successful in the Russian zone, where the Socialist Unity Party is now the official instrument. Every kind of pressure was exerted to guarantee its victory in the recent elections. The Russians even prohibited people from voting for the opposition parties in places where these parties did not have complete slates of local candidates. This made the opposition impotent everywhere but in the larger cities, and the 40 per cent vote against the Unity Party appears therefore the more surprising. The Russians may be expected gradually to reduce the vote of the opposition and to increase that of the official party by their customary methods.

The victories of the Unity Party in Russian-controlled areas cannot, however, hide the fact that the Russians suffered a major defeat in the west, where the Socialists resolutely refused to be swallowed up. This defeat has exerted great influence on both Russian and Anglo-American policy. The Russians are no longer pressing for the unification of Germany, for their hope of controlling it ideologically has waned. On the other hand,

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our interest in unification has been increased, as was revealed in Secretary Byrnes's speech, because we now know that Germany will not go Communist if we give it half a chance. The vigor with which Germans right down to the Socialist left wing have rejected communism must be seen to be believed. The best proof of it is that the heavy burden of occupation troops is gladly borne so long as it guarantees that Russia will not occupy the whole country. Secretary Byrnes's assurance that we would stay in Germany as long as any other nation did was the climax of his speech for the Germans.

The new political development in Germany is that all non-Socialist and non-Communist elements in the nation have been brought together in a kind of catch-all party, similar to the French M. R. P., called the Christian Democratic Union. The core of the new party is the old Catholic Center and Bavarian People's Party, but the Protestants have joined it in force. Its formation is evidence of the revival of Christian influence in the nation, due to the part played by the churches in the fight against Nazism, but it also shows that the question of religious instruction in the schools was given a disproportionate emphasis in the election propaganda because the real issues were taboo. The Christian Union has no clear economic-political line, representing as it does everything from extreme Bavarian clericalism to left-wing Christian socialism. Some of this Christian socialism is more realistic than the kind of socialism that indulges in utopian illusions and promises a "classless society and eternal peace"—concepts which have no conceivable relevance to the bitter realities of the moment. Certain elements in the Socialist Party desire to cease the age-old cultural-religious struggle and make common cause with the social-minded Christian groups. Others insist that the Christian Democratic Union must be regarded as a reactionary wolf in sheep's clothing.

The former group has just had a significant victory in Bavaria, where a proposal for a provision in the new Bavarian constitution creating a Presidency in Bavaria was voted down. The measure was a façade for reactionary monarchist and separatist tendencies and was defeated by a combination of left-wing Christian votes and left-wing Socialist votes. The Socialist leadership voted for the proposal, thus proving that the Socialist like the Christian Party has not yet reached a stable political orientation. It is more than likely that a party will emerge in Germany which will be pragmatically rather than dogmatically Socialist, which will seek to embody historic Christian rather than pure Marxist cultural forms and to deal with the problems of freedom and planning after the manner of the British Labor Party.

While all parties in western Germany except the Communists are vigorously anti-Russian, it must not be assumed that the Communists have lost Germany irretrievably. Russian terror has cured the Germans of communism, but our stupidity may cure them of attachment to democracy. Democracy can flourish only where there is at least some economic health; yet we are permitting western Germany to languish in a fantastic "cigarette economy," an economy of scarcity in which no consumer goods are available and everyone but the farmer is hungry.

The industrial production of Germany is so low that the thirty-odd million dollars' worth of export goods which the country has amassed in a year would not pay for its food deficit for three months, even on the present scale of hunger consumption. The cost of occupation eats up whatever surplus might be accumulated. The Russians have geared the economy of eastern Germany into their own. Their great poverty in consumer goods prevents them, however, from raising living standards in their zone. Otherwise they could make our position completely untenable. The British and American zones have better food standards than the other two because the British and American armies do not live off the land. The slight advantage that our zone enjoys is due to the greater scarcity of food in the British zone and the shortages in Britain itself. The general economic paralysis is worse in the British zone than in ours, but the people are hungry everywhere, and diseases of malnutrition are on the increase.

To the misery of hunger is added the misery of overcrowding. Two and one-quarter persons to a room is the average in Germany. And the overcrowding is constantly being heightened by our policy of forcing the people to receive about 100,000 Germans a month from Czechoslovakia, Silesia, and Hungary. When the process is completed, a population of seventeen million Germans in our zone will have absorbed an additional two and one-quarter million expelled Germans.

As if to increase the discomfort, we are evicting more and more Germans from their homes to make room for the families of British and American troops. The British have just evicted 16,000 Germans in Hamburg alone. Usually four or five German families have to be evicted to make room for one American or British officer's family, who seem to have acquired standards of luxury never indulged in or dreamed of before. The contrasts are fantastic and have a bad influence on German morale. Moreover, the wealth and power on one side, the poverty and weakness on the other are largely responsible for the sexual immorality of an army of occupation. What can be expected when a package of cigarettes worth seven cents to the donor is worth a month's wages to the recipient?

Our own occupation authorities cap all other injustices with a policy of strict segregation of the conquered. Even the most renowned pianist, asked to perform for an officers' dinner, must eat in the kitchen. The worst of the British officials treat the Germans as colonials;

the better ones dine with them on terms of equality. We have a good-natured or ill-natured boorishness which is not as bad as the worst British practice or as good as the best. On the cultural level the French have undoubtedly achieved the best policy. In the universities in their zone there is a genuine personal and cultural interchange unknown in the other zones.

But these conditions, appalling as they are to the observer, are insignificant in comparison with the broader problem. If the general economic paralysis of Germany continues, no real social or spiritual health can develop. Secretary Byrnes assured the Germans that we wanted to change this situation. He implied that the political and economic unification of Germany would bring about a revival of German economic activity. Unfortunately there is not the slightest hope that the Russians will agree to such unification. They would want the unification of Germany only if they could dominate the nation ideologically, and that is precisely what they would not be able to do if trade and industry were revived. They will therefore hang on to their part of Germany and try to increase economic misery in our part by holding us to the letter of the Potsdam agreement.

Sooner or later we shall have to decide how to restore a measure of economic health to western Germany and Europe without waiting on Russia. We have learned the necessity of strategically resisting Russian penetration into Western Europe. But unless we support our political policy with an adequate economic policy, Soviet ideology will cross our strategic barrier. If anyone thinks that peace can be secured by such a development he has read the history of the past decades in vain.

Pre-Election U.S.A.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

I. Along the Connecticut Valley

Hartford, Connecticut

THE political spotlight of the nation passed over this lively and overcrowded capital on September 17, hovered for an hour above Bushnell Memorial Hall, where the Democrats were picking an election slate—and moved on to more promising fields. Had the Democrats nominated Chester Bowles for governor, as everyone including Mr. Bowles fully expected, the spotlight would have remained over the Connecticut Valley for the next six weeks. In the first place, the election would have been a clear-cut plebiscite on the OPA in particular and the New Deal philosophy in general; and, second, it would have given the politicians a gauge for measuring the polling appeal of a man with Presidential possibilities—and Presidential aspirations.

Instead, the delegates gathered at Hartford chose as their standard-bearer Lieutenant Governor Wilbert Snow, a picturesque and pleasant poet from the backwoods of Maine—by way of Wesleyan University—and declined to set Mr. Bowles on the path to the White House. It should not be imagined, despite editorials in the New York *Sun* and *Herald Tribune*, that the decision rested on a fear that the personification of OPA would be too heavy a burden for their ticket to bear. On the contrary, Bowles lost the nomination because he was too likely to win the election. A confidential Roper poll on all candidates, taken on request of Democratic leaders in August, showed Bowles a favorite by something more than six to one. But party bosses do not always play to win, and this was one of the occasions when defeat was figured to be more profitable than victory. To lose the election would be to forgo control of State House patronage for the time being; but to win with a man as independent as Bowles might mean to lose it permanently.

It is not accurate to say that Senator Brien McMahon, who runs Connecticut's Democratic machine, actually knifed Bowles at the convention; he merely stood by and as an interested spectator watched that operation performed by others—specifically by the small-town delegates and such lesser bosses as Francis Smith of Hartford, a millionaire lumber dealer on whom price controls have always had a toxic effect. Hostile from the start to Bowles's candidacy, McMahon had at first tried to scare him off, and reluctantly indorsed him only when the results of the poll gave him no alternative. But by that time, as he frankly admitted, he had so far encouraged Snow that the most he could do was to announce his own intention to vote for Bowles and leave the rest to the chances of the convention.

Even so Bowles could have, and should have, won. Privately, he attributes his defeat to three failures on his own part: first, in an honest anxiety to dissociate himself from the techniques of the "Huckster" profession, from which he is a fugitive, he resorted to none of those high-pressure maneuvers which win delegates and influence newspaper publishers; second, he spurned deals, freely offered down to the zero hour, whereby he might have bought batches of delegates at the ceiling price of one commissionership per batch; and, third, he had no manager. Of these self-imposed political handicaps, he says, he regrets only the last. His promptness in moving the convention to make the vote for Snow unanimous

and his agreement to campaign vigorously for the ticket made a favorable impression on party leaders, and it is a good—and pleasant—bet that neither Connecticut nor national politics has seen the last of him.

If Bowles emerged from the convention with his political hide intact, the same cannot be said of his party. Connecticut is a state with a large independent vote, particularly in the trade unions and in intellectual circles (next to insurance the academic nurture of the intellect is Connecticut's outstanding industry). This independent vote is vital to Democratic victory, but it is a lazy vote, one that requires enthusiastic conviction and even then considerable prodding. In the past decade Franklin D. Roosevelt had no trouble arousing that enthusiasm, and P. A. C. and its predecessors could be counted on for the prodding. Without Roosevelt it was believed that Bowles would provide the name and the political drawing power required to get out the marginal vote. Now that he is eliminated, the party's hopes of carrying the state are plainly at a low ebb. A few numerical facts will show the reason.

Senator McMahon

Connecticut has six Congressmen, including one Representative at Large. In 1944 the state elected two Republicans to Congress and four Democrats, including the Representative at Large, whose fate depends almost entirely on the fate of the ticket as a whole. Of the three Democratic victories in the Congressional districts, one was by a 54 per cent vote, one by 51.4 per cent, and one by a scant 51 per cent.

That was with Roosevelt at the head of the ticket. These same Democratic candidates now face an election on a slate headed by two respectable but uninspiring gentlemen, and they must seek to retain their exceedingly narrow margins among the very groups most outraged by the convention's treatment of Bowles.

There is no doubt that labor, in the industrial towns, is in a sullen mood over the recent turn of events. It wanted Bowles, and it wanted a chance to demonstrate its support of price control. It has nothing against Snow, but his appeal has been directed futilely to the rural vote, which is almost hopelessly Republican here, as virtually everywhere in the North. The opinion is general that Snow is liberal and honest—but politically inept and a poor campaigner. He is fond of talking whimsically of his experiences in chasing reindeer in Alaska, and even in a state that dotes on professor-politicians his academic aura will give him no advantage, since he will have to share such honors with his opponent. The Republican candidate, Dr. James L. McConaughy, is a cold and thoroughly reactionary don who for years administered the affairs of Wesleyan University, which happens also to be the institution served by Mr. Snow.

Snow is politically unsophisticated, and while this is not altogether to be condemned, his celebrated tactlessness may prove a considerable handicap. Typical of the tales about him is the story of how he harangued a Polish Catholic group near Hartford recently for being resentful toward the Soviets. Shocked, the local bishop walked out of the room, and the audience gasped. In consequence the Poles of Hartford County are not expected to be of much help to the Democratic ticket. Snow's directness is refreshing, however, and he would probably make a better governor than a candidate—certainly a better governor than McConaughy, who accepted the nomination with the solemn declaration that the big issue of the day was communism and that "the two greatest fighters against American communism are the church and the Republican Party."

The Democratic nominee for the Senate is hardly more likely to stir up the enthusiasm of the vital marginal group than is Snow. Logically Joe Tone should be sure of the trade-union vote. Formerly state labor commissioner, he has long been part of or close to the labor movement, but because of an unhappy episode in the dim past (he denies it even happened) he has incurred the animosity of the A. F. of L. around New Haven, and of the Railway Brotherhoods as well. Moreover, he is up against Governor Baldwin, a vote-getter good enough to win in 1944 despite the Roosevelt landslide. Baldwin is counting on some portion of the labor vote, since nearly a third of it in the state is normally Republican. As a bid for this support he successfully opposed the aspirations of Representative Joseph E. Talbot, Clare Luce's candidate for governor and a man whose record in Congress is all black. But Baldwin has made enemies within his own party, and the fact that he was drawing $10,000 a year from the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company while governor will be used against him—even though this dubious practice has the sanction of the law in Connecticut.

In the circumstances the Democratic Congressional nominees appreciate fully the uphill fight that confronts them. When I talked with Herman Kopplemann in the First District (Hartford), he was so skeptical of victory that he could not make up his mind to run, though I am told that he regularly puts off this decision until the zero hour. Kopplemann is elected when the vote is high, as it was in 1932, '34, '36, '40, and '44 (note that only one of them was a midterm election); he is defeated

when the vote is low, as in '38 and '42. He is afraid of the apathy apparent in Democratic ranks this year and complains wistfully that "Republicans consider it a duty to vote, while Democrats regard it as a favor to the candidate."

Even more in jeopardy than Kopplemann's seat is that of James P. Geelan, running in the Third District, which centers in New Haven. Like Kopplemann, Geelan has an excellent voting record, but he is a colorless candidate and needs a strong ticket to pull him through.

Strangely enough, the only Democratic Representative given a good chance of victory is Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, who won out in the rock-ribbed Republican Second District in 1944 by less than 2 per cent. A professor of economics, Mrs. Woodhouse, gray-haired and motherly, might be thought a likely casualty. But every politician, newspaperman, and observer I talked to volunteered the opinion that she was as shrewd and able as anyone in Connecticut politics and an excellent campaigner. By any liberal standard, her voting record has been unexceptionable, but she knows that public policy is only one aspect of a Representative's work. Rightly or wrongly, service to constituents is at least as important, and in this field she can give lessons to many an old-timer. With the aid of her daughter and two or three assistants, Mrs. Woodhouse has carefully checked every request for help, and where aid was feasible and justified she has gone to work on the appropriate government agency. Mail is answered within twenty-four hours, and her constituents are kept posted on her activities by regular radio reports. So effective has this policy been that many a Republican neighbor is pledged to vote for her, not on the basis of her support of OPA or full employment, but because she brought the wounded Smith boy back to a base hospital in the States or because she got a pressing claim settled for Mr. McGillicuddy.

Much may happen between now and November that will change the Connecticut picture. Baldwin and McConaughy are vulnerable nominees if the labor-liberal forces choose to wade into their records. But these groups, which constitute the vital independent vote, will have to overcome their resentment concerning Bowles, their divisions over the Wallace affair, and the general lassitude of a mid-term election. That is a lot to overcome, but unless it is done I would hazard the guess that the present four-to-two ratio, favoring the Democrats, in the state's Congressional delegation will become four-to-two (and perhaps even five-to-one) in favor of the Republicans. In other words, the G. O. P., seeking twenty-five seats to win control of the next Congress, will pick up two or three of them—possibly four—in the single state of Connecticut.

[Mr. Bendiner's second article, appearing next week, will discuss the preelection situation in Massachusetts.]

Reflections in Trieste

BY G. E. R. GEDYE

Trieste, September 18

THE immediate reaction of anyone emerging for a time from the gray monotony of partitioned, grim, and hungry Austria into the material comforts of Trieste is that of a schoolboy on holiday. The shop windows are full of good things—at high prices—purchasable without ration cards; the restaurants are as good as were pre-war restaurants in a town of this size anywhere. Coming from a country without one open restaurant or a shop selling anything which anybody could conceivably make use of, one deliberately shuts one's eyes to realities and relaxes for twenty-four hours.

Few people capable of rational thought could stay in Trieste much longer without discomfort. For here in this narrow territory of Venezia Giulia one is presented with a concentrated sample of the bitter fruits of our victory over fascism. Nowhere is the naked reality of power politics more shamelessly revealed; nowhere does propaganda more openly distort day-to-day developments to give a picture far removed from reality. The strident insistence of the propagandists has apparently succeeded in convincing the masses of the population that the issue is one of racial self-determination as between Slav and Latin. In reality, of course, the issue is whether the magnificent harbor of Trieste is for the first time in history to fall under "Eastern" instead of "Western" control. Ultimately the decision will vitally affect the future set-up in the Central European states. For as Mussolini conclusively proved, he who holds Trieste can bring irresistible economic pressure to bear on the political development of these states, especially Austria and Hungary, whose ability to import and export depends on Trieste and their communications with it. Hence the lavish, cynical, and unscrupulous efforts of the propagandists; hence also the unreality of "Western"-controlled A. M. G.'s efforts to maintain full impartiality between Latin and Slav. By its very constitution

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A. M. G. is bound to favor some form of Latin solution—or at least to prevent a solution which would give the East a stranglehold on Central Europe.

The issue of East versus West has long swamped the racial divisions. I have seen dozens of large-scale pro-Tito demonstrations where the Italian Communist shouts of "Vogliamo Tito!" completely drowned the Slovene Communist cries of "Zhivel Tito!" Many local Slovenes, on the other hand, as well as refugees from Tito's Yugoslavia—among them, of course, reactionaries, but also many who are simply non-Communists—are working eagerly for any solution other than the incorporation of Trieste in Communist Yugoslavia. In the mountainous, unfertile region which makes up Venezia Giulia, the population is almost entirely Slovene. Hence the colored maps supplied by the Tito propagandists are based on space—and are able to prove conclusively that nearly the whole *area* of Venezia Giulia is Slovene. But this hinterland is very sparsely populated; the crowded towns and ports are almost all Italian. Hence the maps supplied by Colonel Fonda and his pro-Italy propagandists of the anti-fascist Italian resistance movement are based on population—and show great blobs of Italian color. Neither suggests the existence of a quiet, non-political "man in the street" who, irrespective of race, remembers only that life for him, or for his father, was more peaceful, and money made more easily, when Trieste fulfilled its natural function as the port serving the central and southeastern areas of the extinct Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. These are the people who stand—but not very vociferously—behind the "Free State of Venezia Giulia."

There can be no question that the Slovenes, flushed with victory and revolutionary fervor, are the more aggressive. The Italians are for the most part depressed by defeat and anxious about the future, though of late they also have turned to violent methods. One cannot forget that it was Tito who announced on March 26 last that he would "resist with full energy" any unfavorable findings of the Boundary Commission, or overlook the continuous Slovene incitements against the A. M. G. and the recent shooting down of American planes which had inadvertently crossed the boundary line. I was at the American frontier post just outside Gorizia a fortnight ago when the commander of the Yugoslav air-force unit which had shot down these planes arrived to hand over the victims' remains to General Moore, commanding American troops in Venezia Giulia. Accompanying the remains was Ambassador Patterson from Belgrade. While the ceremony of handing over took place, a member of Mr. Patterson's party told me that they had been five hours on the way from Ljubljana—a journey taking normally little over one hour—because the Yugoslavs had insisted on going round by side roads so that their military preparations would not be seen. What, asked the Americans, are the military preparations which Tito is making on Venezia Giulia's frontiers, and why are they so secret as to necessitate shooting down American planes?

The local press is useless as a guide to realities. According to the Communist and pro-Tito press, everyone, whether Italian or Slovene by race, who does not believe that this territory should be handed over to Tito or will not sign on the dotted line to this effect is a "fascist." The pro-Italian press is less stultifying to read, but in its columns no Communist can be anything but a traitor. For the Titoists, A. M. G. is, of course, a neo-fascist administration; curiously enough they do not see anything incongruous in the fact that a neo-fascist administration allows them to make this accusation.

The Communist charge that A. M. G. is pro-fascist is worth serious examination, if only because it can be found repeated in the "party line" wherever Britain or America plays a role in the administration of occupied territory. At first sight it is just silly. In Zone A of Venezia Giulia the pro-Tito Communist Party—it entitles itself the Italo-Slovene Anti-Fascist Front—has a gigantic party apparatus, functioning quite openly, and an extremely violent press. At the moment the "war of nerves" takes the form of constant street demonstrations demanding the cancelation of warrants for the arrest of the leaders of the recent illegal—because purely political—general strike, who are now sitting comfortably in the Tito-governed Zone B. Nevertheless, A. M. G.'s scales are weighted against the "Yugo-Communists." Two months ago the Communists violently broke up the "all-Italy" bicycle race when it reached Trieste, and fired on the police. That same night Italian mobs in revenge wrecked sixteen Yugo-Communist centers. The impartial, British-trained V. G. police, largely Italian, looked on—so the approachable and very reasonable new Communist leader in Trieste, Babitch, told me. When I tackled A. M. G. about it, they admitted that the V. G. police had shown a deplorable "lack of courage."

What is the situation in Zone B, the part of the formerly Italian territory of Venezia Giulia occupied solely by Tito's troops? There Tito's Communists enjoy a totalitarian monoply of political agitation. I imagine not even *Il Lavoratore*, the leading Trieste Communist paper, would maintain that any Italian, let alone a Slovene, in this area could allow it to be known that he opposed incorporation in Yugoslavia and remain at liberty for twenty-four hours. For Anglo-American personnel Zone B is forbidden territory, and to the best of my knowledge, only one correspondent has ever been given free access to it. When this correspondent made statements unfavorable to Yugoslavia in his reports, he was requested to leave the country.

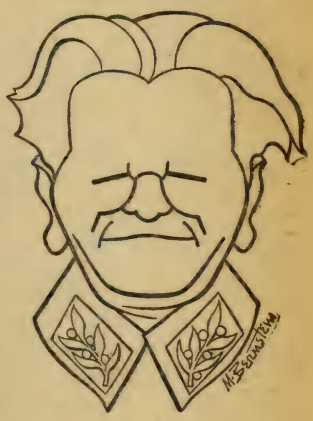
However, the indisputable fact that the democratic forms of free political agitation, discussion, and demon-

stration are liberally accorded in Zone A while a full totalitarian and one-party system operates in Zone B should not deter one from examining further the Communist allegations of reactionary tendencies in the A. M. G. The question is one which arises in all occupied areas. Perhaps we must expect the men we have put at the head of our administrations in these areas to sympathize with the possessing rather than the property-less classes, with the educated—or semi-educated—middle classes rather than the workers, with the people belonging to a milieu like their own rather than a hitherto submerged stratum now rising with volcanic energy to the surface. With more or less distaste, these conservative officials are trying to face up to a strange new world. They trust it will not last too long; they hope against hope that some day the working masses—decent fellows enough if they do not get ideas into their heads—will duly return to their proper station. Meanwhile the only thing to do is to keep them unobtrusively in check. And the best way to do this in their eyes is to give discreet support to their opponents.

Since Soviet Russia is working to push its frontiers to Trieste by exploiting pan-Slavism among the Slavs and extremist anti-fascism among the Italian workers, it must be countered by supporting Italians who, let us say, are at least not anti-fascist fanatics. Naturally the other side exaggerates this into "pro-fascism" on the part of A. M. G. It is not—but there is an inevitable tendency to rely on Italian chauvinism to fight chauvinist pan-Slavism. In Trieste the process has become a vicious circle. Socialist workers who refuse to become the tools of Russian expansion are beaten up by Italo-Slovene Communist "action squads." They are avenged by Italian *squadistri,* whose methods closely resemble those of the Black Shirts. Anglo-American administrators, finding the staunchest opponents of Slav aggression in such circles, duly punish their excesses, but with feelings of regret which are certainly absent when they pass sentence on Communist rioters.

For the British, one way of breaking this vicious circle is to appoint men of Socialist convictions to leading posts in the diplomatic service and in those bodies which are administering occupied territories. Too often men who were not merely faithful exponents of the foreign policy of Conservative Britain but personal enthusiasts for the appeasement of Nazism have returned to Europe as servants of the Labor government. Britain needs to send abroad men who believe in the ideals for which a Socialist Britain must stand and who know that their only real allies are to be found in the Continental Socialist parties. I shall not go into the American system of political appointees, which too often results in some successful business man or lawyer being "managed" the whole time that he is *en poste* by his career counselor or first secretary.

Immediate developments in Venezia Giulia are likely to be on the following lines. Despite loud protests from each, both Italy and Yugoslavia seem now to have accepted the principle of a "Free Territory" of Trieste. Yugoslavia, of course, would never seriously oppose any scheme in which Russia had concurred, as Russia did in this case. Yugoslavia and Italy, well-informed local observers believe, are discussing very privately today the exchange of Gorizia (proposed for Italy, with the Yugoslav frontier running almost through its suburbs) for Pola and the Istrian littoral (proposed for Yugoslavia). Over the Monfalcone shipyards (proposed for Italy) there may shortly be more trouble. Although only 10 per cent of the workers there are Slovenes, 80 per cent have been in the Slovene-Communist-dominated Syndicato Unico since the terrific Communist drive against workers who belonged to the pro-Italian Camera di Lavoro.



Marshal Tito

Some Allied observers are convinced that Russia has tipped off Yugoslavia to abate its intransigence over the whole Trieste question. The reason, they believe, is Russia's desire to placate the Communists in Italy, who, unlike the Slovene-controlled Italian Communists in Venezia Giulia, are getting more and more restive over the Slovene attitude. These observers believe that Russia is assuring Yugoslavia that all its aspirations, respecting not only Monfalcone but Trieste itself, will be realized anyway within two or three years. I certainly have met nobody in any camp prepared to bet on a longer duration of any "settlement" of the Trieste problem on which the Peace Conference is likely to agree. There is, of course, only one sensible and ideal solution. That is to incorporate Venezia Giulia in an economic group of three politically independent and democratic states—Austria, Hungary, and Czechslovakia—and to have this group enter into special relations concerning Trieste with both Italy and Yugoslavia. Not one of the implied precedent conditions for this, the only desirable and durable solution, exists today. All that can be hoped for under actual conditions is that East and West will devise a temporary compromise in the shape of a new and more precarious Danzig, to which East will at least concede those "corridor" rights which at the moment it still refuses.

The Woodmen and the Trees

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., September 24

ONCE the trees covered the land. Then ax and saw began their work. At first the green mantle was only fringed. Soon America's cloak of virgin timber was ragged and torn. Today it is not a cloak at all, but merely thin green strands threading the mountain valleys of the Far West.

Workers swung the axes and pulled the saws, and lumber fortunes piled up. The trees fell to earth and water carried off the soil. But who cared? The Wobblies wanted bacon and eggs instead of johnny-cake and greasy salt pork. Who could live, they asked, on a wage of 20 cents an hour? The Wobblies would burn down a forest to get what they wanted. Who cared? The forests would last forever, wouldn't they?

The United States Forest Service, the National Park Service, and various outdoor clubs fought the conservation battle for decades without labor's assistance. Trees cut to the ground meant jobs; labor and the lumber industry were of one mind on the subject of conservation. Today labor is the newest recruit in the camp of the conservationists. Labor has looked beyond the immediate horizon and seen what devastated forests mean for families in sawmill communities. And it is giving allegiance to a new policy with a good deal of objective criticism for its indifference in the past.

"We ask," said the International Woodworkers of America, meeting in Portland at their annual convention last week, "for sustained yield and selective logging to improve and protect our forests—for timber management, public recreation, fish and game, watershed defense, and livestock grazing." The Woodworkers are the largest C. I. O. union west of the continental divide, and they declared further, "We seek to reduce the destructiveness of logging that is done by union logging crews. By showing an interest in good forest-conservation practices for loggers, local unions should be able to stimulate greater employer interest in forestry, and at the same time make sure that avoidable destruction by I. W. A. logging crews does not occur."

A hefty Swede with a broken nose lit a pipe outside the I. W. A. convention hall. "I ban in the woods purty near turty years," he said. "Right now I larn how much hurt I done to trees in dat time. I be careful now. My crew—dey be careful too. All dis we larn from the union. It is something new."

The I. W. A. is backing the Hook bill, which provides for federal regulation of cutting on private lands. The old practice of "cut out and get out" would be forbidden. A lumberman could no longer gut a forest simply because he owned it in fee simple. There is a larger obligation, the bill's proponents hold, than amortization of investment—an obligation to future generations of Americans. A man may hold title to land, but he cannot leave an open sewer on it. The health of the community is at stake. Under the Hook bill title to a forest would not give a man the right to reduce that forest to stumps. At stake are recreation, wild life, drinking water, scenery, jobs.

The Hook bill would enforce sustained-yield practices in all commercial logging operations. Its author, Representative Frank E. Hook of Michigan, has seen what happened in the upper Great Lakes states when operators could cut at will. He wants to save the forests which remain in the West before it is too late. A Douglas fir or Ponderosa pine growing since Jefferson's time can be cut down between breakfast and lunch. Hook also seeks to establish a Forest Credit Division to lend lumbermen the money they will need to put their operations on a sustained-yield basis.

Once—not so long ago—loggers felt that hasty cutting of a forest was to their interest. "We know better now," says James E. Fadling, president of the Woodworkers. The operator probably lived a thousand miles from the forest—no Weyerhaeuser has slept in a bunkhouse for many years—but the lumberjacks and their families, after the trees were gone, found themselves inhabiting ghost towns. The mill machinery rusted. Tax payments ceased and schools closed. Stump ranching, toil to break a man's back and heart, was often the only recourse for the loggers—that or public relief.

The policy of "cut out and get out" might mean five hundred jobs for two years. The I. W. A. realizes that a hundred jobs for an indefinite period is closer to the union's goal. The I. W. W. waged industrial war for decent conditions in logging camps. The I. W. A. is waging war against logging camps *per se*. "Logging camps," says the union's director of research and education, Ellery

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist whose articles on interesting developments in the Northwest—politics, power, conservation—appear frequently in The Nation *and other magazines.*

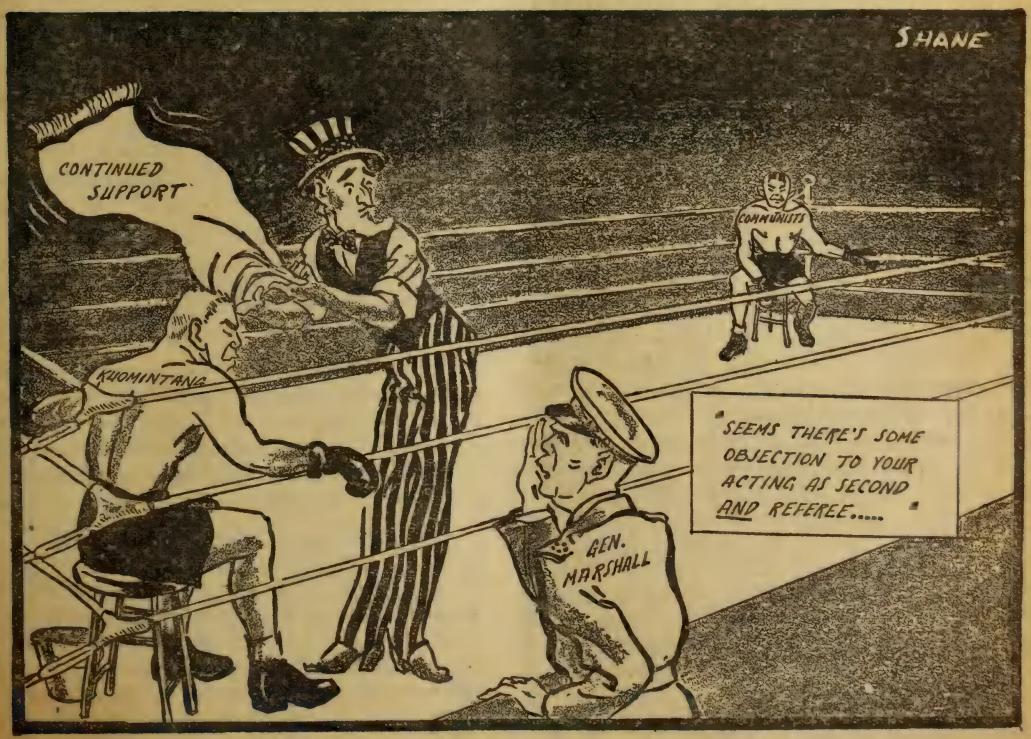
Foster, "add up to a shifting, nomadic life. A forest is cut down, the camp is moved on to another forest marked for destruction. We seek instead permanent communities which gain their economic sustenance from forests logged selectively over a long period of years, forests safeguarded for the future."

A forty-two-year-old forester with broad shoulders and a woodsman's eyes, Foster is behind a new departure in labor-union activity in the Northwest. From forestry school at the University of Michigan he went into the United States Forest Service and became a vigorous opponent of the wasteful logging then condoned by the loggers' unions. Drag chains pulled across young second-growth fir trees seemed sinful to him, whether or not the whistle-punk wore a union button in his cap. While the late Floyd Olson was governor of Minnesota, Foster was attached to the state department of forestry. Speaking to a group of loggers one day, he said, "You fellows ought to get wise that conservation is in your interest. You have the same interest as the public. You want the forests to endure. Otherwise your jobs will be washed up. Liquidating the forests may help a few shortsighted operators. It won't help you."

During the early part of the war Foster advised the lumber division of the War Production Board. He then joined the Woodworkers. Weyerhaeuser, Crown-Zellerbach, and some of the other big companies have recently put trained foresters on their pay rolls. Ellery Foster is the forester of the I. W. A. He watches out for bulldozers that crush seedling pines and for cookhouses that scatter sparks. From his typewriter roll innumerable pamphlets setting forth the union's insistence on sustained yield and sound forestry. "Worn-out forests," warns Foster, "can plague peoples and nations with great misery. Our union members now realize this fact."

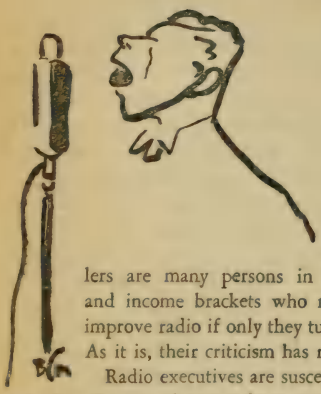
With respect to conservation of resources the record of American unionism has been almost as bad as that of the industrialists. John L. Lewis has opposed the St. Lawrence seaway on the ground that low-cost water power might replace coal. Fishermen's unions in the Pacific Northwest, A. F. of L. and C. I. O. alike, have resisted measures to curtail the excessive salmon catches. Even though it would save dwindling oil reserves, a Bonneville Power Administration proposal to run all Western rail lines with surplus hydroelectric power finds very little favor with enginemen reared at steam throttles.

The program of the Woodworkers reverses this trend. After a spokesman for the C. I. O. Fishermen's Union had appeared with cannery owners in opposition to a bill protecting the steelhead trout of the Oregon coast, a prominent woodworker suggested that the fishermen should hire a biologist "to put you fellows on the beam the way Ellery Foster has done it for us."



In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL



EVERYONE and his kid brother has something to say about radio. And the people who pan it the hardest are those who listen to it the least. Among the most persistent hecklers are many persons in the upper educational and income brackets who might do something to improve radio if only they tuned in more frequently. As it is, their criticism has no effect.

Radio executives are susceptible to complaints but not when the squawk comes from someone who doesn't listen regularly—that is, to all sorts of programs impartially, those that may not be liked and old favorites. Radio executives would especially welcome competent criticism from the upper strata of their listeners, from people with "names"—writers, artists, editors, and other intellectuals.

Radio, even more than newspapers and magazines, is controlled by the advertiser. Be it network or local station, no broadcaster lays down the law to an advertiser—not with sincerity and rigidity. Some radio men may put up an argument, but always with the knowledge that a compromise will be the result, a compromise that will keep those advertising dollars on the right side of the ledger.

But radio today, unlike the newspapers and magazines, also has to answer, if indirectly, to the public, as represented by the Federal Communications Commission, that undeservedly maligned overseer of radio. To read the trade press and listen to radio-industry spokesmen one would think that the FCC was a cross radio must carry if it would stay in business, a crown of thorns set upon its brow years ago by a nitwit Congress. Actually the FCC was established to protect the interests of the public; for years, particularly under the chairmanship of James Lawrence Fly, it fought valiantly to lift American radio to a higher level. But always with little if any help from the public. About the only organization to lend a hand was the American Civil Liberties Union, which by no stretch of the imagination can be said to represent the mass of radio listeners.

The people who do listen to radio don't know, don't care, don' wanna be bothered about the FCC; just give them Jack Benny and Bob Hope, Gangbusters and Mr. D. A., soap operas and swing, and they're happy. People who would be inclined to support the FCC, don't listen to the radio.

Nor does the FCC get any help from the press, except from *PM* and *Variety,* Jack Gould in the New York *Times,* and John Crosby in the *Herald Tribune.* "The FCC," say the industry spokesmen, "is just more government interference with private industry; if the FCC claims to talk for the people, what people?"

Opposition to the FCC is particularly vigorous this year, for the National Association of Broadcasters, the radio trade association, has now for the first time in almost a decade a competent and effective head in Judge Justin Miller. With authority to clean out the dead wood and end the internecine feuds Judge Miller, at $50,000 a year, is whipping the N. A. B. into a cohesive unit that can talk for the industry—and more important, can keep its members in line. Not all the internal bickering has been ended, nor is all of radio in the N. A. B., but progress is being made. Meanwhile the FCC remains without informed public support.

If things go on as they are, it is merely a question of time until the industry wins the battle. So right now, while there are still some fighters on the commission, while Congress still thinks a federal agency is necessary to protect the public's interests, right now is the time to get something done about radio.

But that means you will have to listen to the radio: listen to soap operas, to jive, to comics, to recorded music, to everything that makes radio a great popular medium, even though you, as an individual, may not agree with the millions. Only by listening to the radio can you put any punch in your criticism.

Each week this column will discuss some aspect of the radio industry. From time to time it will print contributions by names you know in radio. Listen to the programs suggested each week. Sound off in the mail. We'll answer questions and complaints. We'll get action, too.

LOU FRANKEL has been radio editor of Billboard, Variety, *and* Tide. *He is now continuity director of Station WHCU, Cornell University. His column will appear each week in* The Nation.

In the Wind

THE TIME CAPSULE: Last week some nameless but immortal Manhattan moppet descended from the world of his elders into an East Side subway station and, eschewing the conventional pornography, chalked on the wall in foot-high letters: "MISERY!"

REFLECTED GLORY: We take a special pride in the coveted Fifty-Year Button recently awarded to Andrew B. Werth, who gives *The Nation* its final proofreading each week, for half a century's membership in the New York Typographical Union. To Mr. Werth, the congratulations of *The Nation's* staff and *The Nation's* readers.

A COLUMNIST in the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* writes about a busload of state conservation commissioners and fisheries men being taken on a three-day tour of Minnesota's north country. "They were impressed," he declared. "As one, R. P. Hunter of Connecticut, put it: 'All men are created equal—if they come to Minnesota.' The remark was prompted by the sight of a flock of mallards and teal in a small pond two miles from the city limits."

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Russia's Food Crisis

IN HIS election address on February 9 Premier Stalin brought great cheer to the Russian people by his promise that "in the very near future the rationing system will be abolished." Two months ago fulfilment of this promise still seemed possible, and Mr. del Vayo, writing from Moscow in early August, reported in these pages a radio announcement of the end of bread rationing in the fall. But on August 28 a Moscow broadcast stated that "in view of drought in a number of regions and the diminishing of state food reserves," rationing would continue into 1947.

A few weeks later publication of a government decree ordering action to check the violation of statutes governing collective farms suggested that the disappointing harvest was not due solely to weather conditions. Among the abuses to which the decree called attention were the undue expansion of administrative staffs and the resultant swollen overhead costs, the neglect of democratic procedures, including the failure to call regular general meetings of farmers, and the alienation of collective land and other property. Restoration of statutory democratic meetings for the discussion of collective farm affairs was ordered, and local Communist Party committees and local Soviets were forbidden to appoint or dismiss farm chairmen against the will of such meetings.

No doubt this provision is intended to mollify resentments aroused by party bosses and rural bureaucrats. But if, as a result, the peasants really do gain a greater voice in the management of the collectives, they can hardly be expected to cooperate enthusiastically in carrying out that section of the decree which aims at preventing the alienation of collective property. For since the outbreak of the war the peasant has had many incentives to enlarge his personal plot of land and to cultivate it intensively even if that meant neglecting his collective duties.

It was after the 1933 famine that the collective-farm system was first modified to permit each member an individual landholding in addition to his share of the collective property. These plots were supposed to be limited to a half hectare, about one and a quarter acres, but in the course of time many peasants succeeded in increasing their areas to an extent that made possible the production of a surplus for the market after satisfaction of their own needs. In an effort to check this tendency new rules were introduced limiting the number of privately owned animals and increasing the required minimum of labor time devoted to the collective.

I do not know whether these rules were relaxed during the war, but the situation in any case put a premium on evasion. The food-distribution system provided for the sale of subsistence rations when available at comparatively low prices in the government stores. To supplement the meager diet thus provided, those Russians who had either spare rubles or goods with barter value patronized the free markets, where prices were set by supply and demand. These markets were perfectly legal; in fact, the peasants were encouraged to bring in their surplus produce. With a dozen eggs or a pound of honey salable for a fistful of rubles, many of them have been able to acquire paper fortunes.

Given such incentives it is not surprising that many peasants have been tempted both to stretch the boundaries of their private plots and to devote to them as much of their working time as possible. Moreover, in the vast and fertile lands devastated during the war the reorganization of collectives has been subject to severe handicaps. Their farm machinery and livestock were largely destroyed in the fighting or by the Germans, and so far only a fraction of both has been replaced. "The tractor," as the London *Economist* of March 16, 1946, put it, "is the unifying technical factor in collective farming, just as the horse represents the classical source of power for the small individual farmer. Where both—the horse and the tractor—are lacking, any form of farming, whether collective or individual, must decay. At present, members of collective farms are trying to work their own private plots as best they can, without bothering too much about the collective fields."

Naturally, the Soviet government is combating this tendency, for, apart from the principle at stake, it cannot rely on individualistic farming to supply the surplus of commodities it needs to carry out its industrial plans. Yet while machinery and fertilizers are lacking, propaganda and purges cannot do much to improve the morale of the collectives. One step, however, appears to have been taken to lessen the attractiveness of private cultivation and increase the rewards of collective labor. A Moscow dispatch in the New York *Times* of September 20 reports a drastic increase in the prices of rationed foods, accompanied by considerable price cuts in the "commercial stores." These state-owned stores, where goods can be bought without ration cards, set a price standard for the peasant markets. The net effect of this apparently contradictory move, therefore, will be to increase the revenues of the collectives, owing to the higher prices charged for the staples of mass consumption, while lowering the profits of private production. It should thus make possible increased compensation per unit of labor time given to the collectives and help to persuade the peasant to devote less effort to his private holding.

But this concession to the peasants must mean a sharp increase in the cost of living for urban workers, most of whom will find little compensation for the higher prices of rationed goods in the reduced quotations of the free markets. The price of black bread, for instance, has been advanced from 1 to 3.40 rubles per kilogram, meat from 14 to 34 rubles, butter from 24 and 28 to 60, sugar from 5 and 6 to 60 and 70. Set these prices against a wage of 300 to 350 rubles a month, which John Fischer, writing in the current *Harper's*, estimates as the average in the Ukraine, and it will be realized that few workers will be left with a margin for purchases of non-rationed goods at still higher prices.

These developments, which indicate a very tight food situation in the U. S. S. R., certainly afford support to the theory that Russia's bad external manners reflect internal strains and stresses. They also suggest that it would be good policy for us to temper our "toughness" by an effort to relieve these stresses.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Poetry of Reason

WILLIAM BLAKE: THE POLITICS OF VISION. By Mark Schorer. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

WILLIAM BLAKE has been all things to all critics: an idiot or madman to some of his contemporaries, an immoralist to Swinburne, a symbolist to Yeats, a mystic to Foster Damon, a visionary to Helen C. White, a cabbalist to Denis Saurat, a Christian Socialist practicing resignation to J. Middleton Murry, a proto-surrealist to Herbert Read, a Marxist emancipated from the schematics of Marxism to Jacob Bronowski, whose "Man Without a Mask" (1944) is relentless, or even inspired, in its socio-economic approach. Now Mark Schorer in the most comprehensive discussion of Blake yet to appear has seen him as he must be seen, as a poet of the later revolutionary eighteenth century within "a particular tradition, in a particular period of history." Schorer so liberally considers the function of myth in poetry and the psychological implications of Blake's will to integrate personality that one is liable to underestimate his final and authoritative distinction of interpreting Blake's vision as politics of the Enlightenment. Inevitably someone was to see that Blake "took the most basic assumptions" of revolutionary rationalism and transvalued them into an ethic of the imperative right of the individual to his own consummation.

Proverbially, the Enlightenment is without poetry. Tom Paine was very clear that "the composition of poetry differs from that of prose in the manner of mixing long and short syllables together"—and Blake was Paine's friend. Even Schorer, like Damon and the others, intimates that the ecstasies of Blake redeemed the eighteenth century from poetic decadence. Not exactly. By Schorer's own heavy evidence Blake is the *fulfilment* of the Enlightenment in its most rational and abstract vision. Although he has infallibly situated Blake within the Industrial and French revolutions and all the traditions of deism and dissent, Schorer may not sufficiently trust the Enlightenment itself. The best of Blake—The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, and his terrible poems on the chartered streets of London—is the lyric of Enlightenment. With Voltaire, Blake exclaims, *Ecrasez l'infâme:*

> I wander thro' each charter'd street,
> Near where the charter'd Thames does flow,
> And mark in every face I meet
> Marks of weakness, marks of woe.
>
> In every cry of every Man,
> In every Infant's cry of fear,
> In every voice, in every ban,
> The mind-forg'd manacles I hear.
>
> How the Chimney-sweeper's cry
> Every black'ning Church appalls;
> And the hapless Soldier's sigh
> Runs in blood down Palace walls.
>
> But most thro' midnight streets I hear
> How the youthful Harlot's curse
> Blasts the new born Infant's tear,
> And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse.

Blake supposed that he had cast off Rational Demonstration, the mechanics of the deist, and Newton's sleep; yet he was the poet, the only poet, of the *philosophes*, and he, not Wordsworth, knew Reason in her most exalted mood with all the fierceness of his imagination—"the divine body in every man." His failures, like those of the Encyclopedists, occur when his logic is least furious, least illumined; then he resorts to the rhetoric of occultism, in the Jerusalem, for example. Like the Encyclopedists, too, Blake "refused to admit the cleavage between knowledge and belief," for vision is both.

Schorer is rigorously correct in discriminating between the vision of Blake and the vision of the mystic or of Shelley, the so-called Platonist. The vision of Blake is the vision of Jefferson heightened, the Cartesian vision inflamed, the vision of those "reasoners" who founded their heavenly city on the principle that men are created free and equal—a principle that cannot be demonstrated historically, sociologically, psychologically, or theologically, but a principle apocalyptically vivid to the *esprit de géométrie*, to the Jacobin. This sort of abstraction moved Condorcet to tears. Schorer complains that Blake wavered: "Either he insisted that the life of vision alone was real, or he argued—more frequently—that the life of vision made matter real." To the eighteenth-century mind this is no dilemma: in one of his letters Blake writes, "Dear Sir, excuse my enthusiasm or rather madness, for I am really drunk with intellectual vision whenever I take a pencil or graver into my hand." The tear, to Blake, was an intellectual thing.

The very clarities of the Enlightenment reduced myth to rhetoric until Blake becomes "a religious poet who is without either a theology or a proper God." For Voltaire, for Godwin, for Blake a thought is an experience that does *not* terminate in the senses. Consequently Blake's poetry is not, as has been claimed, metaphysical. Deprived as he was of myth and ritual, Blake created a system, a dialectic of opposites and contraries, resolved, poetically at least, by a device of thematic statement and return like that in "Tyger! Tyger! burning bright." In spite of the "proliferation" of obscure symbols in the later poems, the simplicity of balance, the equations and correspondences (Urizen-Luvah, etc.), amount to a tyranny of concept. Therein is Blake's difference from Yeats, who is not a rationalist, or from Shelley, whose concepts—unless we except The Mask of Anarchy—are forever at the mercy of his passions. Shelley's is a false intellectual beauty, a harmony more tumultuous than Blake's. The intellectual beauty of Blake is that of eighteenth-century written constitutions and the fanatical coherences of the Godwinian system. Schorer has named the basic paradox: Blake "employs abstractions to overcome the concept of the abstract." Blake's

"revisions" do not detach him from his tradition of revolutionary rationalism. Schorer's exhaustive index has four pages of entries *s.v.* Blake as Thinker.

It is probably unnecessary for Schorer to debate whether Blake dramatized his definitions and symbols. Drama can hardly exist in the rarefied abstraction of the Enlightenment; it needs the atmosphere of myth. Blake's vision was of extraordinary intensity, and his symbols were savagely luminous—but they were not drama. An essential *un*humanity is betrayed in his conceptualism of symbol (after all, the eighteenth-century verse is filled with personification). Even in a poem like The French Revolution, which moves very close to the actualities in Paris, Blake identifies himself with the age of Gibbon when he discerns a profane theorem being illustrated within local circumstances. Blake views the Revolution not tragically but chorally, with specters of religious men weeping, driven from their abbeys "by the fiery cloud of Voltaire." This is the "detachment" of enlightened history; it is not dramatic.

As poet, Blake translated the specifically eighteenth-century problem of political tyranny to social and, ultimately, to psychological terms. His opposition to the *ancien régime*, prerogative, law, and inequality appears not only in The French Revolution and in America but also in poems on chimney sweeps and at last in The Four Zoas with their creed of the integrity of the individual, soul and body, and their law of the free will of the psyche at harmony within itself. Blake's most raging political and religious insights—always identical among the Encyclopedists—are a hatred of divisions "in individual psychology, in social institutions, in national interests and conflicts, in the physical and moral structure of the universe." As Schorer puts it, "Godwinism becomes wisdom." The psychology of Locke, Hartley, and Hume is transposed into Blake's intuition that cleavage means neurosis, and that man must emancipate himself from convention. Now opens another deep paradox in Blake, the rebel angel, whose vision is at once political and anarchist. The impasse was that of "democrats" like Holbach and the other atomistic individualists who professed a brotherhood of man. Energy, said Blake, is eternal delight—which amounts to spiritual laissez faire.

If energy is delight and if "Active Evil is better than Passive Good," then Blake faces the issue of the naked Will, of the Right as a mere Negation and pity as a fraud. Again and again Schorer quotes Blake's proverb that seems to foreshadow Nietzsche and the superman, a slave morality and a master morality: "One law for the lion and ox is oppression." But Blake's assertion is not really Nietzschean; it is a rational diabolism. There is no appeal to biological struggle or survival—to progress, yes; but not to evolution or vitalism. The obsession is that of the concept, not of blood, history, or nature. Blake lacks entirely the organic sensibility of Wordsworth, who found in nature the nurse, the guide, the guardian of his heart, and soul of all his moral being. This organic sensibility, which Wordsworth assumed necessary to the poet, reappeared, monstrously, in later transcendentalism, when Carlyle, for example, addressed "this ever-living Universe" with his desperate query, "Ha! why do I not call thee God?" Blake once told Crabb Robinson that reading Wordsworth had given him a dysentery. One speculates what might have been his affliction had he read Carlyle, Nietzsche, or D. H. Lawrence.

Blake is no natural-supernaturalist, transcendentalist, or "romantic" but the most intensely visionary of rationalists. "Are not," he asks, "religion and politics the same thing?" This is the profoundly "enlightened" question of all revolutionists who like Blake would build Jerusalem in green and pleasant lands.

WYLIE SYPHER

"Gerty" and the G. I.'s

BREWSIE AND WILLIE. By Gertrude Stein. Random House. $2.

THE chief thing Gertrude Stein tried to do was to write as if she had kept her innocence. Everything had to be seen simply and sharply, as a new thing and a wonder. If the vision was direct enough, it did not matter whether it was profound: she was not trying to make progress. That is why she could write so much that was nonsense and so much that was banal (". . . the girls tend to be tall, taller than they used to be but not the boys not taller than they used to be, I suppose there is a physical reason for this, I do suppose so") and still be a fine artist.

She had to leave America, where the pressures of middle-class earnestness were too strong; she had to work very hard with the language, and cultivate her egotism to follow her own way strictly, shutting out many of the important intellectual currents of her time that meant much to others but had nothing to do with her purpose—so that when she was successful she could write like a twelve-year-old girl full of intelligent and sensitive curiosity and very brilliant, more brilliant than any girl ever was at twelve. (Twelve is about right, I think: all the essential knowledge has been gained, but the adult world of sex and misfortune and ideas is still part mystery and part stupidity.)

Her relations with the people of the United States were not quite like those of any other bohemian expatriate. She aroused considerable irritation—you are not supposed to go and live your own life in France while the rest of us must stick it out with the Book-of-the-Month Club and the American Labor Party—but in the end hundreds of American soldiers who had never read her books sought her out in France and called her "Gerty" and found her a great old girl. For her part, though she could not live in America she was always very seriously concerned with America and with being American, and she was certainly very happy to see the soldiers and to find that they had heard of her.

"Brewsie and Willie" is the result of that curious lovers' meeting between her and the American soldiers after the invasion of France. She formed a very high opinion of the soldiers—they were sure of themselves, she wrote in "Wars I Have Seen," no longer provincial as they were in the last war—and in "Brewsie and Willie" she tried to set down what they were like and what she herself had to say to them, in a number of conversations among soldiers, and to her countrymen in general.

Her private world here got mixed up with our public world, and it is fair to say of "Brewsie and Willie" what it would not have been fair to say of the more personal "Wars

I Have Seen": that she did not look deep enough or think hard enough.

Her soldiers are very real in the things that concern them —jobs, morals, security, the threatening future—and in the way they talk, outwardly relaxed and inwardly worried, fumbling earnestly for answers, painfully conscious of their own inadequacies. ("Listen, said Brewsie, you see, said Brewsie, you see I don't think we think, if we thought we could not articulate the same, we couldn't have Gallup polls and have everybody answer yes or no, if you think it's more complicated than that . . . thinking is funnier and more mixed than that . . . oh Willie, I get so worried, I know it is just the most dangerous moment in our history, in a kind of a way as dangerous more dangerous than the Civil War. . . .") But their decency is too pure, and they are more honest in their thinking and more childlike in their attitudes than most Americans really are; she saw that they sucked candy and tried hard to get things straight in their minds, but she did not see how knowing and cynical they could be also, and how acquisitive and cruel. She endowed them with her own innocence—but Gertrude Stein's innocence was a literary method for the creation of Gertrude Stein's world, and in giving her innocence to the soldiers, whom she had made quite recognizable and *public*, she was patronizing them and distorting them. "G. I.'s and G. I.'s and G. I.'s and they have made me come all over patriotic"—she fell in love, and she allowed herself to be taken in by the myth of a special American decency and good-heartedness.

And there is her final message to Americans at this "most dangerous moment in our history": Don't exhaust the country's raw materials. Learn to be individuals. Find out why there was a depression. Worry hard and think hard. This is sound advice—except that the raw materials seem to have preyed upon her mind unduly—but I hope it is not merely ill-natured to say that it doesn't help much. It was the price of Gertrude Stein's art that she paid too little attention to the serious preoccupations of her time; in politics she was stupid and uninformed—she could apologize for Pétain like any good-natured and unintelligent *bourgeoise*.

The funniest thing is that in reading "Brewsie and Willie" one even feels a twinge of that unreasonable philistine irritation she aroused so often when she deserved it less. For she has escaped again; worry and think, she said, and then died, expatriating herself so effectively this time that we cannot hope to reach her with our murmur: yes, that's what we *have* been doing, worrying and thinking.

ROBERT S. WARSHOW

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Wallace in Siberia

SOVIET ASIA MISSION. By Henry A. Wallace. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

TWO topflight Americans, both with the blessing of F. D. R., roamed the wilds of Arctic Siberia. Henry Wallace's report, "Soviet Asia Mission," challenges comparison with Wendell Willkie's "One World." There is a thoroughly American tang in both men—shrewd, kindly, energetic fighters for righteousness, not bothering over much about ideologies: "I don't know where I am going, but I'm on my way." "One World" is the more readable book, but not because, as Major Cheremisov unkindly suggested, the theme song of the Willkie trip was *Vodka, Vodka, Vodka* and that of the Wallace raid *Kipicheonia, Kipicheonia* (boiled water). While Willkie was—not offensively—egocentric, Wallace is self-effacing. His book is a synthetic product in which a dozen men had a share. They are a remarkable team, enough for a brain trust. But the writing of books is like the culinary art: too many cooks. . . .

I never could understand the aversion of many sensible, God-fearing Americans for Henry Wallace. He is no crackpot, but eminently sane. The agricultural part of his report should be very valuable. There are areas, like the Caribbean and the "permafrosted" North, which have physical unity. Men in such natural regions should swap information, exchange seeds, compare breeds, in the way of neighborly farmers. Incidentally, this pooling of interests across political lines would be a great help to peace. Men who realize they have to fight the treacherous muskeg will be less inclined to fight one another.

Wallace, a sane, progressive, hard-working man, found sane, progressive, hard-working men in Soviet Asia, and liked them. He discovered with delight that their Northeast and our Northwest actually met. This takes some of the glamour out of Siberia, the mysterious and terrible, the House of the Dead, the haunts of Gods, Beasts, and Men. Parts of Siberia are every bit as good as Nebraska, and, God willing, they may some day rival Minnesota. Alma Ata, the strange and remote, is "the Hollywood of Central Asia."

H. G. WELLS
1866-1946

"This was a man whose word was light in a thousand dark places. When he was angry, it was because he knew, far better than we did that life need not be a sordid, greedy scramble."

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With most of Wallace's conclusions we all agree. The air age, as Victor Hugo prophesied, has made national frontiers ridiculous. There must be, there can be, understanding between the U. S. S. R. and ourselves; to foster distrust and hatred is a crime. Wallace yields a little to the nefarious Big Two fallacy. The very idea of bigness posits power politics, and power politics means war. He believes Europe is through, and has another guess coming: Europe west of the Curzon Line outnumbers the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. combined, is not inferior to either in technical skill, and will not forever remain balkanized. He exaggerates the importance of the Pacific: when the Far East has been industrially equipped it will no longer need us. We could conceive of free trade and free migration with Europe, not with Asia. He speaks of the four great cultures—the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, the Chinese, and the Soviet Russian—ignoring Germany, India, and Islam. He does not realize that he is giving offense, for he is the kindest of men: in this again the "typical" American, as American as corn. But his limitations are only of the moment. They will recede as he progresses, for they are not in his nature. He has an open heart and an open mind.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Man Who Came to Dinner

DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE. By Louis Adamic. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

A MOTLEY production, this. The title is misleading, although the book does begin with the detailed description of an evening—January 13, 1942—that Mr. Adamic and his wife spent at the White House. "Dinner at the White House" contains or is concerned with all of the following items (but none of them is its center): what went on in Roosevelt's mind from 1942 until his death; Churchill, the arch-imperialist; the effect on President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, other people, and American policy of Mr. Adamic's book "Two-Way Passage"; some of the political ideas and observations and anxieties that disturbed or motivated Mr. Adamic during the period 1942-45; the Churchill-Roosevelt relationship; Mr. Adamic's view of the future—that there will be one world or none; an unfinished estimation of Roosevelt, Man and Statesman; Mr. Adamic's notion of the conflict between good and evil in the American character; and kindred minor subjects—such as Mrs. Roosevelt's goodness, Mr. Adamic's trouble with the Dies committee, conversations with Willkie, and so on. Mr. Adamic himself (1942-46) seems to be the only cohesive principle in the book—with the addition, perhaps, of his relation to Roosevelt as dinner host and world historical principle.

Even though much of the political thinking in the book is presented in diary form, and thus is quite dated, "Dinner at the White House" should interest a great many people and have a good sale. For the book has a certain value when viewed as a newspaper-like story of one author's various political experiences during the last four or five years. A reader who identifies himself with the author may be quite interested—after all, Mr. Adamic did have dinner at the White House, he did have conversations with Willkie, and so on—but he will not be very much enlightened politically. That is because Mr. Adamic's political thinking is often inconsistent, often inconclusive, and *very* often rhetorical.

For example, he speculates more about what was going on in Roosevelt's mind than about events occurring in the world at large. This can be justified only on the premise that Roosevelt's mind was the focal point of history. But of course Mr. Adamic does not stick to this premise: it is obvious, even to the man who attempts the feat, that the entire history of a period cannot be crammed into the arena of one man's mind —even the mind of *"that* man." The fate of the hero is not a substitute for history, but merely a minute segment of it. And what goes on in the hero's mind is only a small part of his fate. But, as we know, there are very strong reasons for personalizing the processes of nature and history.

The book will be of some interest to those individuals engaged in observing the ineptitude of the modern mind when confronted with modern experience.

DAVID T. BAZELON

FICTION IN REVIEW

IN SO far as Nelson Gidding's "End over End" (Viking, $2.50) stays with its main job of recording the circumstances of an American flier shot down and captured by the Germans in Italy and kept in solitary confinement in the hope that he will give his captors useful military information, it tells an interesting story. Like his hero, Dale Stribling, Mr. Gidding was himself a flier and a prisoner of war; certainly his account of Stribling's prison experience has this ring of authenticity. But although there is no doubt that a similar autobiographical accuracy operates through the rest of Mr. Gidding's novel, it does not give it a similar substance. Unlike the prison scenes, the flashbacks to Stribling's life before the war swing no natural or contrived dramatic weight. Indeed, in their closeness to their source in Mr. Gidding's own experience they seem only egotistical—an inflation, by means of pretentious prose, of lamentably thin material. Thus we learn that the captive flier was once a child, that he had a mother and father, that his mother and father were divorced, that he belonged to a serious literary group at preparatory school, that he thought as his whole generation thought about the possibility of another war, that he was a helluva guy for a girl to love, that he loved a girl named Barbara, that Barbara was pleased that he smoked cigars—in short, that nothing very interesting ever happened to him before he was shot down by the Germans; or rather, that many things happened to him which are undoubtedly important to himself, but which are made of only small importance to the reader. In common with so many young novelists, Mr. Gidding has made the mistake of supposing that the subjective approach to fiction requires merely the ability to see oneself as a fictional subject—I am, therefore I am a novelist.

Like many of his contemporaries, Mr. Gidding also makes the error of confusing the soft and easy associative process with the hard processes of the imagination. His prose suffers from that most wearisome of clichés, the cliché of trying to appear bold and fresh by making a rude distortion of the familiar—"Home was a seventy-seven-layer cake, three miles of white skin above a nylon stocking, a cabin half

in the sky and half on the beach, a hot-plate that kept your dreams always warm." Surely it is a sad misuse of the stream-of-consciousness method to offer such a poor trickle of consciousness in substitute for the true work of the creative mind.

Perhaps one reason why Waldo Frank's "Island in the Atlantic" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3) seems such an old-fashioned novel is because, compared to the books of our new novelists, it is so far removed from its author: Mr. Frank is very much out of a narrative which unfolds entirely through the thoughts and actions of its varied characters. But unfortunately it is far removed from us too, and not merely because it deals with the past but because it creates no connecting chords with the present. Writing of old New York between the days of the Civil War draft riots and the First World War, Mr. Frank gives the impression of being himself fixed in that time. His novel has a flavor of antiquarianism that is rare these days even in frankly historical fiction, which usually errs in the direction of viewing all earlier periods only as preparation for or pre-statements of our own.

It is difficult to suggest what would have corrected the remoteness of "Island in the Atlantic." Certainly it would not have been improved by any mechanical effort to make it timely, by any forcing of the relevance of its political or moral content. But one suspects that if the people in Mr. Frank's novel were more significant as individual human beings, that would constitute all the bridge we need between their days and problems and ours. Perhaps it is the elements, so largely unconscious, that make for intensity of fictional characterization that also make a past time live for us in the present.

Christopher LaFarge's "The Sudden Guest" (Coward-McCann, $2.50) is a very nice novel about a self-centered woman's experiences when she finds herself all alone in her country house during a hurricane. As a matter of fact, there are two hurricanes in Mr. LaFarge's story—that of 1938 as well as that of 1944. In the first storm his Miss Leckton had had a houseful of unexpected and much resented company, people taking shelter under as inhospitable a roof as one could find; six years later she weathers the storm alone, the victim of her own egocentricity. The story moves back and forth between the two days of fierce weather, the transitions occasionally a bit awkward but the method very useful in building up a sense of the development of a character through the years.

The most striking thing about Mr. LaFarge's novel—much more impressive, I think, than its implied political parable—is the way in which it reaffirms our pleasure in the story of "plot." Except in detective fiction there are almost no novels these days which hold our attention with mystery and dramatic suspense, which keep us wondering what will happen next. It is a great deprivation—just how great a deprivation we only realize when we read a novel of imagination. But it is not only the drama of developing events that sustains "The Sudden Guest." Mr. LaFarge also knows where to look for the drama of character—in the hidden motives that determine action. His study of human isolation is not a profound psychological exploration but it is a sound one, and presented with restraint and taste. DIANA TRILLING

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

BACH'S Concerto in D minor, which is on Columbia's September list, is one of the greatest of his instrumental works, with a finale in particular in which the continuing impetus of the unending invention is breath-taking. Also breath-taking is the continuing impetus of Szigeti's matured musical intelligence in the performance of a violin version of the work that Columbia issued several years ago, which I cannot hear without wanting to strangle the unembarrassedly incompetent and conscienceless people who gave it to us with its sound wretchedly distorted on the records. The new set (624; $3.85) offers a less impressive performance by the young pianist Eugene Istomin with the Busch Chamber Players that is also poorly recorded—the loud passages assaulting the ear with the percussive sound of the piano and brash sound of the strings.

Beethoven's String Quintet Opus 29, one of the finest of his early works, is superbly performed by the Budapest Quartet and Milton Katims, viola (Set 623; $4.85). But the recorded sound of the performance, which varies from side to side, is at best cold and at worst shrill and sharp, and worse with the wide-range Brush pickup than with the limited-range Astatic Tru-Tan.

With an excellent and beautifully recorded performance of the Franck Symphony by Beecham and the London Philharmonic in its catalogue (to say nothing of the atrocious Mitropoulos version) Columbia has recorded a performance by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 608; $5.85). In his unintentionally amusing foreword to Dorian's "History of Music in Performance" Ormandy wrote about "Toscanini and those of us who subscribe to the principles of interpretative loyalty" and who "find . . . a clear-cut expression of our convictions" in Verdi's denunciation of conductors' "creative" meddling with composers' scores and his demand that they perform strictly what the composer has written. But in his performance of Franck's Symphony Ormandy makes innumerable changes of tempo that Franck does not make in his score and that create a work different from the one Franck intended. The recorded sound of the performance is dull.

Schumann's First Symphony is made an even less interesting work than it is by the treatment it gets from Leinsdorf in the performance he recorded with the Cleveland Orchestra (Set 617; $4.85). There is no majesty in the introduction that is marked *maestoso,* no grace in the finale that is marked *grazioso;* the first movement is rattled off perfunctorily; the scherzo movement is ponderous; and altogether the performance is technically precise and musically insensitive. Its recorded sound, which varies from side to side, is dull.

Most of the pieces in Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite are performed satisfactorily by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 627; $3.85); but the concluding waltz sounds as though he had taken time out for a cigarette and left a metronome to beat time for the orchestra. The recorded sound of the performance is clear and bright; but my copy of the set has some gritty, crackling surfaces.

Usually printers' errors produce things like the "Venus 12H" instead of "Zenith 12H" in my article on phonographs; but once in a while they produce a truth like the statement in the notes of the Maryla Jonas set—that as Mme Jonas began to play, at her famous New York debut, Jerome D. Bohm of the *Herald Tribune* suddenly sat "unright." Mr. Bohm's unrightness about her piano-playing is demonstrated in this set (626; $3.85) by performances most of which range from mannered to exacerbated, with pianissimos that are exaggerated, even though not as bad at microphone-range as they were at Carnegie Hall distance. The music is all Chopin's: on the one hand familiar and attractive pieces like the E-minor Nocturne Opus 72 No. 1, the Mazurkas Opus 30 No. 2, Opus 67 No. 2, and Opus 68 No. 4, the Waltz Opus 70 No. 3; on the other hand the posthumous Nocturne in C sharp minor, the Waltz Opus 70 No. 1, an unidentified Mazurka in B flat, and the Polonaise Opus 71 No. 2, which are rarely performed for reasons that are evident when one hears them now. (Only three Mazurkas are listed on the labels instead of the four that are on the record; and the listings are incorrect: on side 1 are the one in B flat and Opus 68 No. 4, on side 2 are Opus 67 No. 2 and Opus 30 No. 2.) The sound of the piano is reproduced with clarity, but without the rich resonance of the best Victor piano recordings; and the surfaces of my copy are gritty and crackling.

The songs of Rachmaninov that Jennie Tourel has recorded (Set 625; $3.85) I do not care for; but Miss

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Tourel sings them very well—though with an occasional excessive tremolo that I don't recall having heard in her singing before. Erich Itor Kahn provides good piano accompaniments which sound dull on the records; and again there are gritty, crackling surfaces.

Six dances are played by the Philadelphia Orchestra "Pops" (Set 588; $3.85): the Sailors' Dance from Glière's "Red Poppy" and Fernandez's Batuque" under the direction of Saul Caston; the Dance of the Comedians from Smetana's "Bartered Bride," Dvorak's Slavonic Dance No. 10, Brahms's Hungarian Dance No. 5, and Johann Strauss's "Wine, Woman, and Song" Waltz under the direction of Ormandy. The performances are good; and their sound is well reproduced.

On a single record (12372-D; $1) are the engaging Polka and Fugue from Weinbergers "Schwanda," well performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, and also well reproduced. Ezio Pinza's enunciation of the words of "Deep River," on another single (17383-D; $.75), makes his singing of it a mistake.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

An Englishman on Wallace

Dear Sirs: Some of us over here, reading the speech of Henry Wallace, feel like saying, "Thank God!" If this man, who has now been three times thrown, stands up higher than ever, he may be the hope of all those, in several countries, who adhere to principles instead of labels. We do not say, "My country, right or wrong," but "Where is right, there is my country."

H. T. LOWE-PORTER

London, September 19

America and China

Dear Sirs: The American people can decide whether or not China is to suffer a devastating civil war. Shooting has already started. Whether it continues depends almost entirely upon you. If it does, you will be a participant.

This civil war will be fought in China, the country of your faithful and admiring ally. It will be the Chinese people who will be killed, Chinese towns and farms which will be destroyed, and Chinese ideals and hopes which will be suppressed.

International trade will suffer; economic development will be discouraged. Under such conditions there will be no market for American goods. The world trade-union movement will be deprived of a strong, united Chinese labor movement. Science, culture, and education will be stifled. In other words, China will not be a desirable ally for the United States.

We understand that the United States intends to aid the Chinese people in the reconstruction of their country. We learn that the United States is prepared to take the following steps: (1) grant extensive loans to China, (2) continue lend-lease, (3) sell surplus war properties, (4) maintain the United States marines and navy in China, (5) support the American military mission in China. Naturally we are grateful for the generosity of the American people. But such aid at this time arouses our fear.

You are hardly responsible for the causes of civil war in China. The Chinese people are fully aware of their own responsibilities. But on the other hand, the Chinese people cannot accept responsibility for the American contributions to the civil war. The Chinese people have received General Marshall with respect and friendliness. They accept his recommendations with hope and anticipation. They appreciate the fact that his efforts last January brought China closer to peace and democracy than anyone could have expected at that time. However, in the past six months, General Marshall's excellent contributions have been deliberately and systematically sabotaged by the forces of reaction. These elements do not care whether they plunge the Chinese people into civil war as long as they can continue to terrorize and exploit them. They are monsters who would rather destroy their country than abide by the wishes of the people. These forces of reaction are against democracy not only in China but also in the United States and the Soviet Union.

These forces of reaction now hold positions of leadership in the National Government. Already they have abandoned Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles" in favor of fascist activities. Today they ban newspapers and arrest students. They are leading private business into bankruptcy.

The United States apparently intends to issue this aid to the Chinese people through the National Government, which is permeated with the forces of reaction. Under such circumstances, we can hardly welcome this aid, for we know that it will be used to continue and enlarge the civil war. China needs aid for reconstruction, but any aid given to the National Government at this time will be aid for destruction. We feel that your contributions, intended to promote peace and democracy, will merely encourage fascism and war.

In other words, your lend-lease, loans, surplus property, marines, and military mission will lead China into a prolonged state of civil war, for the Chinese people will relentlessly fight for the termination of fascism in their country.

The forces of reaction cannot wage war without outside assistance. Lacking this assistance, they will be defeated. Hence, they have turned to the United States for contributions to their war chest. They have manufactured myths to deceive the American people into extending aid to China.

We believe in the sovereignty of the people. This explains why we address our appeal directly to the American people. The American government will not

do what you forbid. We ask you to forbid your government to destroy our chance for peace and democracy and for maintaining cordial and useful diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations with you.

SIGNED BY FORTY-SEVEN CHINESE EDITORS, PROFESSORS, LAWYERS, AND BUSINESS MEN

Shanghai

A Lack of Facts?

Dear Sirs: I read with interest the Report from Moscow, by J. Alvarez del Vayo (*The Nation,* August 17), and I was struck by the absence of factual information. This lack is best illustrated by his answer to the comment, "But you are implying that there is such a thing as public opinion in Russia." All he has to say is, "Yes, there is," and he explains that "it does not express itself in the same way as in Western countries. For emphasis he repeats, "But it exists and the Kremlin has many channels for sounding it."

This reader finds it strange indeed that Del Vayo dismisses this important subject—public opinion, the very substance of freedom—with a mere "yes, there is," expecting that, contrary to all other reports, trusting souls will accept, as so many things are accepted about Russia by true believers, his unsupported statement.

How does public opinion express itself in Russia? That is left unexplained. The Kremlin seems to have some mysterious method whereby public opinion is channeled into it.

Facts are wanted.

BENJAMIN BLATTNER

San Francisco, September 10

An Author Protests

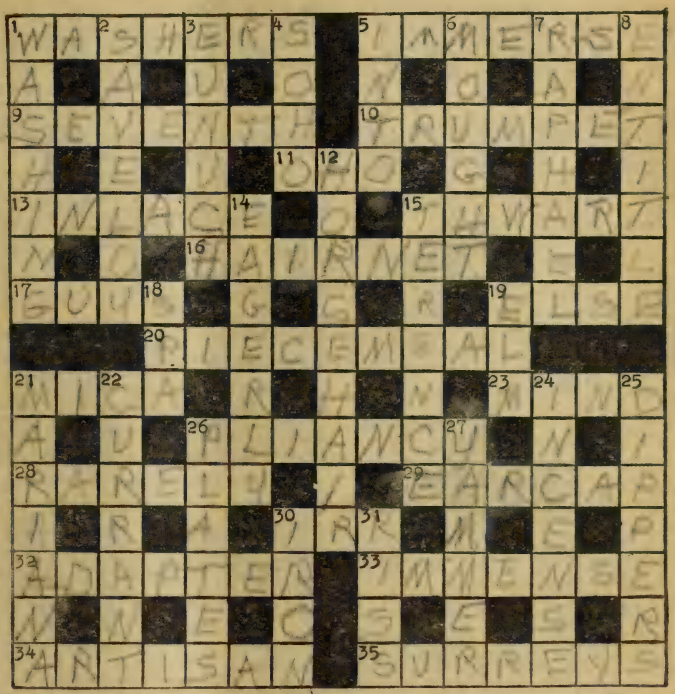
Dear Sirs: The Nation of June 1, with Mark Starr's review of my book on labor conditions in Great Britain, has reached me only now. As he tries to make me out to be some kind of impostor in retrospect, would you be kind enough to print the following rejoinder:

Mr. Starr says: "On the title page he is listed as 'formerly statistician, American Federation of Labor.' Actually Mr. Kuczynski . . . worked with the A. F. of L. as a part-time volunteer, and was employed for a short time as a paid worker."

The truth is that I never worked as part-time volunteer but was a full-time paid worker of the A. F. of L. in 1927 and 1928.

Crossword Puzzle No. 181

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Not found shampooing their "nuts"
5 Duck
9 "Event"ful day of the month
10 Oldest of wind instruments
11 A chuckle
13 Embellish with trimming
15 Mostly the blemish that seems to frustrate Cromwell
16 Lock-keeper
17 American blokes
19 Other
20 Bites bit by bit?
21 Fool's gold
23 "What is ----? No matter. What is matter? Never ---- ?"
26 Flexibility
28 Seldom
29 Protects part of the head from frostbite
30 Weary
32 An accommodating person
33 Enormous
34 Sinatra turns mechanic
35 Carriages with a fringe on top

DOWN

1 Domestic bunting
2 Looks a fairly economical form of sausage
3 Chamberlain in the East
4 Foreign part of a foreign capital
5 Going out? Not I
6 It was "may" in Bacon's day
7 Italian painter (1483-1520)
8 Raise to the peerage?
12 What the equestrian likes to sit
14 With avidity
15 Masculine name — formerly Latin, now Irish
18 Spring from a serpent
19 Shade tree
21 "He cometh not," she said
22 Fruit that is mostly dog and insect
24 Pleasing perfume
25 The Plow, ladles and water-ouzels all are
26 Staple crockery
27 Wail and whine
30 Heaviest pig
31 In which "four lips become silent mouth"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No.

ACROSS:—1 MIMIC; 4 GUT; 6 WESER; 9 GENERAL; 10 MISERLY; 11 LIMBER; 13 CAREENED; 15 LIGHTER; 16 CANDID; 17 OSLO; 19 ADORNED; 21 LAMB; 23 RIPPLE; 25 BEADLES; 27 CANOODLE; STRICT; 31 IMAGINE; 32 WRINKLE; AWARE; 34 SUN; 35 TWEED.

DOWN:—1 MOGUL; 2 MANXMAN; 3 CORNELIA; 4 GOLD; 5 TOMCAT; 6 WASTER; 7 SPRINGS; 8 RAYED; 12 RIDDLED; CHARADE; 14 REVERES; 16 COL; 18 OWE; 20 DISTRICT; 22 MONTANA; 24 PRICKLE; 25 BOVINE; 26 ALLEYS; 27 CHINA; TREAD; 30 TWIN.

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Mr. Starr says: "When his work was more carefully supervised, Mr. Kuczynski left."

The truth is that I left in order to write for the Brookings Institution a study of employment statistics before returning to Europe, and that the Federation asked me to continue to serve as a paid adviser on research work as long as I stayed in the United States, which I gladly did.

Mr. Starr says that I "drew the conclusion that the workers are better off during a depression than during a boom."

The truth is that I never concluded any such utter nonsense but simply showed how relative or social wages and real wages moved, within the trade cycle, in opposite directions, a phenomenon already explained a hundred years ago by Marx.

If any of your readers should draw any conclusions from these misstatements by Mr. Starr as to the validity of the rest of the review I would be only too happy. JUERGEN KUCZYNSKI

Berlin, July 22

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of The Nation, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1946.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Arx, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Editor, Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, J. King Gordon, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:
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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also the said two paragraphs contain statements, embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 42,157.

HUGO VAN ARX,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of September, 1946.

[SEAL]

TERESITA GRANT,
Notary Public, Kings Co. No. 612
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My commission expires March 30, 1947.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 163 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 12, 1946 NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

IN HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE AMERICAN CLUB in Paris on October 3, Secretary of State Byrnes declared very emphatically that the United States was not going to retreat into a policy of isolation again. There must, he said, be no doubt about America's determination to interest itself in European affairs—a doubt which twice had led to war because other nations had miscalculated the consequences of their actions. The significance of this remark, which he backed by a renewal of his proposal for a Four-Power 40-year treaty to maintain German demilitarization, was its implied warning to the Russians that they could not count on a future American withdrawal from Europe which would open the way to their attainment of hegemony. Perhaps this warning was necessary, but it is a pity that Mr. Byrnes did not accompany it by some gesture that might help to melt the icy barrier that divides us from the Soviets. His comments on Stalin's recent statement were, in fact, politely freezing. He welcomed the Russian Premier's assurance that there was no fear of an atomic war, adding coldly that he hoped this would put an end to "unwarranted charges" that the United States was planning to use its bomb to intimidate Russia. He agreed there was no immediate danger of war but pointedly asserted that "while no nation wants war, nations may pursue policies ... which lead to war." The Secretary's speech, in short, was firmly negative. It offered no hope of ending the impasse which Russian-American relations have reached, an impasse illustrated by the wide differences which remain between the views of the two countries on many of the peace treaty problems over which the Paris conference has been fruitlessly wrangling for nine weeks.

✶

IT IS NATURAL THAT THE BRITISH SHOULD resent Mr. Truman's latest pronouncement on Palestine. Coming as it did on the eve of Yom Kippur and, even more importantly, of the fall election campaign, it carried a flavor of political expediency which English comment promptly recognized. And the fact of its release in the face of a direct request from Mr. Attlee that it be temporarily withheld from publication, added to London's annoyance. But the President's statement was actually more than a campaign maneuver. It represented an important body of American opinion which, since the adjournment of the London Conference, has become increasingly pessimistic about the prospect of early change. If nothing is to be done before the London Conference reassembles in December, the D. P.'s are clearly doomed to another winter in the detention camps of Germany. The President went back to the report of the Joint Inquiry Committee to insist again that substantial immigration into Palestine should not be held up while Britain ponders the long-range aspects of its Middle East policy. He also reiterated his earlier recommendation that the immigration laws of other nations, including the United States, should be liberalized in order to admit refugees, a proposal which ought to mitigate British resentment. And after reviewing the long sequence of fruitless inquiries, negotiations, and proposed solutions, he gave tentative support to the compromise partition plan endorsed by the Jewish Agency. Altogether, the substance of the President's statement was important and its tone moderate and cooperative; it is greatly to be hoped that the British will not write it off as nothing more than a bid for Jewish votes.

✶

ALL BUT TWO OF THE TWENTY-FIVE NEGROES accused of attempted murder during the troubles at Columbia, Tennessee, last February, have been acquitted. That verdict is a triumph for the defending lawyers who, in an atmosphere thick with prejudice, fought from beginning to end with skill and courage. But in some part it can be attributed to the way in which the case was covered in the national press. In particular the syndicated articles of Vincent Sheean exposed the way in which the defense was hampered by the rulings of the presiding judge and laid bare the social background of the Columbia "incident" which occurred when, following a dispute between a Negro and a white man, a white mob gathered in a lynching mood. That night the frightened colored citizens were on guard in Mink Slide, the business section of their quarter. Shots were fired on both sides and four policemen who approached the colored district in a darkened car were wounded. At dawn, State Commissioner of Safety, Lynn Bomar, who admitted at the trial that he had no search warrant, led a posse of highway patrolmen to Mink Slide and started a reign of terror. Stores were smashed and ransacked,

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money stolen, and 103 men and boys thrown into jail without charge. In the following week, all these prisoners were beaten and two killed "trying to escape." Twenty-five were then arbitrarily held for trial. In court, the prosecution could produce direct evidence against none; it proceeded, apparently, on the Hitlerian theory of "collective guilt." It is satisfactory to know that a Tennessee jury has repudiated this theory. But even if the verdict against the two convicted men is set aside on appeal, as seems probable, it can hardly be said that justice has been served. For the man directly responsible for the deaths of two Negroes and wanton destruction of much property remains—Heaven help Tennessee!—Commissioner of Safety.

*

FIVE MORE SPANISH REPUBLICANS HAVE JUST been sentenced to death in the new wave of Franco terror which Mr. Del Vayo describes elsewhere in this issue. They are Ramón Prado, Julio Romero, Julio Sanchez, Bonifacio García, and Juan Cuadrado. A United Press cable from Buenos Aires reports that the Argentine Parliament has adopted a resolution urging the Spanish government to commute these sentences. The least we can demand of our government is that it take advantage of its good relations with the Spanish dictator to exert similar pressure on Madrid.

*

THE POSITION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY is now one "of great promise and great danger," said Director John Steelman of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion in his latest quarterly report. From our corner, the danger appears a great deal more conspicuous than the promise. As Mr. Steelman himself noted, prices have risen further in the last three months than in the previous thirty-eight while, despite wage increases, "the money the average working family has to spend per week has decreased since V-E Day." His report declares that the remedy is greater production of finished goods, which is hardly an original thought. The question to be solved is how to overcome the lag in production. It is fashionable to blame that on strikes and low labor productivity. But a lot of the trouble seems to be due to the ill-balanced distribution of man-power and materials, partly due to hoarding. In addition, there is accumulating evidence of deliberate slowdown by business and the withholding of finished goods from the market. Eric Johnston, a member of the OWMR Advisory Board, says rightly that we are paying the penalty for relaxing controls too early and particularly for the fatal hiatus that occurred in the summer when Congress failed to pass an acceptable OPA continuation bill. Mr. Johnston, declaring that wage controls have broken down and thus rendered impossible the successful continuation of price controls, recommends an end to both and urges reliance on (a) free markets and (b) self-re-

straint in the interests of national welfare, to see us through the danger of inflation which, he admits, remains. He does not realize that his two remedies are incompatible since the only law for the seller in a free market is to grab whatever the traffic can bear.

*

THE ARMY'S NEW MILITARY TRAINING PLAN is clearly preferable to the one which was allowed to die in committee at the last session of Congress for lack of popular support. In cutting the training period to six months and permitting the trainees to choose any one of seven alternative programs in lieu of another six months training, the Army has recognized at least some of the implications of atomic warfare. The kind of military training that was given to our soldiers in World War II is likely to be utterly irrelevant to the needs of national defense ten years hence. Six months would seem to be the maximum time for which the government could justifiably interrupt the cultural and scientific education of the country's youth. But is is doubtful whether the time, effort, and money demanded by this kind of training represent the wisest use of our resources for national defense. It is estimated that the new universal-training program will cost about $2,000,000,000 annually. If this amount were spent in improving scientific training in our schools and colleges and in enabling tens of thousands of young men to obtain a higher education, our potentialities for national defense might be strengthened to a far greater extent than is possible under any program of military training.

*

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S CONVENTION AT San Francisco has shown that it takes a good deal more than a World War to change the Legion. Full of nostalgia and grain neutral spirits, most of the legionnaires gamboled and staggered through San Francisco, shooting off water pistols or whistling hoarsely at girls; meanwhile the loudly reactionary and quietly efficient group that has always controlled Legion policy kept on controlling it, in spite of the fact that, by now, two-thirds of the legionnaires are veterans of World War II. Generals, admirals, and J. Edgar Hoover made the usual "Arm! Arm! The Reds Are Coming!" speeches, but General Omar Bradley, head of the Veterans' Administration, surprised his audience by delivering an attack on retiring Commander John Stelle. Stelle had declared that Bradley's indorsement of the $200-a-month ceiling on pay to men receiving on-the-job training was a "betrayal" of the veteran, and that the rights of veterans were everywhere being imperilled by the arbitrary and excessive "economy" of the government. Bradley defended government policy, accused Stelle of consistent exaggeration and misrepresentation in the interests of a special group, and reminded him that the veteran is a citizen first and a veteran second. Stelle's reply, though more palatable to the convention than Bradley's speech, won little applause outside of San Francisco; the American Veterans' Committee immediately came out in support of Bradley. There isn't much doubt that the Legion, in both practice and theory, is just what it used to be, and leftists boring from within seem unlikely to get much more for their pains than blisters and frustration.

Progressives in Chicago

THE Conference of Progressives, which met in Chicago September 28-29, was impressive for several reasons. It attracted representatives from a wide variety of liberal and labor organizations; it was addressed by a notable group of leaders who have refused to run before the current tide of reaction; it adopted a sound program of foreign and domestic policies; it issued a ringing appeal to progressives throughout the country to rally to the polls on November 5 and so insure that the Eightieth Congress will be a more liberal body than the Seventy-ninth.

These achievements will put new heart into progressives and may help to bring out the big registration of votes that is needed to repel the reactionary offensive at the polls. But it must be recognized that the weeks that remain before the election are too few to organize effectively "half a million bell-ringers." It is only possible now to build on foundations which should have already been laid by the P. A. C. and its allies, and there is all too much evidence that these groups are not operating this year as extensively or as enthusiastically as in 1944.

That is not difficult to explain. With the death of Roosevelt and the scattering of the New Dealers, the progressive movement has been forced to take defensive positions. Instead of looking forward to new horizons, it must strive to salvage as many of the Roosevelt policies as possible and, in order to do so, to keep what hold it can on the Democratic Party. This is the object of the short-term tactics adopted by the Chicago conference—the support of liberal candidates of both parties and the weakening of the tory coalition which dominated the last Congress. In practice, however, the result is that progressives find themselves tagging along with the Democratic Party machine in most constituencies, since left-wing Republicans are few and the choice is all too often between a bad Democrat and a worse Republican.

Moreover, it is difficult for progressives to associate themselves, however loosely, with the Democrats while at the same time repudiating the leadership of President Truman. At Chicago this problem was met by giving Mr. Truman the silent treatment, but that is hardly a solution as long as men like Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper, who are identified with progressivism, give their loyal support to the Democratic ticket.

Last week, in discussing The Nation Associates conference at Los Angeles, Freda Kirchwey wrote of "the dilemma of a progressive mass disunited and cut off by changing political currents from the organizational base from which, during the Roosevelt era, it had exercised effective power." The Chicago conference illustrated that dilemma but was unable to point out the way of escape. It did, however, tacitly recognize that the immediate program it recommended, an adaptation of the old Gompers policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, had only a limited usefulness. After the election the situation will be reviewed by a Continuation Committee appointed by the conference, and in January a new conference will assemble in Washington which will be able to look ahead to 1948 and beyond. On that occasion the question of the future of the progressive movement will have to be faced and answered. It is a movement, we are convinced, which has great and growing support among the people, but to realize its potentialities it must cease to lean on the memory of Roosevelt and develop new leadership and a new organizational form.

Politics and Justice

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE political basis of the Nürnberg trial was the decision of the major Allied powers that Germany, after Hitler's downfall, was not to be permitted the privilege of revolution. Whether the decision was wise or foolish can never be demonstrated, for no one can say that a revolution in Germany would have succeeded. Twelve years of Hitlerism had largely destroyed the elements necessary for effective revolt, and those elements had never been strong. This fact, of course, had no influence on the decision of the Allies, but it helped silence criticism even among those who, like myself, believe that only through revolution could the German people have purged itself of the poison of fascist tyranny. To mean anything politically, "denazification" must come from inside.

But the Allied powers, Russia included, were not primarily interested in the regeneration of Germany. Their policy was dictated by considerations of security, by the desire of each to establish quickly its own position in the area assigned to it, and, on the part of the Western powers at least, by a strong objection to violent change in Germany, especially from the left.

Because of bad political weather, the German revolution was adjourned to a courtroom.

No honest anti-fascist can regret the punishment of the men responsible for Hitler's dictatorship and for the system of terror and aggression that supported it. But to argue that their punishment was better accomplished by a Nürnberg trial than by a straightforward political decision misses, I think, the central meaning of the struggle against the fascist drive for power. The trial, in fact, obscured that meaning behind its elaborate façade of legalism. If Hitler's lieutenants had to be spared the political fate of Mussolini, if military control by the victors had to take the place of revolution, the most effective and understandable alternative would have been prompt action by the Allied Control Commission. Senator Taft, with impressive lack of logic, has insisted that because the trial was essentially illegal the defendants should not have been condemned to death but merely exiled, as was Napoleon. This argument probably conceals a more logical wish that they had all been acquitted. For if the Nürnberg trial was in fact outside the law, it had no better right to condemn the Nazi leaders to exile them to death. Whereas the Allied powers in 1814 might quite as reasonably have sentenced Napoleon to death as to Elba. A similar political decision by the Inter-Allied Commission in Germany in the summer of 1945 would have avoided the appearance of specious legality which has led even such militant anti-Nazis as our contributor, Rustem Vambery, to question the validity of the whole proceedings at Nürnberg.

I do not say that no good came of the trial. The execution of the top leaders will have a useful political effect in Germany as elsewhere; and even the acquittals, which seem to me quite unjustified, may help make the crimes of the condemned men appear larger and more sinister. The vast accumulation of evidence, presented in the courtroom and dramatized outside, should have convinced the ordinary German-in-the-street that the Nazi regime, individually and as a whole, was as unprecedentedly evil as the world knew it to be. And the appearance in court, as accusing witnesses, of some of the surviving victims of Hitler's extermination camps provided an unforgettable lesson in the meaning of terror.

von Papen

More important was the attempt of the Tribunal to establish aggression and crimes against humanity as offenses under international law. This effort may have

been legally indefensible, as Dr. Vambery maintains, providing dubious grounds upon which to convict the accused Nazis. At the same time, viewed politically and even morally, it is possible to argue that it set up certain standards which represent the beliefs of all decent men and women in this threatening era. In other words, Nürnberg may have helped crystallize a point of view which must form the basis in custom upon which valid law can eventually be erected. To find moral values in juridical proceedings which are unsound legally will itself seem immoral to the legal purist. But to one who looks upon the whole trial as essentially an over-elaborate political process, the coincidence of high ideals and questionable law offers fewer difficulties.

One more word about the effect of the acquittals. There are those who believe they were justified as a demonstration of the fairness of the procedure, proving that the cases as a whole were not prejudged. This argument seems to have been overthrown by the reports from Germany, which indicate that the attitude of the ordinary citizen toward the acquittals is one of bewilderment and disapproval. He knows Schacht as the clever fox who converted Germany's financial system to the purposes of rearmament and war, who organized leading industrialists and bankers in support of the Nazi program, and who helped Hitler into power—while maintaining always a convenient fiction of superior detachment. As for von Papen, the man who induced Hindenburg to give Hitler the Chancellorship and who betrayed Austria to the Nazis, he too is known to all Germans as an active accomplice of the regime. That he managed to cover his operations with a cloak of respectability and, especially, of piety in no way mitigates his offense. To have these two land on their feet after the fall of Nazism has obviously produced a reaction of cynicism rather than respect. And the same attitude, in lesser degree, applies to the freeing of Fritsche. Legal safeguards which prevent the punishment of men whose acts so clearly merit punishment are sure to be regarded as devices to protect the powerful rather than the innocent. And the fact that Schacht's acquittal will apparently result in the freeing of all the leading industrialists and financiers now awaiting trial only adds to the unfortunate political effect of the verdict.

De Gaulle Marches Backward

BY GEORGE SLOCOMBE

Paris, October 1

THE events of the past week will have a profound influence on French history for many years to come. By his speech at Epinal on Sunday, September 29, General de Gaulle cut himself adrift from the mass of French democratic opinion as effectively as, and hardly less dramatically than, he broke with his past on June 18, 1940, when he denounced the capitulation of Marshal Philippe Pétain to Germany. A solitary by nature and by choice, the General has never been more aloof from his countrymen, more alone in his political thinking, than he is today. The fact that he is enthusiastically acclaimed by the diehards of the recently formed Party of Republican Liberties, that they would like to carry him to the Elysée tomorrow as the chief of an authoritarian, anti-Communist, but also anti-democratic regime, that his popularity is still great among the peasants and among the small *rentier* class, both of whom find difficulty in reorienting themselves in the new political atmosphere of France, does not alter the grave truth of De Gaulle's essential solitude.

The dominant, the tragic reality is that General de Gaulle has finally broken with the Resistance, with almost all the young, ardent, patriotic, forward-looking elements of France which revolted against Vichy, which suffered and came near death under the enemy occupation, which desired a new France after the liberation, and which still desire it. And the Resistance, for all its reiterated professions of admiration for the De Gaulle of the eighteenth of June, 1940, and the years which followed that courageous declaration of faith in France's destinies, for all its past loyalty and undiminished respect for his person, has definitely broken with De Gaulle. He is now seen as the associate, willing or unwilling, conscious or unconscious, avowed or occult, of the remnants of Vichyism, the unrepentant survivors of the "two hundred families," the anti-democratic, power-loving, money-conscious feudalists of the Third Republic whose spokesmen and chosen instruments ranged, in the tragic years before and after the débâcle, from Gaston Doumergue, Pierre Etienne Flandin, Camille Chautemps, Edouard Daladier, Georges Bonnet to Marshal Pétain and Pierre Laval.

Only this realization could have brought about the eleventh-hour reconciliation over the draft constitution between such redoubtable and permanent adversaries as the Christian Democrats of the M. R. P., the Socialists of Léon Blum, and the Communists of Maurice Thorez

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and Jacques Duclos. Only this could have achieved an eleventh-hour agreement between the Christian Democrats and the Communists on an electoral law which retains proportional representation on the departmental plane but rejects the mixing of lists of candidates at the electors' choice—an agreement which satisfies neither party as to the principle but which gives to each a certain temporary advantage in the elections to be held this month. And only this realization of De Gaulle's real intentions could have provoked Léon Blum, a generous political critic and an erstwhile admirer of the General, to his recent probing and destructive polemics against De Gaulle.

In French politics it is never the superficial subject of agreement or disagreement which counts. All the political parties in France debate endlessly over a phrase, but each reads into the written word its own meaning. The constitution on which the three great parties of the Resistance reached unanimous agreement on the eve of De Gaulle's speech at Epinal satisfies none of them. It is a document full of compromises, evasions, and innuendoes. The salient fact about it is its insistence on the sovereign rights of the democratically elected National Assembly. The second chamber, called the Council of the Republic, has been grudgingly accorded the right to initiate laws, if not financial laws, but refused the right to veto those passed by the Assembly. It will not enjoy the power, possessed by the old Senate, of rejecting legislation passed by the more directly and democratically elected lower house, or of ordering, by agreement with the President of the Republic, the dissolution of the lower house in a political crisis. The President of the Republic has been permitted the right of appointing the president of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister), but this appointment must be ratified by an absolute majority of the National Assembly.

The lower house thus retains its sovereign powers of legislation and of control over the executive at every stage in the political battle. It may be argued that the new President will in fact enjoy as great powers as those actually *exercised* by his predecessors under the Third Republic. On every occasion when a President of the Republic has attempted in the past to exceed the de facto powers allotted to his office under the new constitution, he has run into grave trouble with Parliament and has had to submit or resign. It is clear to the Resistance parties that the crux of the quarrel with General de Gaulle centers in the powers of the President of the Republic. In order to see the position clearly, one has only to imagine the Communist leader Maurice Thorez engaged in the same battle for a strong chief of state. General de Gaulle would then be found among the partisans of the sovereign Assembly.

The effect of the General's Epinal speech, in which incidentally he went farther and more defiantly along the path to an authoritarian state than he has ever permitted himself in earlier declarations, may be surprising both to De Gaulle's followers and to his critics. He has unmistakably counseled the nation to say No when the constitution is offered for ratification in the referendum of October 13. But the nation has already said No once, and it has shown little interest in the debates over the constitution. Out of apathy, out of alarm at the prolongation of a regime of provisional governments and temporary parliaments, it may conceivably reverse its previous judgment and reply Yes. It may also take fright at the prospect of a fascist dictatorship adumbrated in the General's demand for a strong executive and a strong chief of state. Even if some sections of the nation are not opposed to a paternal government which will create a barrier against communism, the same sections may reasonably recoil from the prospects of civil war between the General's partisans and the Communists. Finally, there is the traditional civilian distrust of the general on horseback. The French are a martial nation but not a military nation. In times of peace they suspect the interference of soldiers in politics. The Dreyfus Affair, and the four years' rule of Marshal Pétain, left a permanent distaste for military intervention.

These are the negative factors which may insure a reaction against General de Gaulle even among the Catholic, property-owning, professional classes which admire him most. The positive factors are even more convincing. The Assembly has passed the revised draft of the constitution by an impressive majority—440 to 106. The Socialists, Communists, and M. R. P. voted unanimously for it. Under the electoral law as amended, little or no change can be expected in the next Assembly. The position of the three great parties remains unaffected. Even if a proportion of the M. R. P. voters is influenced by General de Gaulle's condemnation of the constitution, and replies No, there will remain sufficient Yes voters among the M. R. P. to swell the solid ranks of the Socialists and the Communists. Many of Edouard Herriot's dwindling following of Radicals and Radical-Socialists, moreover, although they do not like the draft constitution, will probably vote for it because they like General de Gaulle's authoritarian tendencies even less.

It should be realized also that General de Gaulle has given the three Resistance parties their best fighting slogan, both in the referendum and in the new general elections. A constitution, even perfect, is a poor thing to do battle for. But a personality, a name, especially when that personality and that name are associated with the most tragic and eventful years in the history of France, are the best of slogans, the most brilliant of battle flags. Napoleon, for many years after his eclipse, was the subject of a legend over which men argued, fought, quarreled, triumphed, or despaired. There is nothing so dangerous as the dictator myth.

Himmler

Tod des Kreuzes

Kindertod

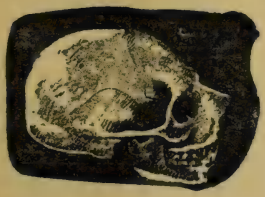
Arnold Bosshard

Deutscher Totentanz

Schacht

Maskerade

von Fritsch



Goebbels

Goering

Ribbentrop

Courtesy of *Die Nation* of Berne

The Law of the Tribunal

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

IN SPITE of such obvious anomalies as the acquittal of Papen, who sponsored Hitler's rise to power, and the hanging of Rosenberg, who provided the Nazis with their ideology, the acquittal of the German General Staff and the hanging of its chief, General Jodl, the Nürnberg judgment clearly made an attempt to keep up legal appearances. There was, indeed, nothing wrong with the Nürnberg trial except its psychological background and its juridical foundation. As I emphasized in earlier issues of *The Nation* (May 19 and December 1, 1945), both the Charter of the International Military Tribunal and the Tribunal itself had *les fautes de leurs qualités*: the Charter because it assumed that the four-power agreement could create international law and the Tribunal because for lack of legal rules to define the crime and determine the punishment it had to imitate the arbitrariness of Hitlerian jurisprudence. Legally there is as much justification for the position "They should have hanged those fellows in Nürnberg in the first place?" as for the suggestion made by the gloomy Dean of St. Paul's that a general pardon be granted to the accused.

It is not the personal fate of those lunatics and scoundrels who exemplified German megalomania running amuck but the fate of law and justice in which we are interested. Justice Jackson stated that the kingpin of the case is the declaration that aggressive war is a crime. How aggressive war is to be defined and why it is a crime we are not told in the summary of the judgment prepared "for the convenience of the press," which looks more like a textbook of history than a legal document. Had Hitler won the war, Great Britain would undoubtedly have been named the aggressor since it declared war on Germany after the Nazis invaded Poland. In his foreword to Professor Sheldon Glueck's recent book, "The Nürnberg Trial and Aggressive War," Justice Jackson said that "by any possible definition of aggression, this war was aggressive in its plotting and execution." If this contention is granted, then Justice Jackson should be able to furnish us at least one out of several possible definitions of aggression to appease our juridical conscience. But instead of going to the elementary trouble of formulating a definition of aggressive war, the Nürnberg court, in the words of Professor Glueck, "avoided wrangles over definitions and dealt with the challenge—is it a crime to make a war of aggression?" It is strange, considering the possibility of divergent definitions—no legalistic mind is needed to find the hitch—that the Tribunal should have been able to give a correct answer without a knowledge of the question.

In Chapter III of his book Dr. Glueck uses similar sleight-of-hand to reach the conclusion that aggressive war *is* an international crime. He begins by confessing that during the preparation of an earlier book he was "not at all certain that the acts of launching and conducting an aggressive war could be regarded as an 'international crime.'" But later he states that "further reflection upon the problem has led me to the conclusion that for the purpose of conceiving aggressive war to be an international crime, the Pact of Paris, together with other treaties and resolutions, may be regarded as evidence of a sufficiently developed *custom* to be acceptable as international law." Now, Professor Glueck's own investigations reveal a number of interesting features in these treaties and resolutions. The Pact of Paris, in spite of outlawing war, did not make its violation a crime. The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923) failed in fact of adoption because of the major objection "that it would be difficult to define what act would comprise aggression." The famous Geneva Protocol never came into effect. The Washington Conference (1928) condemned war in general without attempting to differentiate between types of war. The Rio Anti-War Treaty (1933), condemning wars of aggression, and other similar declarations used the term "crime" in a poetic rather than a legal sense. Therefore, as even Professor Glueck and the Nürnberg Tribunal have to admit, the "crimes against peace" are "strictly speaking not based upon proof of any specific provision of any of the international treaties or conventions."

What, then, is the legal basis for considering aggressive war an international crime? According to Professor Glueck, it is "the crystallization of generally prevailing opinion" and "the existence of a widespread custom." However, he is aware of the requirement "of a very long if not immemorial usage to establish a customary rule either in common or international law," but thinks that because "of the tremendous technological development of the present epoch... the time requirement for the legal validity of custom in the field must, correspondingly, be telescoped." Although in the concept of a

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military tribunal the adjective is supposed to dominate the noun, the application of atomic energy or of the speed of rocket planes to the tempo of customary law seems to overrate the spiritual repercussion of "technological development."

With Dr. Glueck's conclusion that there is "evidence of a sufficiently developed custom" to justify the conception of aggressive war as an international crime his own remark that "every custom must have a beginning some time" seems to be inconsistent, as does also the general reaction of the press, which hailed the Nürnberg judgment as a valuable precedent—except a few papers which thought it foolish to say that this is a precedent because they do not recognize the slight difference between the rules of international law and the slaughter of defeated kings and populations in ancient times.

Victor powers can do almost anything. They might have even proclaimed a law in Germany defining aggressive war and setting the punishment for violation of this law; and by a dictate they could have made it retroactive, in contradiction to Article 9 of the Constitution of the United States. What they cannot do, however, is to declare that a custom exists. Because the precedents creating the customary rule are more powerful than any statute, which might be abrogated by custom.

Those who are so enthusiastic about the precedent set by the Nürnberg judgment have apparently never heard of the college professor from the Middle West who visited Oxford. Meeting an English friend in a college quad, the American asked why some people crossed the lawn while others went around it. "Because," was the answer, "it has been the custom for over three centuries to allow only dons to cross the quad." "Oh, I see," said the American. On returning to Missouri or wherever his college was, he posted the following notice on the bulletin board: "From today on the three-hundred-year-old custom begins that undergraduates must not cross the campus." It will take, if not centuries, a considerable time to find out whether the Nürnberg judgment has really set a precedent by making the violation of international treaties a crime. After all, it was early in the seventeenth century that Hugo Grotius proclaimed the rule *Pacta sunt servanda*—treaties must be respected. And the Nazis were certainly not the first to disregard it.

One of the columnists was emphatic that the "Nürnberg trial upholds our justice," apparently meaning Anglo-American and not international justice, but I am not too confident of that. Nor would I subscribe to the editorial which heralded: "The world will accept [the verdict] as both a magnificent achievement and a long step toward a new conception of international justice which makes future peace more secure." Reaction to the judgment abroad hardly justifies this optimism. I would not follow those writers who declare that the "new legal rules and standards now become integral parts of international law." What really happened at Nürnberg was a revolution in traditional law and jurisprudence. And since law is essentially conservative, it is hard to foretell whether the "precedents" will ever truly be precedents at all.

The judgment and the punishments imposed may, however, be looked at from different angles. Some comments see the judgment as "an international decalogue that all aggressors will have to reckon with in the future." This means that whatever its legal value the judgment will have a deterrent effect on future aggressors. But faith in deterrent punishment has very much decreased in the past hundred years. "There is considerable doubt," we are told by Professor Reckless in his book "Criminal Behavior," "that punishment has as much deterrent value as the justification presupposes." Barnes and Teeters call this belief in deterrence childish, and assert—in "New Horizons in Criminology"—that the "deterrent effect of capital punishment, even if it existed, is largely lost because of the mild modern methods of executing the death penalty." It is a well-known fact that at a time when pickpockets were still hanged in England pickpockets were frequently caught red-handed in the crowd watching the executions.

The reason for the failure of deterrence is obvious. While punishment, and in particular capital punishment, impresses the honest man, it has less effect on the prospective criminal. Perhaps his motive to commit the crime is so strong that it obliterates the dread of the consequences, or perhaps he hopes to evade the consequences by not being caught. Similarly the psychology of prospective aggressors, political or military, is so self-centered that the failure of their venture does not occur to them. Caesar would scarcely have been deterred by being told that he would be stabbed by Brutus, or Napoleon by the possibility of being deported to St. Helena. Dictators, tyrants, generals, conquerors, and other dangerous specimens of mankind do not react to motives as do Mrs. Grundy and Joe Doakes. Therefore, I am afraid, the judgment cannot be excused by the hope of intimidating future aggressors.

Nevertheless, we have to admit the procedure was fair, and that with respect to the observance of legal formalities, the piling up of an unprecedented amount of evidence, and dignified conduct, it was unimpeachable. Whether it does substantiate justice *in abstracto* is another question. According to Froude justice without wisdom is impossible. Not the Tribunal was lacking in wisdom but those statesmen who were so scared by the idea of revolution, which after all is the normal consequence of defeat, that they embarked upon the hopeless task of settling a war and the fascist-Nazi revolution by the application of non-existent legal rules.

Pre-Election U.S.A.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

II. Bay State Prospects

Boston, Massachusetts

MASSACHUSETTS, unlike Connecticut, offers no happy hunting ground for Republicans in search of additional Congressmen. Its Washington delegation has been overwhelmingly Republican for years, and its few Democratic districts are too safe to give G. O. P. Chairman Carroll Reece much cause for hope. It is the Democrats who may pick up a seat or two in this state, though the odds are slightly against it.

Of the fourteen Massachusetts Representatives in the Seventy-ninth Congress, and in the Congress before that, ten were Republicans and four Democrats. In terms of the total vote, however, the state is about evenly divided between the two parties, which will give you an idea of how shamelessly and skilfully Republican legislatures have gone about their gerrymandering.

Even Bob Hannegan will probably concede that seven of the state's districts will without fail return their present Republican Congressmen, every one of them to the right of Senator Vandenberg. In these rock-ribbed areas reelection of Republicans is automatic, with strict party voting in Congress the only qualification. One of these incrusted incumbents is reported to have made only one full-length speech on the floor of the House in his sixteen years of service, and that was on a bill concerning carrier pigeons.

Similarly, two traditionally Democratic districts, the Seventh and Twelfth, will send back their incumbents with no more than a show of opposition; and in Boston's Eleventh—now represented by Curley—Joseph Kennedy's young son John, who bills himself as a "fighting conservative," will have little more trouble in coming through than a Democrat would in Mississippi. The "fighting conservative" played so freely with the family fortune during the primary fight that jokesters around the State House took to wearing twenty-dollar bills in their lapels as "Kennedy campaign buttons." But he need not have been so lavish. The Kennedy name is powerful, and the opposition was slight. Having missed their chance in the primary, the P. A. C. and other independent groups are sitting this one out.

In the four remaining districts the Republicans have a chance to pick up one additional seat, that of P. J. Philbin in the centrally located Third. The seat has been Democratic in the past three elections, but in the last mid-term poll the margin of victory was just over 700 votes. No organized effort is being made for Philbin by the independents, however, because while he did well enough on labor legislation, his voting record on the OPA, foreign policy, atomic controls, and civil liberties was slightly less commendable than that of John Rankin.

Democratic leaders and the P. A. C. people here are resting their hopes on capturing the First, Second, and Fourteenth. A steady drift of Irish and Polish workers from Boston to the industrial towns in the western part of the state has been showing itself in the proportionally increasing Democratic vote in Pittsfield, Holyoke, and Springfield. I wouldn't say that the betting favors Democrats John Falvey and Foster Furcolo to replace Republican incumbents in the First and Second, but they have a chance—particularly Falvey, whose opponent, John Heselton, barely skinned through in 1944. Both Heselton and Charles Clason, who represents the Second, are solemnly campaigning on the unimpeachable issue of flood control.

Aside from the effort of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to grab the seat of his aging mentor, Senator Walsh, the only contest in the state worth national attention is the David-Goliath struggle going on in the Fourteenth. In this district, gerrymandered so as to eliminate sure-fire Democratic wards around Fall River while adding the traditionally Republican town of Wellesley, Martha Sharp is trying to bring to a close the twenty-two-year Congressional career of Joe Martin, minority leader and potential Speaker of the House. This is the kind of assignment that is usually foisted on a party dray-horse, which is precisely the type of opposition that Martin has had to contend with in the past eleven elections. It is no wonder that he has been thrown off guard to find himself confronted by a young, attractive, and intelligent woman, an excellent speaker with a well-thought-out program, determined to win and convinced that she will.

Martha Sharp and her staff, quartered at the Hotel Touraine, have been waging an uphill fight, but they are hopeful—and with reason. She has advantages that no other opponent of Joe Martin's has ever brought into a race against him. In a district with large French-Canadian and Portuguese elements, she can appeal to voters in both languages. What is more, she has decorations from the Paris and Lisbon governments for relief work as agent of the Unitarian Service Committee, the Red Cross, and the United States Committee for Care of European Children. She holds the White Lion of Czechoslovakia, as well, for services to refugees of that

country in 1939, and is an honorary member of Hadassah for having raised more than $300,000 for the United Jewish Appeal.

Organized labor is backing Mrs. Sharp to an unprecedented degree in the district, with the Textile Workers, the Amalgamated, the I.L.G.W., and the Railway Brotherhoods all giving active support. She has the benefit of a full-time P. A. C. agent (outside of Connecticut there are only two in all New England, I discovered). And while the P. A. C. itself has been unable to make a dent organizationally in the 80 per cent Catholic area around Fall River and Taunton, some 485 shop stewards have been successfully promoting a large registration and are pledged to get out the vote in November. In no other district in New England is labor putting on so thorough a campaign.

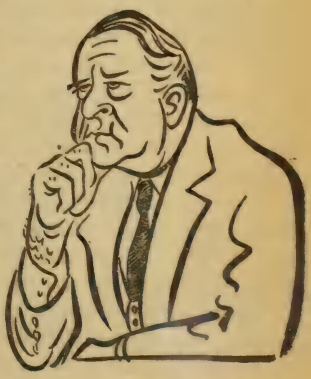
Representative Martin

Mrs. Sharp herself has thrown enormous energy into the fight, speaking constantly in the thirty-four towns of the district. She stresses housing, which is unbelievably bad up this way, full employment, an adequate minimum wage, fair employment practices, a national health and education program, social security, and a foreign policy liberal enough to include American initiative in the surrender of bases to the United Nations. In addition, of course, she points out Martin's failure to bring new industry to Fall River, which has lost more than half of the 106 textile mills it had when he first took office. The charge is that Martin would rather have a pool of unemployed than a sharp demand for labor. He talks often of deepening Fall River's harbor to stimulate commerce, and early in the autumn of every election year a dredge appears offshore. Workmen survey the problem, but all that the dredge raises is fleeting hopes. By the tenth of November it vanishes, the workmen depart, and nothing more is said of the project until the next campaign rolls around.

On the other side of the ledger, the Sharp people find themselves up against powerful forces. The northern part of the district is Yankee and Republican by tradition. The southern part is poor, dominated by the church, and politically primitive—ideal territory for a politician of unlimited cynicism and limited scruples, in short, for Joe Martin. Until recently Martin kept himself well in the background, but now he is nervously making door-to-door calls in the town of Wellesley, whose surprised citizens have never before had the pleasure of meeting their Representative. His agents have been at work for some time, seeing to it that he is all things to all men. Where it will do good it is even being whispered that "José Marteen" is really of Portuguese stock, while in the rural areas Martha Sharp's linguistic fluency is being given an ominous twist—something "foreign" about her, and therefore suspect. Throughout the district the red-label technique is being worked for all it is worth, which is considerable. Her Czechoslovak decoration soon became, for Republican campaign purposes, a Yugoslav award, from which it was an easy step to brand her a "friend of Tito."

The truth is that Martha Sharp's manager is a genial Irish Catholic and she herself pursues a radicalism no redder than Franklin Roosevelt's. Although the P. A. C. has given her a full-time campaigner, she has received little organizational help and is in fact handicapped by lack of funds. Nevertheless, her chances of winning are good enough to have thrown a very real scare into the Republican camp. For a hard-crusted veteran like Martin to be defeated—and perhaps done out of the Speakership—by a progressive and politically unknown amateur would be a humiliation hard for the G. O. P. to swallow.

It is a pity that Martha Sharp cannot play on the marked inclination, running strong throughout the country, to oust the "ins." Naturally enough, that appeal is ruled out here, since the party's nominee for the Senate, David I. Walsh, has been an "in"—not counting a short stretch between 1924 and 1926—for lo, these twenty-eight years. He went to the Senate in 1928 as the first Massachusetts Democrat elected to that body since the Civil War.



Caricatures by Seligson

Senator Walsh

Between Walsh and Lodge Massachusetts liberals are less torn over which to vote for than which to vote against. Lodge is trying hard to live down his isolationist record, not to mention his grandfather's, but his pretensions to Willkie Republicanism are unconvincing, and I find that Lodge himself is profoundly distrusted. Walsh, who like Lodge was one of the most rabid of pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists, makes no claim to having seen the light of One World,

preferring to base his appeal to the left on his generally pro-labor voting record. I had the chance to see his answers to a questionnaire prepared by the local Citizens' P. A. C., and aside from the question of breaking relations with Spain, which none of the candidates favored, his replies were well over on the New Deal side. Labor will vote for him, without cheers—just as it will probably vote to reelect Governor Tobin—largely because it is used to his well-established faults and virtues, whereas the youthful and cagy Lodge is looked upon as an unreliable and potentially dangerous figure.

The contest for governor in this state has stirred up hardly any more enthusiasm among liberals than the senatorial campaign, with Tobin enjoying a mild preference over Republican Robert F. Bradford. Beneath a thin surface of harmony, the intra-party feud between Curley and Tobin is still intense. At the Democratic convention, the Mayor and Governor embraced, but only after Curley had said to the delegates, "I don't think any man could be more vicious and cruel than he has been to me." While the regular party vote may not be disrupted by Curley's dubious tribute to the head of the ticket, the incident is not likely to encourage those marginal votes that Tobin will need in what is certain to be a close race.

[*Next week Ernest Kirschten, of the St. Louis* Star-Times, *will consider the pre-election situation in Missouri.*]

The Melody Is Gone

BY HENRY ZON

Washington, October 1

"SENATOR, we're a team, and when the President gives the word, we move." Harry Hopkins, appearing before the Senate Commerce Committee one cold January day in 1939, stated thus the credo of New Dealers in the government service. Today the men and women who regarded themselves as members of the team have left the government service, or are seeking the nearest exit, or are wasting their talents on routine government work.

"If lawyers," one of them said recently, "could solve the problem of how to practice law without clients, Washington would see the greatest exodus since 1812." Another, long on the legal staff of the National Labor Relations Board, confessed a few days ago that among all the men who had seen the board through its trying years not one would refuse a decent offer.

New Dealers who have stayed in the government have done so in the belief that liberalism is a workable doctrine able to survive the loss of a leader, even though that leader was such a one as Franklin D. Roosevelt. Some regret with bitterness that Roosevelt did not give the liberal, idealistic, and enthusiastic government servants he gathered around him a freer hand to create a lasting structure. As far back as 1934 a memorandum submitted to an important New Deal official declared that too many details were taken care of in the White House and that more thought should be given to the maintenance of the liberal cadres then being formed.

HENRY ZON was for six years manager of the Washington bureau of the Federated Press, a labor press service. He recently returned to Washington after four years in the Army Air Forces.

Such philosophic meditations are not sufficient to hold the Robert Nathans, James L. Flys, and Ganson Purcells. The chance to develop a long-term political theory does not compensate for daily frustration. Before April, 1945, the White House had magic, gave inspiration. Mr. Roosevelt was "the Boss" who could use the tools handed him, who could apply the facts and theories, who could provide a solution to vexing problems, who could perk up lagging spirits. A store of anecdotes illuminate this aspect of Roosevelt's personality.

There is the story of how he sent the press section of the NRA a corrected handout, in his own handwriting, pointing up an obscure phase of the program. There is the story of how he baffled Oscar Johnston, manager of the government cotton pool, one day after Johnston had battled personally with an $1,800-a-year clerk in the State Department over the width of the left-hand margin on an important executive order which Johnston was trying to rush through to approval. As Johnston came into the famous gadget-cluttered oval room, the President looked up and said without the trace of a smile, "Oscar, I'm afraid I can't sign this order." Johnston, bristling, wanted to know why not. "Well, you see," retorted the President, still poker-faced, "the left-hand margin is half an inch too narrow."

"Now," according to a departed New Dealer, "if you can get in to see Truman at all you have a feeling that he's just another government official in just another government office. There's no dazzle, no inspiration. Just apathy." "You will notice," he said, "that people around Washington still mean Roosevelt when they say 'the President'; they refer to the present White House occupant as 'Mr. Truman.'"

Admittedly it is unfair to compare Truman with Roosevelt. The nation suffers from war weariness. Peo-

ple are tired of reform, and pressures are not what they were in the thirties. The bright-eyed lawyers just out of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia who showed the Wall Street law firms legal tricks they never thought existed are older, with responsibilities they did not have ten years ago. Many are nervous about the prospects of a Republican victory in 1948 and the loss of their jobs.

The whole problem of personnel turnover has been discussed with Mr. Truman by men who have left for the greener pastures of private endeavor. They report him apathetic. He is inclined to feel that the retention of desirable people is solely a matter of raising the salary ceiling. Any criticism of Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder, Reconversion Director John R. Steelman, or RFC Director George E. Allen he brushes aside impatiently. The less people bother him the better he likes it, and the feeling extends down through his subordinates. Symptomatic of the Administration's attitude was Allen's recent remark in an interview: "My philosophy is what you might call strictly a bromide. I believe a majority of people will eventually arrive at the right solution of any question that comes along—so why stew about it till they do?"

The list of those who have resigned is a long one. The important names have been printed in the daily papers, but hundreds on the lower levels have slipped out unnoticed to scratch around for themselves, and thousands of others are eyeing the door. The lengthening list of law firms in Washington is indicative. A client can have his choice of former Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, former Under Secretary of the Interior Abe Fortas, former OPA General Counsel David Ginsburg, former Assistant WPB General Counsel Henry H. Fowler, the former head of the Board of Immigration Appeals, Joseph Fanelli, and the former head of the Department of Justice's Claims Division, Frank Shea.

The replacements are different too. Washington is no longer the goal of the law-review men. Professors can no longer inspire their classes by citing recent graduates who have made their mark in government service. It is more important to have a connection with Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, than with Felix Frankfurter. Mediocrity and a willingness to ignore issues are in demand.

A foreign diplomat described the turn of the wheel in a very much off-the-record conversation with newspapermen. "When Mr. Roosevelt was in the White House," he said, "every day there, with its air of delightful expectancy, seemed like Christmas." "Now," he added sadly, "every day is just Thursday."

British Labor at the Crossroads

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, September 30

CHRONICLING contemporary history requires one, as your correspondent is painfully aware, to fit into place pieces of a jigsaw puzzle whose final pattern has yet to be decided by largely unpredictable future events. Looking back over the past two months, abnormally wet and cheerless even for an English summer, one sees an untidy disarray of political odds and ends. Pieced together, they begin to make a picture of growing disappointment. When Parliament meets again on October 8, Labor M. P.'s will reassemble with the pretty general conviction that during the recess the government's stock, particularly among its own supporters, has fallen. It is all very well to say that those who vote for a political change either because, as Oscar Wilde said of entrants into matrimony, "they are tired or because they are curious" are inevitably disappointed. The electorate who voted Labor into power in the summer of 1945 is disappointed for tangible reasons which it is increasingly inclined to voice.

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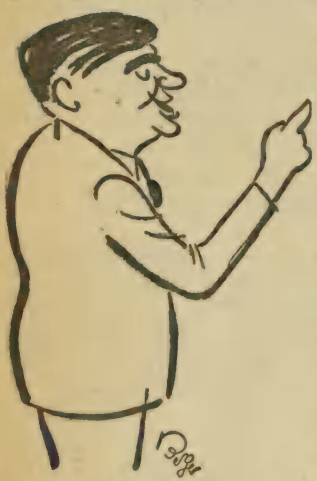
To begin with, the common man, and more particularly the trade-unionist, is at last asking aloud where Bevinism is going to take him. Up to a point he was ready to accept the Foreign Office line, plugged by the whole British press with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, that the Russians were aggressive and must be taught good neighborliness. This line made a natural appeal to people who instinctively dislike the hectoring fellow who throws his weight about in the pub. But ready though he was at first to regard with humorous approval the spectacle of Ernest Bevin getting tough with Mr. Molotov, the British workingman has lately begun to view the issue with more judicial eyes. Monarchist reaction in Greece, made possible only by the backing of British bayonets, shook him, and news of the spread of civil war in northern Greece prompted anxious questionings whether British troops might not soon be involved in support of the crowned leader of the Populist Party.

Then, as the Peace Conference pursued its interminable wrangles, it began to be noted that every proposal made by the U. S. S. R. seemed to be automatically opposed by Britain or America—simply because it was Russian. Labor supporters as far removed from the Communist Party as Mr. Attlee himself began to ask whether

it was really a vital interest for the British working class that Trieste, for example, should be treated as an Anglo-American colony and garrisoned, regardless of its inhabitants' wishes, by G. I.'s and Tommies. They began to look more closely into the real motives behind the apparent determination of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes to secure "freedom of trade" on the Danube—a demand backed by American retention of Danube shipping belonging to the riparian states and by British championship of the dispossessed oil interests in Rumania.



Aneurin Bevan

Just why, they wondered, were negotiations in hand for a great expansion of trade with Franco Spain? Why were more and more prominent ex-Nazis being appointed to key posts in the German administration of the British zone? And why must we convert Palestine, in place of Egypt, into a great military base? Above all, why should we spare troops for this and that ambitious foreign commitment when labor shortage was holding back the production of goods and the progress of reconstruction at home?

Into that atmosphere of increasing disquiet the speech of Henry Wallace and still more his letter to President Truman fell like a bombshell. The Tory press and, significantly enough, the official organ of the Labor Party, the *Daily Herald*, did their best to offset the effect of Wallace's appeal for a new approach to the U. S. S. R. by playing up his brief and almost incidental criticism of British imperialism. Here, it was said, was a "head-in-the-air" idealist who had listened to Communist or anti-British Zionists and was talking nonsense. Was not Britain withdrawing from India and Egypt in a most un-imperialist way? This effort, however, to misrepresent Wallace by underlining out of its context one passage of his theme was not wholly successful. The common man here took in enough of Wallace's purport to realize that a member of the United States Cabinet, after weighing all the relevant facts, had come to the conclusion that the Byrnes-Bevin line had in it a definite threat of war. Realization of this brought foreign policy with a bang right into the working-class kitchen and the pub at the corner. Ernest Bevin began to be seen not as a bluff British working-class version of Palmerston but as an ineffectual stooge of American big-business policy. Had the Foreign Secretary forgotten that he was a member of a Socialist government? Had Britain nothing to contribute in the way of positive Socialist policy? With respect to Europe must it be left to Mr. Churchill at Zurich to repeat, without a word of dissent from Downing Street, his plea for an anti-Soviet bloc, and for Mr. Eden, oddly contradicting his leader, to reciprocate Stalin's suggestion, in his interview with Alex Werth, that a Communist East and a Social Democratic West of Europe might find between them a *modus vivendi?*

In the new session of Parliament there will be not far short of 100 Labor M. P.'s—of whom only a few can fairly be described as "fellow-travelers"—who are radically opposed to the Foreign Secretary's policy. In the country their point of view—that Britain cannot afford to be tied up with the diplomacy of the United States Department of State and that we must choose, and choose soon, between formulating a Socialist foreign policy of our own and drifting into an inevitable third war—is gaining more and more adherents. So far as foreign policy is concerned, the Labor government is seen as having arrived at the parting of the ways.

And it is not only with regard to foreign policy that the British public has the sense of being at a crossroads. Two significant developments at home have marked the summer months—the campaign for a "closed shop" in industry and the squatter movement. Both have been spontaneous popular ebullitions, arising out of the same feeling of frustration. The prelude to both was the ignominious retreat conducted by the Minister of Supply in the question of nationalizing the steel industry. Unlike the bankrupt coal industry, steel, the common man realized, was one of the key strong points on which the politically worsted bourgeoisie of England was relying for its retention of economic power. Judge, then, the Labor voter's dismay when he heard that nationalization was to be postponed and that the only control over private enterprise in steel was to be exercised by a board consisting of two steel magnates, two "middle-of-the-road" trade-unionists drawn from the industry, and a big-business accountant from Glasgow as chairman. This form of control, which means that the public funds the industry must have for reconstruction will be spent pretty much at their own sweet will by the tycoons of the Iron and Steel Federation, was viewed as evidence that the government was too weak seriously to challenge a well-organized capitalist lobby. Would the result, it was asked, be any different in the line-up between the Cabinet and the powerful pressure groups being organized by the managements of the railways, the road-haulage corporations, and electricity and gas, all slated theoretically for early nationalization?

The mood of doubt thus engendered had as its first direct consequence the agitation for a "closed shop." And this campaign was not, as the Tory press tried to repre-

sent it, a move by trade-union leaders to increase their empires; it was a rank-and-file movement, canalized through the shop stewards and carried forward with a vigor which disconcerted the statesmen-like heads of Transport House. It was a signal that the working class was preparing for direct action, if need be.

Then came the squatters. More direct action, and this time with a touch of illegality in it. The first squatting was in empty military camps which apathetic councils and dilatory departments in Whitehall had failed to utilize, as they might have done, for improvised accommodation for the homeless. This received official toleration, indeed tacit approval. Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health, declared himself "in sympathy," and the Ministry of Works bestirred itself to see that sanitation was improved and water and other services laid on. But the next phase of squatting caused a violent revulsion on the government's part. Under the lead of local Communist organizers, squatters invaded blocks of luxury flats and large mansions in London which had been requisitioned for war purposes and had been lying empty for many months. Here was an attack on private property. The Tory press clamored for a strong hand; and the government, asserting, correctly enough, that no private individual—and still less the mischief-making Communist Party—could be allowed to take on itself the right to decide on the allocation of dwellings, appealed to the courts for eviction orders, promptly obtained them, and compelled the squatters to evacuate.

None the less, the demonstration—and it was in fact no more than an orderly and quite good-humored demonstration, far removed from the "Marxist anarchy" which the Tory press saw in it—was not without effect. It brought home the human misery created by the present acute housing shortage; it shook up lax local authorities into doing much more to requisition unused property for the benefit of the homeless and overcrowded; and it threw a glaring limelight on the extent to which Bevan's housing plan, which has so far resulted in the completion of barely 20,000 permanent houses, is being sabotaged by the black market in building. Not merely have licenses for unnecessary repairs and improvements in well-to-do dwellings been issued with a profligate hand by local authorities, in some of which corruption is rampant, but it has now been disclosed that in London alone 40,000 registered building workers have "disappeared" into unlicensed black-market jobs. Contractors have started the construction of municipally ordered working-class houses and then diverted their operatives to more profitable private orders. The labor force actually engaged on working-class house building is pitifully small; and to be fair to the building employers it must be added that the operatives' output is not much more than half of what it was before the war.

Here we come to what is perhaps the crux of the matter. The British people today, by and large, are not putting their backs into it. It is not merely a question of production being held up by absolute labor shortage, though that will exist until we cut our foreign commitments and demobilize another million men; and it is not merely a question of bottlenecks in the supply of raw materials and components, though that too is occasionally a trouble. Whether we take the coal mines, the engineering shops, or the textile factories, evidence is overwhelming that output could be enormously increased without unduly fatiguing operatives if labor really did its utmost. What is lacking is the incentive. It has been emphasized more than once in this correspondence during the past year that the halfway house between capitalism and socialism which the Labor government has tried to build might be rendered unlivable by the reluctance of the working people to give their best for a society still ruled predominantly by the motives of private profit and selfish interest.

To some extent, of course, the present incidence of pay-as-you-earn taxation militates against readiness to work overtime or to increase earnings beyond the point at which the tax abruptly rises. To some extent, too, workers, and particularly women, complain that it is no use sweating to make more money when there is so little to buy in the shops. But neither of these arguments really holds water. Even taxed, a fat wage packet has more appeal than a thin one; and actually—despite the current quip that the present "Britain Can Make It" exhibition ought to be called the "Britain Can't Buy It" exhibition—the necessary priority given to export trade is leaving a steadily increasing quantity of consumers' goods available for the home market. J. B. Priestley came much nearer the mark in a recent article in the *Daily Herald* on incentives in the new Britain. He wrote that what was lacking at present was the "chariot of fire." Looking for some such sign in the sky, the British people today are left in doubt whether, as they dreamed last summer, they are really being led toward a Socialist commonwealth, or whether, after one year's instalment of progressive social reform, the tendency will be to drift back into acceptance—for the most part—of the capitalist status quo. Perhaps the next session of Parliament will clarify the matter.

What is certain is that British Labor is at the crossroads. If the government is prepared resolutely to challenge vested interests and to apply positive Socialist policy both at home and abroad, it will be followed solidly by its supporters, and it will evoke from the whole British working class a new readiness to toil with a will. If not, there is a dismal prospect of the political Labor Party splitting into factional left and right, and of reconstruction degenerating into a cynical campaign by organized labor to secure sectionally every advantage it can out of an acquisitive society.

The People's Front

ON OCTOBER 1, the tenth anniversary of his nomination as rebel chief of state, General Franco delivered a speech at Burgos in which he boasted that despite Spain's economic difficulties his regime was stronger than ever. The dictator was obviously referring to its international position, and on this score his optimism was fully justified. The summer, which was full of menace, had passed, leaving him on the best of terms with London and Washington.

During the summer British diplomacy gently explored the possibility of a change in Spain, not with the idea of restoring the republic but in order to set up a government less vulnerable to foreign criticism. The maneuver was a little naive since it was based on a belief in the reliability of the Spanish generals. Had Mr. Bevin been willing to listen to the Republican leaders, they could easily have shown him how futile it was to build a policy around a handful of disappointed army officers. The Spanish military allowed themselves to be courted by British agents but adopted a policy of watchful waiting. The dictator had a simple method of dealing with his dissident generals: he gave them the alternative of being promoted or dismissed. With true patriotic fervor, they accepted promotion. When it came to the old army game, Franco never doubted for a moment that he would beat the British Ambassador, Sir Victor Mallet.

So, after three months of timid attempts at "democratizing" Spain, British foreign policy finds itself back where it started. Its objective is very clear: to do everything possible to avoid a showdown in Spain, to help Franco by increased trade and by counsels of moderation, to prevent the Security Council or General Assembly from giving practical application to the San Francisco and Potsdam resolutions: in a word to let the Spanish issue die of inanition. In this, London has the support of Washington, and both capitals have the blessing of Pius XII, the real promoter of the policy of saving the last fascist regime "for Christianity."

It is no blind hatred of the church that prompts me time and again to underline the role of Rome in fostering a neo-fascism that would replace the swastika by the cross. Behind every anti-socialist cabal stands the Vatican. Only a few weeks ago, I am informed, in a farewell audience with a group of American Catholic officers, the Pope expressed the hope that "the gallant American army, which rendered such eminent services to civilization, would again be at its post in the decisive struggle against the enemies of Christianity." In less theological words he invited the Americans "to come back soon and fight Russia."

Franco is enchanted with the Western democracies. Not so the Spanish people. Writing in the London *News Chronicle* about his recent clandestine visit to Spain, Captain Francis Noel-Baker, a Labor M. P., said, "My friends of the opposition movement repeatedly warned me that British prestige was falling fast." And he added, "Communist influence in Spain is still weak, but Russia, which so far as they can see is their only active friend abroad, is rapidly winning the sympathy of Republicans all over the country."

The Republicans need not see very far to reach that conclusion. Recently an interesting struggle has been going on in the United Nations Economic and Social Council between the British and American delegates, trying to open a door—if only a back door—to the Spanish dictator, and the Russian delegate, who at one point in the debate warned, "If we go on like this, one of these days we shall find ourselves sitting here along with a Franco representative." His warning was well timed. Only last Thursday the Council admitted Franco Spain to the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations agency. When the republic is reestablished, surely we shall hear a lot of talk about Russian influence in Spain; in that day let our British and American friends remember how and when it was built up.

Though Franco seemed well satisfied with himself in his Burgos speech, he admitted a serious deterioration in the country's economy. Prices have climbed sky high, and he has run short of money to import food. I have before me a confidential report prepared by the Director of the Instituto Español de Moneda—which, needless to say, did not reach me through official Spanish channels. The document reveals that the huge reserves of foreign currency which Spain amassed during the war—Switzerland alone shipped in 260,000,000 Swiss francs—are gone. A corruption beyond words, in which the army and the Falange are heavily implicated, has practically wiped out the national resources. The Franco administration had the greatest difficulty in finding gold to cover a recent order for only 30,000,000 pesos worth of Argentine silk. It has been obliged to deprive the people of olive oil—one of their main staples—in an effort to build up sterling credits by exports to Britain. Now Franco is looking to Portugal, which has 110,000,000 pounds in foreign exchange deposited with British banks; he is hoping to negotiate a deal, with Anglo-American backing, in order to obtain some of this money. In discussing the monetary crisis, the report of the Instituto Español de Moneda suggests that "because of popular opposition to a public foreign loan, a more discreet form of credit must be visualized." Obviously this means loans negotiated through private banks.

The worsening of the economic situation has inevitably meant an increase in popular discontent, and this in turn has brought a new wave of government terror. The brief interlude of pretended tolerance is over. In recent days Franco has arrested, tortured, or executed dozens of Republicans, among them several Basque Catholics and the young resistance leader, Julio Nieto. This is the kind of regime which the Western democracies maintain in power in Spain while exhibiting such scrupulous anxiety over the fate of the democratic process in Eastern Europe.

DEL VAYO

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Railroads Plead Poverty

SHOULD you be at the Union Station, Washington, and happen to notice a portly gentleman with coat out of elbows and a battered hat, suppress the generous impulse that might lead you to spare him a dime. He is probably only a railroad president (salary, $100,000 plus) on his way to the Interstate Commerce Commission, where he will argue that the railroad industry is doomed unless freight rates are immediately raised 25 per cent.

Indeed, the show that railroad officials have been putting on before the ICC in recent weeks deserves commendation as the most effective tear-jerker of the year. On September 18 Dr. Julius H. Parmelee, director of the Bureau of Railroad Economics of the Association of American Railroads, presented statistics to prove that only ten of the thirty largest roads would have any net income in 1946. In fact, he declared, even if the full 25 per cent increase claimed was granted, they would still be in the red in 1947, while the industry taken as a whole would have a net income of only $250,000,000—much too small an amount to enable it to maintain its credit and do the job expected of it. Dr. Parmelee was followed the next day by leading executives of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central, and the Illinois Central, all of whom had pitiful tales to tell. The Pennsylvania representative said his company faced the most serious financial situation in its hundred-year history. Never before, he whimpered, had it operated at a loss, but this year, after allowing for carry-back tax credits, it would have a deficit of $14,616,000 and next year one of more than $9,000,000, even if the desired freight-rate increase was granted. Officials of the other two roads gave similarly gloomy forecasts, though they did concede the possibility of some trivial earnings in 1947.

Whether this statistical dirge shook the ICC we do not yet know, but it certainly shook the nerves of investors and led to heavy selling of railroad stocks and bonds. This inspired Robert R. Young, chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio, whose avocation is writing advertisements, often very effective ones, to rush into the fray. In an open letter to Alfred Schindler, Acting Secretary of Commerce, who had suggested to the ICC that it might be wise to wait and see how traffic developed in the next few months, Mr. Young declared that "the stalling tactics of the commission" had forced the railroads *"to publicly predict calamity and bankruptcy by 1947,"* thereby precipitating a market panic and the weakening of railroad credit (his italics and split infinitive). As a consequence, he warned, the railroads might be forced to abandon all their plans for improvements.

Against such prophecies of doom, it seems well to set the calmer estimate of the situation presented in *Barron's* of September 30. This organ of financial opinion said: "It is difficult to debate against the statistics presented by railroad officials . . . yet there are analysts in the railroad-securities field who feel that it would be only human nature if the chances for improved efficiency and savings in operating costs were played down." Moreover, the article implied, the railroads have had a double incentive to inflate costs during the current year. On the one hand, monthly operating deficits lend support to their case before the ICC; on the other, "the carry-back provisions of the tax law are an inducement to charge to operations this year every possible legitimate item of expense." In this connection it is interesting to note that in the first seven months of 1946 expenditure on maintenance of roads and structure by the Class I rails was 15.7 per cent of gross revenues, compared with 10 per cent in 1945, while that for maintenance of equipment was 19.9 per cent against 17.5 last year.

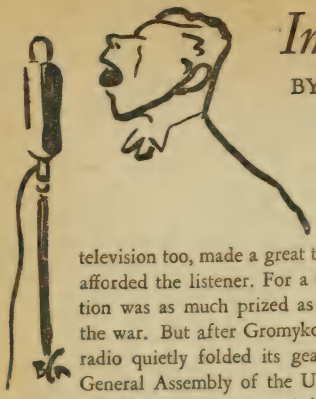
Now it is perfectly true that in the early months of this year the railroads suffered a sharp decline both in gross revenues and net income. Military traffic was dwindling rapidly, and civilian traffic was slow in expanding owing to reconversion difficulties and strikes. Then in May the railroad workers won advances in wages aggregating $675,000,000 annually. It was to cover this expense and the increased cost of materials that the railroads put forward their claim for a 25 per cent increase in freight rates, which would add about $1,000,000,000 annually to their takings. Recognizing a case for some immediate relief, the ICC granted a provisional 6½ per cent increase pending open hearings on the full claim.

The tendency of traffic since then has been upward, and the Shippers' Advisory Boards have just estimated that freight-car loadings in the final quarter will exceed those of the corresponding period in 1945 by 9.8 per cent. There is good reason to think that this improvement will carry over into 1947 and that railroad earnings, while not returning to their unprecedented war-time level, will compare very favorably with pre-war figures. A sharp reversal of present business trends would, of course, change the picture. But as railroad executives know very well, they cannot lift themselves out of a depression by raising their charges. That would only discourage customers and encourage competing forms of transport.

The war years brought back to the rails a prosperity which in the thirties they thought had vanished forever. Profits for the years 1941-45, inclusive, reached a grand total of $3,389,954,000, which compares with $421,249,999 for the five years 1936-40. As a result railroad corporations were able to pay off a large part of their bonded debt and thus cut fixed charges by some $125,000,000 annually. In addition, under the war-time amortization law they were able to write off completely the cost of new facilities and equipment of an estimated value of some $2,000,000,000. This means an important saving in costs since no further depreciation need be charged against this property, most of which will be as useful in peace as in war.

These war-time profits, together with the huge tax refunds which they can collect this year, should certainly be taken into account by the ICC before it permits the railroads to take the pauper's oath. And until they can prove that their estimates of 1947 revenues have not been cooked, they should not be given anything beyond the provisional relief already granted.

KEITH HUTCHISON



In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL

WHEN the Security Council of the U. N. met at Hunter College last spring, radio, and television too, made a great to-do about the coverage afforded the listener. For a time a U. N. accreditation was as much prized as one to SHAEF during the war. But after Gromyko took his famous walk, radio quietly folded its gear. On October 23 the General Assembly of the U. N. will meet, for the first time in the United States, at Lake Success. Again radio is scrambling for space, and again radio can be expected to pull out once the G. A. loses its hot-news appeal.

Radio men see nothing wrong in this. They say the sessions are hard to listen to—the windy speeches and translations tire the ear; once the news edge is dulled the listeners want to hear the regular commercial programs.

Radio, and almost everyone else, takes the U. N. for granted. It sees no need for cohesive, comprehensive support of the U. N., the sort of support radio gave the war effort. Consequently U. N. news is handled by the secondary echelons in radio, not by the top brass. To the newsmen a U. N. meeting is just another event competing for air time with the world series or the political conventions.

Radio's refusal to recognize that winning the peace is a bigger fight than winning the war results in an individual competitive approach to the U. N. instead of a cooperative effort by the whole industry. Thus NBC smartly outflanks its competitors by inveigling the U. N. into accepting a special NBC–U. N. week (October 20-26) of programs. NBC reaps a publicity harvest, the U. N. gets a number of programs, and the listener has the dubious privilege of staying up till 11:30 p.m. to hear these special broadcasts.

Thus also the National Association of Broadcasters bluntly ignores the U. N.'s request for time on the agenda of the first N. A. B. convention since the war. To the U. N. it is a chance to discuss U. N. needs and radio's problems in meeting them. But not to the N. A. B. Not until the U. N. had appealed to two N. A. B. board members did the association condescend to invite a U. N. representative to speak.

The big networks can take a cue from WMCA, WNYC, WQXR, or WLIB, all New York stations which have consistently covered the U. N.—WMCA best of all. Instead of broadcasting the boring translations, WMCA's Frank Kingdon and Ray Walsh used the time for commentary. In addition, WMCA fed KFWB in Hollywood, at first via a direct telephone line, at KFWB's expense, and later by air-express transcriptions. WLIB, the New York *Post* station, likewise sent air-express transcriptions to its sister stations KYA in San Francisco and KLAC in Los Angeles. When the General Assembly meets, WQXR will feed WPEN in Philadelphia, WMCA will resume its service to KFWB in Hollywood, and WLIB to KLAC and KYA.

What these stations do the networks can do also; the reason they have not done it is simply that the afternoon sessions of the U. N. conflict with network commercials.

Well, WMCA has an answer to that problem. To keep its commercial commitments and at the same time service the night-time audience, WMCA, in addition to airing the daytime U. N. meetings between commercials, transcribed every moment of every U. N. meeting. These recordings were then edited down into a half-hour documentary program and broadcast every evening. When the General Assembly convenes, WMCA will offer these transcriptions, via air express, to any interested station on a share-the-cost basis.

On the network level the only original thinking comes from the American Broadcasting Company. ABC is offering $250 for original scripts on problems in international relations, and hopes to broadcast these dramatic programs during the General Assembly meetings. The Bill Benton unit of the State Department short-waves a complete play-by-play report of the U. N. It is intended for foreign use, although a few domestic stations use the material.

Early this summer 600 domestic broadcasters, in reply to queries by the U. N., said they would carry U. N. programs when available; 150 of these stations said they were equipped to use short-wave material. For a time it seemed that Press Wireless, a commercial transatlantic service, could supply it. However, its application to operate this service was refused by the FCC. An appeal is now pending.

The WMCA procedure shows that radio can lick the commercial headache, the bugaboos of windy talk and tedious translations, and the problem of the evening listener.

The ABC program of original dramas, although still only in the idea stage, suggests what the networks could do.

The State Department short-wave station and the Press Wireless application clearly point the way for simple, fast, and inexpensive servicing of hinterland stations.

The recent change that came over WHN, a powerful and money-mad independent outlet in New York, offers a hint to the public. WHN put lines into Hunter College for the early sessions of the Security Council and then dropped them. But when Drew Pearson and his ex-partner Bob Allen applied to the FCC for the license of WBAL, the Hearst station in Baltimore, doubtless claiming that WBAL had not lived up to its public-service responsibilities, WHN rushed to the U. N. for permission to reinstate its equipment.

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LOU FRANKEL is continuity director of Station WHCU of Cornell. His page appears each week.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Politics and Imagination

THE PARTISAN READER, 1934-1944. Edited by William Phillips and Philip Rahv. Introduction by Lionel Trilling. The Dial Press. $3.75.

IN THE past six months George Orwell has received too much attention in the American press for anyone's comfort. It recalls the boom that James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution" enjoyed some time before the war. But neither boom was a surprise to *Partisan Review* subscribers, who had been reading these men for years in their favorite magazine. And where did most of us learn about existentialism, when that boom was first beginning, if not in *Partisan Review?* Ever since John Reed Club days its editors, William Phillips and Philip Rahv, have shown a fine flair for feeling out the areas of greatest cultural density. Running an unattached literary intelligencer, they have been able to print the most vivid documents of the modern imagination without regard to their underlying tendencies and, along with these, an intellectually liberating series of attacks, at once so brilliant and so inconsistent, on the stereotypes, delusions, and deceptions of American public thinking, both left and right.

This generous "Reader" reprints, of course, the most talked-of pieces, like the fascinating and repellent The Man in the Brooks Brothers Shirt, by Mary McCarthy, and such distinguished firsts as Eliot's The Dry Salvages and Kafka's In the Penal Colony, which have, however, been so exhaustively and repetitiously interpreted elsewhere that they have passed out of *Partisan Review's* sphere of influence. What want rereading much more urgently—considering the way the tide is running nowadays—are the critical pieces reprinted here, closer in spirit to the *Review's* own editorial position, by men like John Dewey, Sidney Hook, Ernest Nagel, Dwight Macdonald, James Burnham, and Meyer Schapiro. These analyze in the most devastating fashion some of the anti-rational formulas which are increasingly being passed off as truisms in current critical discussion.

But these names also suggest that the policy of the *Partisan Review* is not easily defined. The editors, in their valuable postscript, call it an independent, critical Marxism. Such fine studies included here as those of Rahv on Dostoevski, and Edmund Wilson on Flaubert, and Clement Greenberg on Avant-Garde and Kitsch show how the Marxian view gives breadth and depth and prevents transcendental indulgences. But "independent" Marxism is necessarily rather anomalous. Marxism understands the world by changing it, and the way to change it is to organize. *Partisan Review* has no organizational connections or influence, and it is not much interested in practical politics in this country, in the situation in the trade unions, for instance. The editors themselves were never very whole-hearted party people, and they broke with Stalinism when they could no longer stand the air in M. Vishinsky's courtrooms. Instead of abandoning socialism, however, they increasingly urged a definition of it that gave primacy to individual integrity and democratic rights. This course took them so far to the other side of the liberals that in the summer of 1946 a featured editorial in *Partisan Review* attacked the liberal publications as the unprincipled fifth column of Russian world conquest.

Beside the anomaly of *Partisan Review's* independent Marxism is the further anomaly that much of its imaginative material and intellectual support comes from writers like Auden, Trilling, Kafka, and Eliot, whose attack on the liberal imagination proceeds from such very different premises. In the John Reed Club period Phillips and Rahv found official Stalinism destructive of artistic quality, and when the magazine became independent in 1937 they sought a free wedding of unattached Marxism and modern artistic sensibility. W. H. Auden's defense of Yeats in "The Partisan Reader" reveals some incompatibilities of this marriage.

Though Yeats was anti-democratic and pro-fascist, Auden says, he showed himself in his sensibility and in the diction of his poetry to be a just man. Yeats and Eliot have been the supreme examples of modern sensibility for many critics. Their artistic practice and their own rationalizations of it have been largely responsible for the critical assumptions that prevail in the non-political literary quarterlies which share writers with *Partisan Review*. These assumptions make the sensibility necessary for true poetry dependent on an ascending relationship of symbols, myths, and religious dogmas, for symbols, myths, and dogmas invalidate intellectual analysis, and it is intellectual analysis which destroys tension. It was never certain that Yeats believed in the eclectic occultism which gave him images for his poetry, but to maintain it he had to attack all rationalism in philosophy and government, repeating Nietzsche's accusation that British philosophy had twice brought about a general depression of European intelligence. "There are truths which are best recognized by mediocre minds because they are best adapted to them."

Younger writers brought up in the tradition of Yeats and Eliot have embraced, in the interests of poetic tension and an ascent from mediocrity, a wide variety of faiths or myths, Eastern and Western, Calvinist and Thomist, gnostic and existential. The individual creeds are often theologically monstrous, as Randall Jarrell proved in *Partisan Review* last year by a brilliant review of Auden's dogmatics, and the incompatibilities of these revealed truths are not likely to cure the skeptic of the relativism of which he is fiercely accused. But in order to create an atmosphere in which belief can flourish, these writers unite in the attack that is now widely fashionable on rational "reductive" analysis, on systematic causative explanations, particularly of the Marxian and Freudian kind, and on anything that savors of naturalism, positivism, or disbelief in original sin.

Partisan Review has energetically rejected supernaturalism even though it has shared the sensibility and printed the work of those who embrace it. This rejection, together with the isolated, alienated character of its Marxism, has left little

positive ground for the *Review* to stand on, a fact which comes out rather painfully in the non-critical pieces. There is a fine humanity in the intimate studies of Joyce, Proust, and Cotton Mather, and in Paul Goodman's witty The Facts of Life. But nearly all the fiction and a good deal of the poetry reveal the attenuation of personality and of the dramatic imagination that comes when sensitive and intelligent people feel themselves outside of social life, even though it fascinates and preoccupies them. The stories by Mary McCarthy, Lionel Trilling, Delmore Schwartz, H. J. Kaplan, Saul Bellow, Isaac Rosenfeld, and Elizabeth Bishop are wonderfully acute and honest, but their central characters are strikingly similar in their isolation, instability, and lack of self-confidence. They feel alternately their own unreality and the unreality of the situations that confront them, and their self-abasement even assumes an unpleasantly physical character.

These personal revelations make an interesting check on whether a highly discriminatory intelligence is sufficient for morality, whether a properly social consciousness can remain largely critical and intellectual. More emphasis is needed on quite simple techniques of actualizing fraternity, of testing out in imagination and even more in reality the ways in which people working together can influence social decisions toward a truer community. This is what *Partisan Review* used to preach in the early Stalinist days "of high confidence and inspiration," to which the editors now look back with nostalgia. It would seem that a humane Marxism requires it even more.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS

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Christianity Without Paul

THE IDEA OF THE CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS OR GOD IN MAN: A CRITICAL ESSAY. By George Santayana. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

THE reviewer wants, first of all, to express his thankfulness to the writer of this book. Nothing is more helpful for our theological work than the understanding criticism coming from non-theologians, philosophers, historians, scientists, and artists. There is much criticism of theology from these sides, but it is not always—or even often—understanding criticism. There is much misrepresentation, by professional philosophers, of what theology has done and is doing, and there is little comprehension among most leaders of our secular culture of the profundity and actuality of the classical documents of our religious tradition.

Santayana's book cannot be challenged in any of these respects. He knows the historical as well as the systematic problems of present-day theology, and, above all, he knows their significance for our human existence; he understands, as we call it today, their "existential" meaning.

The first, predominantly historical part of Santayana's book analyzes the Idea of Christ in the Gospels in eleven chapters, each of which contains Biblical material in an original and impressive interpretation. The way in which the philosopher looks at the miracle stories, the prayers, the passion of Jesus, the appearances of the resurrected Christ, is striking and revealing. Methodologically most important is the first chapter, Inspiration. Here Santayana liberates himself completely from the uncertainty about the so-called "historical Jesus." He frankly admits that he has no theory about the event which inspired the disciples, the early church, and the evangelists. He recognizes—with many recent theologians—that the Gospels do not warrant such a theory, that the only thing we have is the inspired picture of a man in whom God is present in an absolute and unique way. The nature and the different traits of this picture, created by inspiration, and not the practically unknown occasion for the rise of the inspired picture, are the objects of Santayana's analysis. This makes it possible for him to use the four Gospels without discrimination. He knows that Mark gives the earliest tradition and that John is a late, mystical interpreter; but this does not prevent him from using material taken from both of them with a strong emphasis on the Johannean literature—which, as so often, attracts the philosophical mind.

There is no place for Paul in Santayana's book: this is, of course, partly due to the fact that Paul has not written a Gospel. But this alone is not sufficient to explain the omission from the second part, which deals with concepts and ideas and not with the picture. Santayana has no place for Paul because he rejects the absolute categories in which Paul lives, sin in its infinite depth, and reconciliation as an absolute paradox. Grace seems to Santayana—in accordance with Catholic thinking—not so much forgiveness as the gift of spiritual power.

A few special points as they appear in the systematic part may be mentioned. Santayana interprets the Christian idea of God as monarchical monotheism, sharply distinguished from everything pantheistic. He derives from it the doctrine of

creation as an event within the universe—which comprises God and matter. God is a part of being, not being itself as in classical theology. Santayana recognizes the mythical character of monarchical monotheism, but he declares that it is as essential for Christianity as the ideas of temporal creation and consummation. But can a myth, recognized as a myth, be preserved without undergoing fundamental changes?

Santayana accepts the Thomistic doctrine of the supranatural soul. This is surprising, since this doctrine shows more clearly than any other the clash between the theological and philosophical traditions which Aquinas tried to synthesize. But Santayana's reason for accepting this doctrine is obvious: psyche (life-process) and soul (bearer of the spirit) are generally united, as God and man are uniquely united in Christ and as spiritual and vital forces are united in those who are elevated above ordinary human inclinations. In all these cases the human, the natural, the vital is accepted but at the same time superseded by the divine, the supranatural, the spiritual. A refined dualism and asceticism remain, and so does a sublime esotericism: the masses of people do not reach and do not even desire spirituality and divinity.

Santayana's book attempts a synthesis between mystical Catholicism and modern skeptical naturalism, using the results of Protestant historical research; but it is at a great remove from the Protestant spirit. PAUL TILLICH

BRIEFER COMMENT

Keynes and Veblen

"BEYOND SUPPLY AND DEMAND. A Reappraisal of Institutional Economics," by John S. Gambs (Columbia University Press, $1.60), is an original and important book, clearly and entertainingly written. Dr. Gambs calls it "a book about the theories of Thorstein Veblen and . . . economists who have been inspired by his work." But it is also an attempt to reappraise current economic assumptions, classical and institutional alike. Dr. Gambs is convinced that the time has come for some very fundamental thinking in economics. In the atomic age "the relatively uncomplicated thinking of a decade ago will not save us from disasters even greater than those which have lately befallen us. It is doubtful whether we shall ever again be able to blunder through for a while with NRA's and WPA's and AAA's; whether we can ever again trust to the sheer weight of productive power to bring us victory over a strong foe. . . . This time we shall have to revalue our fundamentals or take the dire consequences."

"There has been no adequate philosophy" or "adequate psychology" among economists. Veblen's followers, for all their useful work, "are . . . empirical, eclectic, pragmatic. . . . They have sought to skirt error by avoiding any consciously made philosophical assumptions. But this in itself leads to an assumption . . . a dangerous preconception . . . that naive induction, eclecticism, empiricism, pragmatism, sacred or profane, can be fruitful. This . . . may lead nowhere even more surely than . . . faith in neo-Hegelianism or . . . *Gestalt* psychology or Freud."

One of Dr. Gambs's main reasons for attempting a reappraisal of Veblen is that he provides a background for a better evaluation of Keynes. He gives us a delightful sketch of "a Veblenian essay on Keynes." Its essential point is that we cannot have both full employment and "the spirit of business enterprise." That is the great economic issue of the day, and it is the kind of issue which makes reconsideration of the assumptions of economics imperative.

EUGENE FORSEY

The World in Black and White

FORMER AMBASSADOR WILLIAM C. BULLITT, in common with a lot of us, is concerned with the shape of world affairs. In "The Great Globe Itself" (Scribner's, $2.75), he earnestly exhorts us to do something about it. His program has already had tremendous mass dissemination; it is, quite simply, to set up against Russia as quickly as possible a "Defense League" of nations on as wide a base as possible, and to announce firmly to the Soviets, meaning it too, that one more "aggression" will bring a war in which we will use the atomic bomb. Mr. Bullitt's repeated references to the Soviet absorption of the Baltic states and eastern Poland make it clear that he is thinking primarily, although not entirely, about territorial expansion. He argues, with a host of quotations which are for the most part very familiar in this kind of book, that the Soviet Union represents a blend of Asiatic tyranny and Communist will to dominate the world. Only a "Defense League" can preserve peace and liberty for the world.

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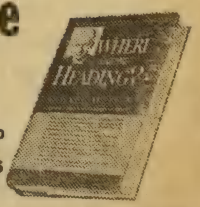

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ALBERT GUERARD'S review of Gorki's Reminiscences

An appraisal by H. B. HAGGIN of some of the new phonographs

One need not be an unblinking apologist for everything Soviet Russian to look upon Mr. Bullitt's proposal with less than enthusiasm. The Great Globe which Mr. Bullitt writes about in bland prose, with strong moralistic and religious overtones, is an extremely simple one: you can draw it in black and white, and there is no question about what is what. Mr. Bullitt deals as freely in generalizations and self-righteousness, portraying his projected league—which would in some mysterious way operate *within* the U. N. without destroying that organization—as the guardian of liberty and the good life. He touches only lightly on the question of the league's membership, though we can hardly doubt that Franco's Spain and the Vatican—neither of them even mentioned, by the way, in "The Great Globe Itself"—would eagerly enrol. Could a crusade against the Bolshevik East do other than strengthen and revitalize fascism everywhere, not least in Germany? Is there any more immediate way of reversing the military decision of the war and transforming it into a victory for a good many of Hitler's ideas?

From an author who has been ambassador to the Soviet Union and France, one might be forgiven for expecting some depth of vision, some understanding of the interrelationships of national and international affairs. Mr. Bullitt many times laments our shameful behavior in allowing Poland to fall within the Russian orbit, but he says nothing about the sorry state of affairs in pre-war Poland. He excoriates Tito's Yugoslavia, but there is not a word concerning the problems created by the pre-war Serbian dictatorship in that country. To say this is of course not to indorse the Soviets' actions in Poland, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. It is merely to point out that politics, too, abhor a vacuum, and to suggest that what has been happening in Eastern Europe, having a history of more than a few years, cannot be attributed solely to latter-day Russian expansionism. In a book subtitled "A Preface to World Affairs" Mr. Bullitt might with profit have given his readers some comment on the influence on world affairs of social revolutions over-long delayed; this in turn might have led him to formulate a foreign policy based on more than panic, self-righteousness, and a one-sided view of the world.

W. J. GOLD

Professorial Guilt

THE STORY OF THE PROSTITUTION of scholarship to political ends needs to be told whenever it occurs. Unhappily it occurs all too often, and it is not unusual for men of probity in one field of specialty to have utterly irresponsible opinions in another. Where there is no freedom of publication to serve as a check on special pleading, it is naive to be surprised that pseudo-scholarship climbs into the saddle and gallops away, carrying the gift of science to the outstretched hand of the ruler.

The present volume ("Hitler's Professors," by Max Weinreich, Yiddish Scientific Institute, $3) is rightly concerned about the part that German professors played in the rise of Nazi doctrine and in the annihilation of 6,000,000 European Jews. It seeks to determine the complicity of German intellectual leaders in the crimes committed by German politicians and soldiers. It documents copiously the maunderings and rant-

ings of many men who held intellectual eminence in the Nazi state. The story of a great crime is told again, without passion but, unhappily, without real objectivity.

Over and over again the term *scholarly* is ascribed to men whose intellectual probity is by no means a matter of prior record, to publications of an obviously special cast, particularly those clustered under the aegis of geo-politics. This failure to distinguish between pseudo and real scholarship vitiates the conclusions as to intellectual responsibility and leaves unanswered the really important question. That question is not how much of an aura of scholarship Nazidom managed to cast over its doings and doctrines, but rather to what extent science was perverted to the uses of an ideology with the consent and cooperation of the professors of that science. The answer to that question is important, since it will give us much needed light on the extent and power of the disease. It is certainly clear that the German universities gave their students no particular ability to resist infection; we should like to know whether there was any more capacity for resistance among the professors themselves.

Such an inquiry must consider certain definite points. It must determine to what degree the universities and scholarship generally were viewed as an adjunct of political action even before Nazism. It must determine which recognized men of science, and how many, were willing to twist the doctrines of their own fields of specialty to Nazi needs. It must determine what proportion of the scholars held firm and what they did to maintain their intellectual integrity. This book takes up only the second of these points, and that in a fashion by no means systematic.

It is quite possible that German scholarship did sell out. This book, however, does not prove it. It does do a real service by raising the question and by adducing evidence which, when more systematically considered, may yield us an answer.

GEORGE J. BECKER

The Last Red Leaf

ELEGANTLY, AS BECOMES AN ARISTOCRAT; elegiacally, as one must who considers himself nearly the last of these, Sir Osbert Sitwell continues his memoirs in "The Scarlet Tree" (Little, Brown, $3.50). This instalment, covering approximately the first decade of our century, treats mainly of the evasions of the author, as a scion of Heartbreak House, his obduracies and recalcitrance when faced with the regimen of Hobbyhorse Hall, as represented by the English public schools. Light, water, houses, gardens—these he loves; for people he has a less warm regard, though he can turn a kindly eye on many, especially those endowed with some eccentricity in the character. Conscious of the fact that, like his brother and sister, he is distinguished by virtue of being an artist, Sir Osbert writes a prose that has manner, style, and taste; the elaborate, ornate, rich, and intricate sentences rest on a firm foundation of structure. To the reader who has idle hours a-plenty, they serve well to beguile tedium, to interest and to charm; if, however, you have work of your own to do, meals to get, or grass to cut, or reviews to write, you may sometimes become a little impatient with these *longeurs*.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE RAIDER," an English film once called by the beautiful title "Western Approaches," is the story of the convergence in mid-Atlantic of a U-boat, an English lifeboat, and an English ship which has strayed from convoy. The men in the lifeboat realize that the Germans are using them as a decoy; they are determined to warn off the rescuing vessel, if need be at the cost of their lives. The rescuers are torpedoed all the same, but manage to outwit and sink the submarine. The submarine crew, so far as I could make out, is left to drown; the English derelicts are taken aboard at last.

This very broad, strong, simple story, which suggests many of the good things about Kipling or even Tolstoy, is, I gather, true, or is anyhow a composite of true incidents. It is played entirely by non-professional actors, sailors, and we are told that they are reenacting their experiences. The picture is directed by Pat Jackson, who also wrote the scenario and the dialogue for the semi-fictional scenes of reenactment.

"The Raider" reaches this country very late, after a muffle of delays I would be curious to see explained. It is a war film and was made to be seen in war time; but it is also one of very few war films which can be seen without blushing at any time, and which is, I think, permanently to be respected.

It is not, to be sure, in any sense a morally or politically searching or a psychologically exciting piece of work. The predicament is a deadly simple, physical one, and the reactions are no less simple and physical. There is little exploration of development of character: the men in the lifeboat, for instance, know each other well to begin with and get to know each other even better in the course of a couple of weeks' exposure, but the audience gets no illusion of knowing them better; it is merely privileged to rubberneck. But it is looking at the surfaces of people of extraordinary strength and authenticity; moreover, the Germans, especially the U-boat captain, are no less full-blown as personalities than the English. Most attempts to make the enemy "human" have gone as fishy as the still more conventional attempts to make him a devil, a brute, a clown, or at very least a foot-fetishist; here, more successfully than in any other film I can remember, he is merely made up of another bunch of people who are very deeply absorbed in a life-and-death predicament and as deeply interested in their jobs. It is an obvious point, of course, but you have to see it really done, for once, to realize fully the childish shallowness of any other way of "indicting" war. By a characteristically good and unobtrusive bit of writing the only Englishman who expresses hatred for the Germans for using them as bait is also the only one who has opposed his captain's determination to warn off the rescuers. Another fine little bit is the submarine captain's red-bearded patriarchal smile as he says that they'll just turn loose their last couple of torpedoes and then—home.

It is this same hale, sane, uncomplicated, and unquerulous sense of reality which gives the whole picture its finest qualities. To use non-professionals well in this semi-fictional kind of work requires a particularly warm, quick, and flexible understanding of people—of when to direct and when to leave alone, of how to combine several degrees of both harmoniously, and of what, artistically, is more "real" than the actual and what is less real. It is a rare and potentially very important kind of creative faculty, called for by movies and by still photography as by no other kind of art. I have seen some very good things done with it, chiefly by the English; and the Russians have often used it very powerfully—though less perceptively in a purely human way—by, for instance, cutting non-professional faces into intense poetic or rhetorical contexts. But I don't remember seeing anyone use non-actors so extensively, with such respect and understanding and thorough success, as Mr. Jackson has used them here. Anyone who wants, for instance, to see the varied awkwardness of non-professionals used to perfection can study over and over the little scene in New York in which the convoy captains are briefed. Or for a sample of directing neither too much nor too little, so that art and actuality work on each other like live chemicals, there is the exchange of smiles between the radio operator and the adolescent boy in the lifeboat, at the moment when everyone first has good reason to give up hope. Or for a quietly definitive illustration of the quality free naturalism can have when a man with the right poetic instincts is in charge, watch the variety of manner in which the sailors transfer from the lifeboat to the ship, and compare the unlimited beauty and touchingness of this little scene with the also touching, skilfully predigested and packaged quality of the realism in the scene in which crew and captain part in "In Which We Serve." Or to check the film against something with which you may have been familiar, see what has been done with shots of the New York mid-war waterfront. The most ordinary "documentary" material in this film is always used with so deep and unpretentious a sense of its human meanings that without rhetoric or comment it becomes automatically poetic; and all that is necessarily fictional is anchored as short as can be managed to what is known to have been so. That combination sounds like and perhaps is the minimum of common sense for this type of film; it is not often attempted, however, and almost never achieved.

This same sort of purity of plain good sense at its best must help, I think, to account for the excellence of the transitions and of the cutting, which never use artily, or point up, or intrude on, but are always made part of the hypnotic leavening of, the noble prevailing rhythm of the film, which is simply that of ocean water. It must have taken the same good sense to foresee that such a film could and should be

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made in color; that the imperfections of color film, as a rule so deadly under studio control, greatly enhance both immediacy and beauty when they collaborate with the imperfections of unaffected people and of open nature. And it took a kind of flat plain sense—far beyond that of the mere realist—which I have never seen get so far on the screen before, to realize that you have no right to record the sufferings and honor the fortitude of men exposed in a lifeboat unless you make those sufferings at least real enough, in swollen features and livid coloring, feebleness of motion and obvious crushing headache, to hurt an audience, and hurt it badly.

It seems to me striking that in this film and in others the English have done so well in their handling of real people in films, and that we as a rule have done so very badly. (One must, thank heaven, except several of our war record films.) The chief reason, so well as I can understand it, is an ugly one. Few Americans either behind or in front of our cameras give evidence of any recognition or respect for themselves or one another as human beings, or have any desire to be themselves or to let others be themselves. On both ends of the camera you find very few people who are not essentially, instead, just promoters, little racketeers, interested in "the angle." I suspect it will some day be possible to deduce out of our non-fiction films alone that the supposedly strongest nation on earth collapsed with such magical speed because so few of its members honored any others, or even themselves, as human beings.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HAYDN'S Symphony No. 97, though not one of the works which the Haydn liveliness of mind carries to sheer incandescence, is a delightful work in which that liveliness gives us characteristic surprises—such as the daring harmonic progressions in the coda of the first movement or the agitated coda of the slow movement. The new Victor set (1059; $3.95) offers a performance by Beecham with the London Philharmonic that is exquisite in sonority, in polished execution, in phraseological contour, but without the vivacity, the sharpness of inflection which Haydn's music requires. The performance is excellently reproduced except for the heaviness of bass that seems to be characteristic of English orchestral recording.

No composer has taken more pains than Tchaikovsky to set down in his score what must be done in performance to translate the printed symbols into the shape in living sound that he imagined; and a conductor with proper understanding of his function and with musical competence who plays Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony as the score directs will produce the superb piece of music that Tchaikovsky created. Koussevitzky is not such a conductor; he sets tempos different from those Tchaikovsky establishes by metronome (for example, the excessively slow tempo of the horn solo in the slow movement) and makes retardations and accelerations of pace that Tchaikovsky does not ask for; and in this way he distorts the shape of the work and its character and meaning. But the tasteless musician is a great conductor: the playing of the Boston Symphony under his direction is fabulous in its beauty of sonority and refinement of execution; and it is reproduced with spacious richness, though not invariably with the balance necessary for clarity of contrapuntal texture (Set 1057; $6.85).

I would expect the music put on records to be music people will want to hear again and again—which I cannot imagine anyone wanting to do with Arthur Benjamin's Elegy, Waltz, and Toccata and Roy Harris's Soliloquy and Dance for viola and piano, recorded by William Primrose with Vladimir Sokoloff and Joana Harris (Set 1061; $4.85). They provide occasions for dazzling demonstrations of Primrose's virtuosity in the handling of his instrument—or rather of his two instruments, since he uses an Amati in the Benjamin work and a viola recently made for him by William Moennig, Jr., in the Harris. The tone of the new one is more sonorous but also coarser; the smaller tone of the Amati is finer and silkier. The performances are excellently reproduced.

Rachmaninov's trashy Second Concerto is performed with brilliance and sentimentality by Arthur Rubinstein with the N. B. C. Symphony under Golschmann (Set 1075; $5.85) for the benefit of those who are receiving their musical education from the films; and piano and orchestra are excellently reproduced. As far as I am concerned a Rachmaninov concerto is something to listen to only for the exciting kind of playing Rachmaninov himself does in it.

Rubinstein is also heard on a single disc (11-9219; $1) playing four unpleasantly and pointlessly dissonant Mazurkas Opus 50 by Szymanowski. Beautiful-sounding playing, faithfully reproduced. On another single (11-9220; $1) the General Platoff Don Cossack Chorus sings the folksong "Nightingale" without the tricks that are heard in Listov's "Song of the Tachanka." On still another (11-9218; $1) Eleanor Steber sings the Merry Widow Waltz and "Vilia" from "The Merry Widow" very beautifully, except for an occasional strong tremolo in the waltz, in which also the recorded sound of her voice is a little sharp. And $.75) on which the fresh tenor voice of Christopher Lynch is heard in "Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Young Charms" and "Oft in the Stilly Night," which he sings for the most part quite simply.

Vox, a new company, has issued a volume called "Chopin Recital" (Set 604; $3.93, including federal tax) in which several popular pieces are played by Jacob Gimpel. They are the Fantaisie-Impromptu Opus 66, the Nocturne in E flat Opus 9 No. 2, the Valse in C sharp minor Opus 64 No. 2, the Polonaise in A flat Opus 53, the Etude in C minor ("Revolutionary"), and the Mazurka in B flat minor Opus 24 No. 4. Only rarely does Gimpel indulge in the excessively mannered style that is traditional in the performance of Chopin's

music; and even then his playing exhibits its admirable feeling for musical continuity. But the feeling for continuity operates through a technique which, though well developed, does not always achieve continuity in the sound; and he hasn't all the strength required by the Polonaise. The sound of the piano is well reproduced; but the surfaces in my copy are noisy and some sides waver in pitch.

Another Vox set (161; $5) called "Salzburg Serenades" offers Mozart's Serenade K. 239 and the Concertante and Rondo from his Serenade K. 320, performed by a chamber orchestra under Edvard Fendler. The music is pleasantly inconsequential, and performed and recorded satisfactorily; but surfaces again are noisy, with an additional noise from a peculiar stain on the records.

From a Zenith circular I discover that the 9-tube set with 10-inch speaker that I heard is the 9H079, and that the 9H081 and 9H088R have a 12-inch speaker, which is of course preferable.

As for the separate cabinet for the speaker, which will improve the sound of any good machine, it can be made of ¾-inch plywood, with any dimensions that will give the interior a minimum capacity of 15,000 cubic inches for a 12-inch speaker or 18,000 cubic inches for a 15-inch speaker; with a removable back that fits in flush with the sides, top, and bottom; with long pieces of wood attached diagonally to the back and side panels (inside) to eliminate vibration; with the entire interior (except the hole in the front panel over which the speaker is mounted) lined with a thick wadding like the Kimsul made by Kimberley-Clark. A small hole in the back panel for the speaker-cable to pass through; castors for easy movement of the cabinet; and thin gauze over the hole in front—these complete the job.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

"The Only Ignorance"

Dear Sirs: The article Placebos in Medicine and Elsewhere, by Dr. Martin Gumpert, in the September 14 issue of *The Nation* merits comment because it raises questions which are of vital concern both to the medical profession and to the public which it serves.

After conceding the validity of the claims of the Cornell-New York Hospital symposium concerning the efficacy of certain placebos, Dr. Gumpert proceeds to condemn the use of placebos as a fraud. On a note of solemnity he intones, "I resolve that I will not treat patients who expect placebos from their doctors and I will not use the services of a doctor who prescribes placebos." In this I feel sure that Dr. Gumpert is deceiving himself. Has he never prescribed vitamins for patients who showed no evidence of avitaminosis? Did he never dispense a mixture known as "I. Q. & S."? Does he not recall the relief experienced by a patient who received a written prescription which, however, was never filled by the druggist?

Why does Dr. Gumpert call the placebos a fraud? Because "they are an indication of the ignorance of physicians, a proof that medicine is not yet a true science but still deeply overshadowed by magic, taboos, anxieties, and primitive rituals." Alas, to the chagrin of Dr. Gumpert, medical science will continue to be concerned with devils, because the object of our medical endeavor is man, who is, and for a long time will continue to be, beset by the very same "magic, taboos, anxieties, and primitive rituals." It has been the failure, or the refusal, to recognize this less tangible aspect of man which has been responsible for the unfortunate mechanistic orientation toward human illness and suffering. . . .

In the hands of the physician who knows what he is doing with the placebo as well as the administrator of ether anaesthesia knows what he is doing, the use of a placebo can hardly be called fraud. If it has alleviated suffering it is good medicine whether its effect is pharmocological or psychological. Consequently, contrary to Dr. Gumpert's assertion that placebos are a sign of the ignorance of physicians, I submit that the failure to understand the indication for a placebo, an effective method for its administration, and the dynamics of its effectiveness constitutes the only ignorance in the whole question. . . .

BERNARD C. MEYER, M.D.

New York, September 18

Madness in Method

Dear Sirs: My daughter has just returned from a first visit to my old home town. She was born in Philadelphia twenty-four years ago and has a fair complexion. On a Southern bus she sat in the Negro section. The driver ordered her to the white section. She refused to move, and told him she had no objections to sitting beside Negroes. When he kept insisting, she told him *she* was a Negro and was sitting where the law said she must sit.

But contrary to her expectations, his face wasn't red. Confused or not, he said, "All right. Be stubborn. But I won't let the niggers sit by you. You're only keeping them out of a seat, that's all." And he did make the newly arriving colored passengers stand in the rear of the car!

Keeping the Negro in his place, especially on a segregated bus, very often calls for more madness than method. . . . The place the Southern white man picks for the black man is, after all, only some manner of living which the white man feels sure is below his own; his own being far below any praiseworthy standard of decency and progressiveness.

It all means that the white South is satisfied to have the Negro to look down upon, even though it has nothing in God's wide world to look up to.

W. J. J.

Philadelphia, September 22

Comatose Crosswords

Dear Sirs: D. L. C. (*The Nation,* September 14, Letters) evidently is used to the type of crossword puzzle whose answers "fall out" without any mental effort on the solver's part. Known as the "all-over-interlock," it can be solved while in a coma, and is extinct everywhere today except in the United States.

LIONEL BREWSTER

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Crossword Puzzle No. 182

By JACK BARRETT

ACROSS

1 A poet's dream ruler
4 Bellow sotto voce?
6 A crop of it would relieve the fat shortage
9 Little Jack Horner's toothsome dish (4 and 3)
10 "Bow window"
11 Film actors paid by the day
13 Adorned primarily for rest
15 Heavier than a 14-lb. stone
16 Prodigy
17 Animal often pictured at bay
19 Source of tortoise-shell
21 Usually the first casualty, in chess
23 Alarm bell, or the ringing of it
25 Robot diver
27 Mounting this is uphill work
28 Card-player's profession, possibly
31 Pressing necessity
32 Cloth provided by the sheep of the same name
33 Benders
34 Just a drop, first thing in the morning
35 I don't know what the element, but this is what he sediment

DOWN

1 South African hillock
2 About what you'd expect from a windbag
3 The only invention which didn't have to be improved upon
4 This vegetable seems to require a retentive soil
5 Had a desire
6 Italians might feel at home in this English resort
7 Slit in a skirt
8 Throbbed with pain
12 Not quite the same as "solvable"
13 Loud
14 Blotted out
16 Clean up
18 The purest of spirits, but so saddening!
20 Politician dissatisfied with his share of the gravy
22 They seem to do this with distinction and dignity at Cambridge
24 Not the wrath of the peppery one, obviously
25 Grand instruments, some of them
26 In natural colors
27 The father of opera
29 Speedometer charges
30 Cows in a ferryboat

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 181

ACROSS:—1 WASHERS; 5 IMMERSE; 9 SEVENTH; 10 TRUMPET; 11 OHO; 13 INLACE; 15 THWART; 16 HAIRNET; 17 GUYS; 19 ELSE; 20 PIECEMEAL; 21 MICA; 23 MIND; 26 PLIANCY; 28 RARELY; 29 EARCAP; 30 IRK; 32 ADAPTER; 33 IMMENSE; 34 ARTISAN; 35 SURREYS.

DOWN:—1 WASHING; 2 SAVELOY; 3 EUNUCH; 4 SOHO; 5 INTO; 6 MOUGHT; 7 RAPHAEL; 8 ENTITLE; 12 HORSEHAIR; 14 EAGERLY; 15 TERENCE; 18 SPA; 19 ELM; 21 MARIANA; 22 CURRANT; 24 INCENSE; 25 DIPPERS; 26 PLATES; 27 YAMMER; 30 IRON; 31 KISS.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THROUGH NO WISH OF ITS OWN A HIGHLY confidential organization called "American Action, Inc.," has just emerged from the underground. Its avowed purpose is "to defend our country against its enemies at home," and it appears to be led by Colonel Robert R. McCormick and General Robert E. Wood, both of whom were conspicuously indifferent about defending our country against its enemies abroad. The Congressional committees on campaign expenditures are about to look into the affairs of the group, having in mind the Corrupt Practices Act, which calls for quarterly financial reports from all political committees operating in more than one state. We don't know just when this lineal descendant of the Liberty League and America First was launched, but one of its officials has stated in writing that its "growing list of supporters . . . literally covers every section of the country." That takes time—enough probably to have warranted several quarterly reports. But none have been filed. American Action, Inc., says it is not a secret organization, but it refuses to reveal the names of the 187 members of Congress whom it is pledged to fight in the current campaign. And that raises an interesting question concerning its purpose. It may be assumed that an agency sponsored by McCormick and reputedly supported by Joe Pew, E. T. Weir, and General Wood is not out to purge Congress of Republicans. There are 237 Democrats in that body, but roughly 50 of them are confirmed coalitionists who could only gladden the eye of a Liberty Leaguer. Could it be, then, that American Action, Inc., is merely an unofficial subsidiary of the G. O. P., charged with raising a secret slush fund to combat those "enemies at home" known as Northern Democrats?

✶

NOT BEING PROFESSIONAL WHISTLERS IN THE dark, we do not pretend to find much comfort in the progress of the current election campaign. Our correspondents in various parts of the country report that Republican gains in Congress are virtually assured; *Newsweek*'s poll of Washington correspondents shows a great majority convinced that the G. O. P. will capture the House; and a nation-wide Gallup poll reflects the same sentiment by the disconcerting margin of 63 per cent to 37. Nevertheless, we do not believe the time has come to head for the nearest wailing wall. Registration is surprisingly high, which is certainly a condition for Democratic victory, even though it by no means makes that victory inevitable. Republican leaders profess to see in the big registration the promise of a heavy protest vote in their favor, but they are puzzled because the increases are proportionately heaviest in the Democratic strongholds of the big cities, where a protest would more naturally take the form of simply keeping away from the polls. Such speculation, while fascinating as a game, is fruitless, however, and even damaging if it interferes with a last-ditch fight. It should be obvious to all liberals that the fight is worth while, regardless of the chances, and regardless of the shortcomings of the Democratic Party. A Republican House, a Democratic Senate, and a politically unskilled President form a combination that can only mean national paralysis for what are almost certain to be two of the most crucial years in the country's history.

✶

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE HAS ENDED without bringing peace much nearer. In fact, its most conspicuous result has been the solidification of the Eastern and Western blocs and the widening of the gulf between them. Again and again, voting in the plenary sessions on the most crucial sections of the five treaties was fifteen to six, with the Slav minority fighting each point to the bitter end. This division of votes means that on the most controversial questions the westerners obtained the two-thirds' majority needed to give conference decisions the force of "recommendations" rather than "suggestions." But this does not mean that when the Council of Foreign Ministers gets down to the business of preparing final drafts, these decisions will be incorporated. Since unanimity among the Big Four is required, the battles over the Trieste constitution, Danubian navigation, and the economic clauses of the treaties will be fought again. Eventually, if there is to be peace at all, both sides will have to make compromises. But

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the kind of atmosphere that makes for reasonable compromise is lacking and likely to remain so unless a new effort is made to exorcise the ghosts of suspicion which haunted the Luxembourg Palace.

*

APPROVAL OF THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION should end the political instability created by eighteen months of successive referendums and elections. Although the new code was adopted by a slim margin of a million votes, there is no reason to believe that the parties which favored it will lose ground in the November 10 elections; on the contrary, it is logical to assume that many of the people who, under the moral pressure of General de Gaulle, abstained from voting will regain their freedom of action at the polls next month. The closeness of the vote makes it imperative for the three major parties to continue the coalition; the small crowd that demonstrated against the constitution on Sunday night, shouting "Down with Bidault and Thorez," has already pushed the present government forces closer together. If they achieve a genuine working collaboration, they have a chance in the coming period to reduce reactionary opposition and gradually consolidate the new French democracy.

*

WITH CAPTURE OF KALGAN BY KUOMINTANG troops, the hope of preventing a full-fledged civil war in China has vanished. Although General Marshall made an effort to arrange a last-minute truce, neither side was willing to accept the other's proposals. The deadlock that has so long persisted seems to be more firmly set than ever. Alarmed by continued American aid to the Kuomintang while the United States was presumably acting as an impartial arbitrator, the Communists are insisting that the Kuomintang live up to the entire January agreement or drop the pretense of negotiating. The Kuomintang has been rather obviously stalling in the hope of obtaining by military force what it could not obtain in negotiation. In his "Double-Ten" Day address Chiang Kai-shek, who has just been renamed to the Presidency for an indeterminate period, made no reference to his commitment to set up a coalition government and said nothing about the administrative and agrarian reforms which liberal groups have been advocating as the basis for a democratic regime. But he vigorously attacked the Communists for "plotting" to divide the country and once more urged that the National Assembly be called to ratify the Kuomintang-drafted constitution before the January agreements are put into force. Since American mediation efforts have clearly failed, it would appear that the suspension of American economic and military aid, as implied in the Truman directive of last January, offers the only hope of averting American-supported civil strife.

Primer for Atomic Politicians

BY J. KING GORDON

THE public debate on the international control of atomic energy has degenerated into an unseemly brawl largely because of a studied disregard of the essential facts in the case. No politician likes to be reminded that he should go back to school, study texts, and become acquainted with a technical subject which up to a few years ago was a closed book to 99 per cent of laymen. In the field of big principles and big generalities the politician is at home. On a high moral plane he can argue with feeling about sacred sovereign rights, the intransigence and menace of foreign powers, the incompatibility of political systems, the broad principles on which international peace must rest. He has even become fairly adept in tossing the "veto" around in political volley ball.

When it comes to a discussion of the actual details of a scheme of international control he flunks out on the first test, either because he considers these matters of secondary importance or simply because he has not made himself familiar with a new subject which was not included in his elementary political textbooks. When, for example, an international inspection system is mentioned, his imagination conjures up armies of U. N. functionaries, mostly foreigners, roaming the wastelands of Canada and Siberia, overrunning factories in Stalinsk and Oak Ridge, and opening suitcases in the parcel rooms of Grand Central Station. The practical difficulties in setting up such a system appear to be so vast that they simply underline the hopelessness of the international political impasse. No wonder our defeatists rush back to their political bomb shelters, to their arms factories and their B-29's, or else soar out into the stratosphere where the world state is being set up.

It is with no thought of evading the gloomy realities of the big-power conflicts that we suggest that the atomic politicos and their disciples might devote some of their anxious hours to a study of the actual work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. It is perhaps because the members' days are spent in close proximity to super-explosive material that they deny themselves the luxury of the loud-popping phrase. They know that ultimately political decisions will have to be faced, but they have concluded that there is more chance of reaching top-level agreement if the problem is stated in specific terms. True, there have been the exhibition fireworks of Messrs. Baruch and Gromyko, but in the main the commission has confined itself to a careful examination of the prerequisites of any satisfactory scheme of atomic-energy control.

The first major advance registered was the report issued by the Scientific and Technical Committee, which discussed the *feasibility* of a system of safeguards to permit the development of atomic energy for peaceful ends and prevent its use for purposes of destruction. The committee met in informal private sessions, and its members were able to carry on discussion and debate in their capacity as scientists and not as representatives of their respective countries. It is of considerable significance that Dr. Richard Tolman of the United States, Sir Paget Thomson of Great Britain, Professors Skobeltsin and Alexandrov of the Soviet Union, Professor Pierre Auger of France, and the other representative scientists could reach unanimous agreement on a report in the preparation of which they had all participated. Their report deliberately avoided political issues but provided the necessary technical basis for any effective system which was later to be developed at the policy level.

The next important advance was made last week when, on a proposal of General Andrew McNaughton, head of the Canadian delegation, Committee 2 unanimously agreed to enter into discussions of the safeguards *necessary* to insure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Following the breakdown of the problem of control as outlined in the technical report, General McNaughton proposed to divide the work of the committee into three successive phases. In the first phase the committee with its scientific advisers would seek to formulate the various measures necessary to prevent the *diversion of materials* at each stage in the production of atomic energy. Here, for example, the system already set up in Canada, where the uranium mines are completely under government operation and control, might provide useful examples. In the second phase the committee would discuss safeguards to prevent *clandestine operations* whether of mines, installations for the production of atomic fuel or radioactive materials, or actual bomb factories. As the technical report emphasized, clandestine operations in the later stages of the process are most dangerous not only because of the higher concentration of U-235 but because of the extreme difficulty of detection. In the third phase the problem of *illegal seizure* by individual governments or groups within nations would have to be discussed and safeguards devised to prevent it.

This approach has several obvious advantages. First, the discussions will bring together policy representatives and scientific advisers, and they are bound to have the effect of educating the policy-makers in the actualities of the problems of control. It is also to be hoped that they will eliminate some of the misconceptions around which the wordiest debate has raged. Second, as in the case of the technical report, the findings of the group will constitute a joint international effort. The report when it appears may seem to articulate in specific detail the broad implications of the Lilienthal and Baruch reports, but it

will have eliminated the suggestion of "you-must-take-our-plan-or-we-won't play." Third, the report would provide a frame of reference within which the system of international control—called for by the Moscow Foreign Ministers conference of December, 1945, and the United Nations Assembly of January, 1946—could be worked out.

There are no short cuts to international security. And many difficulties ahead of the Atomic Energy Commission will have to wait for their solution on a vastly improved political climate. But at least it should stop defeatists to consider that in one important section of the United Nations men of good-will and trained intelligence have worked out a pattern of international negotiation that has already produced results. The shadow of Hiroshima is still with us; but it has lifted a little.

OPA in Extremis

COMMENTING on the second price-control bill, an editorial in *The Nation* of July 27 suggested that "even though the bill were a sound one, it is doubtful whether effective control over prices could be reestablished. Three weeks of mad markets have shattered the line, and stouter levers than Congress has provided would probably prove powerless to roll prices of primary products back to the June 29 level."

In the weeks since, our misgivings have been only too well justified. Prices of primary products left uncontrolled, such as cotton, butter, milk, and tobacco, have continued to soar. This has meant a further upward move in the cost-of-living index and has forced the OPA to raise ceilings for goods still controlled, such as cotton textiles. Meanwhile, products put back under ceilings as a result of the decisions of the Decontrol Board have all but vanished from the market. And as the price line gives at point after point, the strain on the wage lines grows increasingly severe. The whole stabilization policy, in fact, is approaching collapse.

President Truman would surely have been politically smart if he had listened to those advisers who urged him to veto the second price-control bill as he had the first. Instead, he decided to keep up the battle against inflation with the blunt weapon Congress had given him. It has not been possible, however, for him to avoid retreat, and now friend and foe alike are clamoring for a total surrender. The Republicans, compensating for their chronic lack of a positive program, are trying to make the meat famine *the* issue of the forthcoming elections; many Democrats, scared of a hunger-inspired revolt in their urban strongholds, are urging the President to bring back steaks no matter what the cost.

Actually, it is doubtful whether we shall see meat at prices within the reach of the average purse for many months, whatever is done. True, the prospective supply is relatively large—146 pounds per head in the coming year as compared with 125 pounds before the war—but at the present national-income level the prospective demand is 160 pounds. This means that prices, if uncontrolled, will rise to a point at which the lower-income groups will be forced to cut their purchases drastically; total consumption will thus be equated with the production level.

One reason for the present meat shortage is the killing, in two senses, that stock-raisers and packers made during the OPA "holiday" in July and August. Immature animals which should have spent several months in the feed-lots putting on weight were rushed to market to take advantage of soaring prices. As a result, the "pipeline" from range to consumer was nearly empty when ceilings were reimposed. It has failed to fill up again because of a sharp fall in pressure at the far end and serious leaks at several points. The stock-raisers are not sending their normal volume of steers to the markets. They are angry because meat is kept under control while other agricultural products have been freed. However, before many more weeks pass, lack of grass will force them to reduce their herds. At the terminal markets, where offerings are mostly less than 50 per cent of normal, many of the choicest animals are allegedly bought for the black market and of the others an abnormal proportion is being diverted to the Midwestern feed-lots. The big packers claim that they cannot buy at the going prices and comply with the law, but the validity of this claim is dubious. For most of the beef that is now reaching New York is being handled by independent packers who appear to be able to buy and sell at prices which enable retailers to keep within ceilings. Moreover, it has been widely reported that the big packers and chain-store operators have been establishing huge feed-lots in the corn country and stocking them heavily. They hope, apparently, either to hold back supplies until price ceilings are lifted or, at least, to gain an extra profit from the weight added by feeding.

Is all this evidence of a conspiracy? In a legal sense, we doubt that it is. The stock-raisers are holding back because they can reasonably hope for a bigger profit and have little fear of loss. The big packers can also afford to gamble, especially since they are reaping a harvest from their dairy interests. Probably they have some kind of understanding but a "gentlemen's agreement" is a difficult thing to prove in court.

What is to be done, then? A few hours after this issue goes to press, the President will talk to the nation about the whole stabilization program and announce what plans he has for relieving the meat famine. There are few clues to his intentions, but it seems to us that his choice of policies is a limited one. Only the most drastic measures, including requisition of cattle and meat

and the reimposition of rationing, would now make control effective, and such measures are neither politically nor administratively very feasible. On the other hand, any attempt to appease the meat interests by raising ceilings or granting new subsidies will mean a further crumbling of the line and may not even serve its purpose of producing more meat. The fact is, business sabotage and political cowardice have sold out price control, producing a chaotic situation which hampers production without perceptibly slowing the advance of inflation. Much as we fear the consequences of a return to the free market, we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the public support necessary to make the stabilization policy effective is no longer forthcoming.

Wallace's New Job

THE news that Henry Wallace will become editor of the *New Republic* is of first-rate importance—political as well as journalistic. It will be welcomed by all progressives, for it puts the direction of an outstanding organ of opinion in the hands of the man who, above all others, today symbolizes the battered but still-surviving ideals of the Roosevelt era. Mr. Wallace's announcement that he accepted the post only when he had been assured every effort would be made "to get the *New Republic* read by workers, small business men, and farmers all over the United States" shows clearly the serious political purpose he will bring to the job. A statement from the *New Republic* itself indicates that changes in style and format and content are planned, aimed at winning a wide popular circulation. This effort to reach levels of the public so far largely untouched by the few existing progressive journals will be watched with hope, only faintly colored with skepticism, by Mr. Wallace's contemporaries. For the country greatly needs a mass-circulation journal of liberal tendency; under Henry Wallace's leadership, with adequate financing and the able support of Bruce Bliven and Michael Straight, who will continue to serve as editors, the *New Republic* should be able to fill, at least in part, that gaping vacancy.

Just as important, politically, is the fact that Mr. Wallace has gained a platform. Since he left the Cabinet his future has been clouded with uncertainty. His sharp opposition to the foreign policy of the Administration, together with the circumstances of his dismissal, put him in an anomalous position as a party leader. He can hardly open his mouth even in support of a Democratic candidate without risking the displeasure of the "regulars." For all his protestations of loyalty, Mr. Wallace is in effect a man without a party. But he is a man with a following, and what he needed was a means of reaching and influencing that following. Otherwise, his leadership would inevitably collapse.

For reasons not fully explained, he decided against serving as head of a union of progressive political groups, including the C. I. O.-P. A. C. Perhaps he felt that such a connection would limit his political freedom; or perhaps he wished to avoid commitment to a coalition representing only one section of the labor movement. Whatever his reasons, Wallace has evidently decided he can best promote his political faith and his high ambitions by steering an independent course with the *New Republic* as his personal organ.

"Nobody's Damn Business"

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, October 11

THE struggle for power by the army and navy broke out into the open this week. The army bluntly challenged the State Department to come out and fight. Professional military and naval officers have been carrying on a behind-the-scenes campaign to dominate Washington ever since Harry Truman took up residence in the White House. Their philosophy was put in plain words by Admiral Halsey when he said, "It is nobody's damn business where we go. We can go anywhere we please."

TRIS COFFIN is a commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The recent brazen attempts by the military crowd to muscle in on both foreign and domestic policy have shaken the capital. One afternoon this week one of the most influential civilian officials here said to me, "This is the real battle. Price controls, civil liberties, taxes are a side issue compared to this. We can't let the army and navy roam all over the world threatening people and becoming more powerful at home."

The story goes back to the spring of 1945 when a frightened and bewildered Harry Truman became President. He was deeply aware of the awful gaps in his knowledge of world affairs. He turned to that salty old sea dog, Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, who had accompanied Franklin Roosevelt to so many meetings with Stalin and Churchill.

The little artillery captain from Missouri has an unlimited awe of top-rank officers. Admiral Leahy, who is both Chief of Staff to the President and chairman of the powerful Joint Chiefs of Staff, was a good teacher. He propounded the historical military view—the best guaranty of peace is to have the biggest army and navy in the world. Moreover, military leaders, being practical men with experience all over the map, were more capable of dealing with foreign nations than striped-pants diplomats.

President Truman swallowed this easily—hook, line, and sinker. He ardently championed peace-time conscription, lecturing Congressional visitors severely on the subject. He has approved the principle of every plan slipped on his desk by Admiral Leahy.

Secretary of State Byrnes at first resisted the military pressure. He was running foreign policy, or so he thought. He saw which way the wind was blowing when President Truman chastized him at a news conference and Admiral Leahy placed a story with a favored columnist that General Marshall would become Secretary of State. Finally Mr. Byrnes was forced to give in. The heaviest pressures brought against him, he has complained recently to friends, come not from the Senate but from the brass hats.

There has been a continuous series of irritating squabbles between the State Department and the services over bases. The army and navy want to equip and maintain bases all over the world, using hundreds of thousands of troops and millions of dollars of equipment. There are arguments over occupation policy, with General MacArthur blithely ignoring all directives from the State Department. The navy thought up the peace-loving project of sending a large bristling fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. The plan was pared down by the State Department.

Policy toward Russia has been changed by military pressure. The brass hats say the Soviets may attack us unless we scare the hell out of them first. According to civilian advisers in official Washington, Russia does not want war for at least fifteen years. What will happen then will depend on how the two nations are talking and acting.

Last Tuesday afternoon War Department press agents called up correspondents and told them not to miss the conference of Assistant Secretary of Air Stuart Symington. Real news would break. The Assistant Secretary read briskly from a handout: "The flight of the B-29 Dreamboat over the Arctic wastes is but another proof that General Spaatz is right when he emphasizes the danger of an attack over the polar regions, this because of the far shorter distances that way to the United States from all industrial countries. . . . In the future if America is attacked, our retaliatory attacks will begin immediately, and as soon as possible thereafter it will be necessary to carry and either drop or land troops. Thousands of planes will be needed."

Boris Krylov, the Russian correspondent for Tass, listened with a straight face.

The Assistant Secretary continued: "The air forces will send a group of B-29's around the world if the State Department approves. . . . The specific reason for this flight is to work out technical problems of moving large groups of large planes long distances. The purpose is to train and maintain an air force capable of carrying out an assignment as may be required under the United Nations."

If Symington thought he would get by with this he was mistaken, for the first question was, "Isn't this putting pressure on the State Department?" He answered with a smirk, "Oh, we wouldn't do that." Had the War Department asked permission of the State Department or discussed the flight with it? The answer was no. (As of today, the army has not yet discussed the flight with the State Department.) The planes, Symington said, would cross Egypt and India and fly up the Pacific. A reporter asked sarcastically, "Would the flight involve courtesy calls?" Symington was not enjoying himself. He answered stiffly, "If this is requested by the State Department."

Some of the other questions and answers follow:

Q. Can this flight be compared to the tour of the carrier Franklin Roosevelt in the Mediterranean? Would you expect the same criticism?

A. The flight will not be made unless it is approved.

Q. Are the air forces thinking of the potential use of B-29's as an instrument of national policy, in line with Secretary of the Navy Forrestal's comment that the carrier trip was a part of foreign policy?

A. We like to think of the air forces as an instrument of national policy.

Q. Will this flight allay or increase the fears of the world?

A. What we want to do is further military training. Other matters are outside of the War Department.

Q. You mentioned this flight would help the United Nations. How?

A. Under the United Nations we have a responsibility to further the development of our military knowledge.

A girl reporter in the front row asked, "Is this flight in the interests of peace?"

Assistant Secretary Symington by this time was having a little trouble in keeping his temper. He snapped back at the girl, "Do you think so?" She murmured something about this being his press conference. He closed the matter abruptly, "This is not a matter for the War Department."

Yesterday afternoon President Truman was asked about the flight of the B-29's. This time there was no curt or angry denunciation of an official who was feud-

ing with the State Department; he replied mildly that no decision had been made.

Then Mr. Truman went on gaily to announce that a naval squadron would steam down to Chile in honor of the inauguration of a new President. Fleet Admiral Leahy would be Mr. Truman's personal representative at the ceremonies.

This afternoon Acting Secretary of State Acheson commented that he had heard only generally of the flight of the B-29's. He had not been informed when, where, or how.

A correspondent inquired, "Do you now have any request from the army for approval of the flight?" The reply was negative.

The Washington *Post*, which has on several occasions reprimanded the services for their lust for power, said in an editorial headed Muscle-Flexing:

> We do not believe that the country's ultimate interests are served by the kind of demonstrativeness contained in Mr. Symington's proposal for a mass flight of B-29's around the world. It is a piece, it seems to us, with Admiral Halsey's bristling boastfulness and with the uncalled-for exhibition of muscle-flexing we engaged in at the time of the Greek elections when there was a demonstration of navy planes over Athens. Some of our military men seem to think their department is the State Department. They behave and itch like frustrated diplomats. . . . Inevitably the tour would bring distrust and suspicion of our motives. It would be a form of braggadocio which instead of calming war nerves would do just the opposite. . . . We hope the President calls off the project. In its way it would undermine Secretary Byrnes's policy as Secretary Wallace's intervention did.

Official Washington is going to take a long look at Mr. Truman's ultimate decision, for press-conference remarks indicate that he has moved in as arbiter. His ruling will be a sign of how he is thinking about the Atomic Energy Commission. The services are lobbying vigorously for the appointment of a military-minded man like Ferdinand Eberstadt.

Behind Egypt's Crisis

BY ANDREW ROTH

Cairo, October 3

ON SEPTEMBER 28 the Egyptian Prime Minister, Sidky Pasha, having failed after six months of negotiations to conclude a treaty with Britain, resigned his office. The ensuing political crisis has significance far beyond Egypt's borders because Egypt is the dominant state in the Arab League and the most important link in the chain of friendly states which Britain has been trying to weld in the Middle East.

A fortnight earlier, when Sidky attempted to avoid resigning by reshuffling his Cabinet, the weekly *Mussamarat al Guib* printed a long account of the complicated love triangle of one of the Cabinet Ministers and asserted that this was at the bottom of Sidky's difficulties. To your prosaic reporter a more satisfactory explanation of the crisis is found in the peculiar character of the country's economic and political life.

Hardly anywhere else in the world is the contrast so sharp between the impoverished many and the wealthy few. The vast majority of Egyptians are illiterate agricultural laborers *(fellahin)* with an average cash income of £10 ($40) a year; they live in filthy mud hovels and usually suffer from two or three debilitating diseases. City workers are but little better off. A policeman, for example, earns £5 ($20) a month in a country where food prices are only about one-third lower than in the United States and virtually all manufactured articles, including clothes, are much higher. In the economic stratosphere, far above the teeming millions, are a handful of opulent pashas. It is difficult to state their wealth in exact figures, for the Egyptian government, in conformity with the pashas' desires, does not reveal the amount of personal holdings. King Farouk's fortune is estimated to be between ten and twelve million pounds (forty to forty-eight million dollars), and there are probably others still larger. No one can doubt the immense wealth of the pashas who has seen their splendid American cars or survived all-night banquets at their luxurious villas, where the tables are laden with delicacies from every continent.

ANDREW ROTH, author of "Dilemma in Japan," is on his way to Asia, but his interest in the aspirations to independence of semi-colonial peoples has led him to prolong his stay in the Near East. He is sending The Nation *frequent reports on present conditions in the pre-war empires of France and Britain.*

PASHAS VS. WAFD

This sharp division between the pashas and the people, with but a thin layer of a middle class in between, is reflected in the political parties. On one side there is the popular Wafdist Party, embracing a majority of the people, and on the other there are the parties of the pashas. The latter are small rich men's clubs with hardly any authentic popular support, but they can win a par-

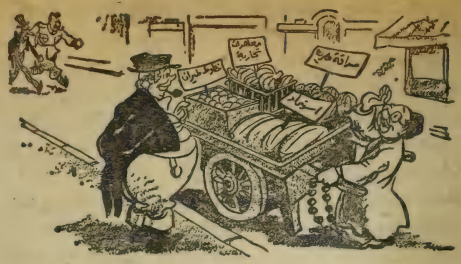
liamentary majority in the fraudulent elections which are the general rule in Egypt. During elections the police load the scared, illiterate peasants into trucks, take them down to the polling places, tell them the name of the "government man" they are to vote for, and then give them a *baksheesh* of perhaps 10 piastres (40 cents).

The Sidky Pasha Cabinet, which was a coalition of Saadists, Liberal Constitutionalists, and independents, spoke with the voice of the pashas. Sidky Pasha himself is one of the economic titans of Egypt. Founder and president of the Egyptian Federation of Industry, he is a director of eighteen large companies—including a flourishing Coca-Cola branch—with a total capital of £54,000,000. The Saadists, headed by Nokrashi Pasha, also represent industrial interests, and the Liberal Constitutional Party speaks for the aristocratic big landlords of Turkish descent and has close links with the Palace.

These groups, like wealthy groups in any country emerging from a colonial status, are torn two ways by their feelings toward Britain. They bitterly resent Britain's control of foreign exchange and its use of the £400,000,000 debt as a means of influencing Egyptian trade. They want to loosen what they describe as their "chains of sterling" and increase their trade with non-sterling countries like the United States. But while they are anxious to improve their very junior position in the Anglo-Egyptian partnership they have no desire to dissolve it. Most Egyptian industrialists' fortunes were acquired in collaboration with British capital. Among the firms in which Sidky Pasha has an interest a majority are dominated by British capital. Egyptians want a bigger share of the spoils in companies operating in Egypt, but they would feel less safe if the British were not around to claim their share. At present many of the pashas are jittery about the mounting labor agitation and general social discontent, which they ascribe not to the people's horrible living conditions and the more than 600,000 unemployed but to the infiltration of Soviet ideas. Feeling too weak to cope with this unrest themselves, they look to Britain to protect them.

King Farouk too is torn by contradictory desires. He has long been strongly anti-British, but he cannot help observing that in British-influenced Greece the monarchy has been reinstated, while in Soviet-influenced Bulgaria the king has been given his walking papers. Little wonder that Farouk recently warned students going abroad to beware of Communist ideas. He is reported to favor an early agreement with Britain.

The British have now offered the following terms: First, they will evacuate Egypt within three years. Second, Anglo-Egyptian military cooperation will be automatic in the event of an attack on an adjacent country like Palestine or Cyrenaica; consultations will be held in the event of an attack on a "neighboring" country like Greece or Turkey. Third, the Sudan will continue to be



— لا يا فندم .. الدور ده لازم تدفع مقدم .. يا كده يا فاكهتي الزبائن كتير !!!

Courtesy of the Cairo *Rose el Youssef*

"No, Sir—this time you must pay in advance or I'll offer my fruit to these other customers first!"

an Anglo-Egyptian condominium—it is actually almost entirely under British control—but after a number of years the Sudanese will be free to decide their own future. Although these terms are unsatisfactory to the majority of Egyptians, the King, Sidky Pasha, and a number of other wealthy men are known to be anxious to have a slightly modified version of them accepted. And they probably would have been accepted but for the constant threat of the Wafd.

The Wafdist thesis that "the Wafd is Egypt" may be an exaggeration, but certainly the Wafd is today and has been since 1919 the political instrument for expressing the nationalist sentiments of the majority of Egyptians. Political observers of almost all shades of opinion agree that in any relatively fair election today the Wafd would get more than 60 per cent of the votes. It is the only party in the political ken of the villager, and he will automatically vote for it unless coerced or bribed.

RIGHT- AND LEFT-WING NATIONALISM

The Wafd has two wings. Of sixty leading members of its right wing, two-thirds are landowners with more than a hundred acres and one-third are industrialists. The Egyptian landlord tends to be strongly anti-British because Britain depresses the price of cotton, which is his main crop, by monopolizing its purchase and by setting up competitive, highly efficient, modern plantations in the Sudan. Industrialists have played a vacillating role in the Wafd. Most of them, because they want to get rid of British competition, start as staunch Wafdist nationalists, but later they either come to terms with British financial interests or are frightened by the Wafdist left; then they become "moderate" and split off to form a new party. Sidky Pasha himself was one of the first to split with the Wafd back in 1920.

The Wafd's left wing has roughly the same relationship to the party as a whole as our Political Action Committees have to the Democratic Party. It comprises student youth, trade unionists, and liberal intelligentsia, and these elements are attempting to convert the Wafd into a party which will not only combat British influence but also work for important social reforms. They have

been particularly influential in Wafdist publications, and until the party's official organ, the daily *Wafd el Misri*, was suppressed in July, it was that rarity in Egypt, a genuinely liberal newspaper.

In short, the Wafd shows the same sort of cleavage that has appeared in every comparable nationalist party, be it China's Kuomintang, the Indian National Congress, or Mexico's P. R. M. The landlords and industrialists in the leadership are willing to follow a strong anti-British line and make small concessions to the impoverished *fellahin* and city workers, but quite naturally they resist social reforms, for these would undermine their own economic position. The leftists, on the other hand, want not only independence but a better livelihood, and if the Wafd does not move rapidly in that direction they plan to act alone. It is significant that the general strike and demonstration of last February, which was organized by the Committee of Workers and Students, was the first occasion on which left forces led a nationalist upsurge instead of merely supporting a Wafdist movement. Also noteworthy is the fact that the big wave of arrests in July took place on the eve of a general strike called by this same committee to achieve "increased salaries and the complete liberation of the country."

The strength of the Wafd and its articulate left wing pins Britain on the horns of a dilemma. Should it continue to favor the more pro-British conservatives like Sidky Pasha, or should it attempt to come to terms with the Wafd leadership?

If the British negotiators obtain the acceptance of something approximating their present terms, there is sure to be a strong Wafd-led movement against the treaty. Most politically conscious Egyptians consider a year plenty of time to give the British to evacuate Egypt. Long repetition of the slogan "Unity of the Nile" has convinced them that the Sudan should be joined to Egypt. Few care enough about Turkey or Greece to accept a treaty which would bring the hated British soldiers back into Egypt if these countries were attacked. And should such anti-treaty agitation get under way, its direction is likely to be seized by the militant student and labor leaders.

It may be possible to crush the movement; there is plenty of repressive legislation on the books. When Sidky was Prime Minister before, from 1930 to 1933, the unrest caused by unemployment was so great that he tore up the 1923 constitution and closed Parliament. The railway workers then struck against his imposition of a dictatorship, and the police fired into the railway workshops, killing fifty men, whom they buried secretly the following night.

Sidky can also act with more finesse. During his earlier term in office the Wafdist leader Nahas Pasha prepared to make a tour of the provinces to organize the anti-Sidky forces. Sidky gave orders that Nahas and his party should not be allowed in the railway station. When the Wafdists marched straight through the police cordon and boarded the train, the police officer telephoned Sidky: "What could I do? I could not shoot him. That's what they wanted." Sidky laughed and immediately called the railway superintendent. The Wafdists felt quite happy as the train pulled out of Cairo on time, but after an hour they found themselves in unfamiliar country. Sidky had ordered the train to be run out into the desert, and his political opponents were left there to sizzle for twenty-four hours.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE WAFD

From the British point of view any treaty which must be forced down Egyptian throats in this manner would hardly be worth the paper it was written on. Consequently the Foreign Office is looking with increasing favor upon signing a treaty with a Wafdist government. But King Farouk's bitter hatred for Nahas Pasha is an obstacle. In February, 1942, when Rommel was at the gates of Alexandria, the British felt it necessary to have an anti-fascist government in Cairo commanding popular support and forced the King to appoint the Wafdist leader as Prime Minister. Nahas Pasha, knowing that he had British support, flouted many of the sensitive young King's prerogatives, and Farouk's original dislike mushroomed into a consuming hatred. Nahas is now attempting to pour oil on the waters by conciliatory gestures—for instance, he has signed the palace register for the first time in three years.

While Great Britain would have to offer better terms to the strongly nationalist Wafd, it would know that the Wafd could obtain their acceptance by the nation. The weekly *Al Khabar* reports that preliminary moves have already been initiated by Sir Walter Smart, the Oriental counselor at the British embassy, who is said to have called on Nahas Pasha and asked him if, as Prime Minister, he would accept the following terms: first, evacuation to be effected in two years; second, the establishment of a largely advisory Anglo-Egyptian Joint Defense Board, with Egypt's aid in time of war restricted to Egyptian territory; third, northern Sudan to become an Egyptian sphere of influence, and southern Sudan to remain under British control. Nahas's attitude toward such terms is not known, but he has just prevented his party from making an extremist statement on treaty negotiations, presumably because he does not want to go out on any limb he may have to crawl back from.

It is fairly certain that Great Britain will use its influence to instal a Wafdist government in Egypt only if the Wafdist leadership agrees to jettison the party's left wing. This agreement will probably not be difficult to secure, for many prominent Wafdist conservatives are as embarrassed by the radical students and labor leaders in their organization as America's Southern Democrats are by Henry Wallace.

Pre-Election U.S.A.

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

III. Will Truman Lose Missouri?

St. Louis, October 8

MISSOURI may be Harry Truman's home state —and Bob Hannegan's, too—but judging by samples of informed opinion from all sections of it, the odds are that the Democrats will lose rather than gain ground here in next month's elections. This may seem odd to an outsider, especially if he knows that in the August primaries the Democratic Party polled almost 70,000 more votes than the Republican. However, in 1942, the last non-Presidential election year, the Democrats got about 90,000 more primary votes than their opponents and still lost to the G. O. P. in the regular fall elections.

The explanation lies in the nature of the Missouri Democrat. In his political habits he is more akin to the Democrats of the solid South than to the Northern urban elements of the party. The sure-fire Democratic strongholds in Missouri are in conservative rural areas. There is politics as well as sentiment in the fact that the rich central part of the state is known as Little Dixie. The central counties, as well as those in the "boot-heel"—the southeastern cotton country—and a few others, almost invariably go Democratic. But in all these counties the primary vote is likely to be greater than that cast in November. This is because nomination is generally, as in the South, tantamount to election. The real fights for county and local offices take place in August, and often more interest is shown in them than in the Congressional races. Many Republicans vote in these Democratic primaries because it is the only way in which they can have any influence in the choice of local officials. Then in November they vote for the Republican candidates for Senate and House.

No cheer prevails at Democratic state headquarters, therefore, over the size of last August's vote. There is, instead, all but admitted fear that unless an unusually big off-year vote is piled up in the cities, the party's Senatorial candidate is in for a bad time. And while it is too early to be positive, the chance of a big vote seems slight. St. Louis, for example, looks safe for the Republicans. In the 1945 municipal election it gave 108,627 votes to Republican Mayor Kaufmann and only 54,115 to his Democratic opponent, Henry Chadeayne.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN is editor of the St. Louis Star-Times *editorial page. Next week election prospects in New York will be discussed by Robert Bendiner.*

Unless this situation is almost reversed, Missouri will have two Republican Senators in the next Congress—for the Republicans will certainly make gains in the rural areas. This is to be expected, first, because of the general post-war reaction against the Administration. Gripes and complaints have accumulated here as elsewhere in the nation, and personal inconveniences apparently are going to weigh more in the polling places than considerations of high policy. There is anger at the OPA. And an almost unreasoning antipathy to organized labor has beeen aroused by the post-war strikes.

Further, President Truman's own stock has gone down in his home state. This was clearly indicated by a survey conducted by the St. Louis *Star-Times* and described in *The Nation* last April. The President's handling of the Wallace affair seems to have intensified the decline. While there was precious little sympathy for Mr. Wallace in rural Missouri, a good deal of displeasure was expressed over the way Mr. Truman first approved of the Madison Square Garden speech and then repudiated it, and first announced that Mr. Wallace would remain in the Cabinet and then suddenly called for his resignation.

The "purging" of Representative Slaughter in the Fifth District may prove to have been even more damaging to the interests of the party. While the President won this fight, he paid a heavy price. He aroused the hostility of party regulars, and Mr. Hannegan did little to placate their injured feelings when he visited Jefferson City to make the keynote speech at the Democratic state convention.

The latest and perhaps most serious result of the Slaughter purge is the charge that voting frauds figured in the victory of his opponent, Enos Axtell. It was no help to the party outside Kansas City for Mr. Axtell to have the support of what is left of the Pendergast machine, and this handicap has now been immeasurably increased by evidence of ghost-voting and other irregularities in at least three Pendergast precincts. The Kansas City election board has admitted the validity of some of the evidence, and the facts have been placed before the federal district attorney and Attorney General Clark. Since former District Attorney Maurice Milligan was able to smash the old Pendergast machine by means of vote-fraud prosecutions, it will do no good to try to sidestep the mess by expressing doubts about federal jurisdiction. The best thing to do now is to push through an investigation as speedily as possible so that the voters

may know before Election Day how extensive the frauds were and what effect they had on the Slaughter-Axtell contest.

Whether this latest severe blow to the Democrats' hopes will sting them into making a vigorous fight is hard to say. The party has been losing ground in Missouri at least since 1940. True, it was able to elect the present Governor in the last Presidential year, but it was too badly divided to hold on to Bennett Champ Clark's Senate seat. Thus the Democrats were slipping in Missouri at the very moment that Harry Truman came into national prominence at the Chicago convention. Years of coat-tail riding followed by years of short patronage rations have left the party machinery in bad disrepair. So far this year the organizing and the campaigning have been little better than lethargic. Naturally, the National Committee is expected to make a special effort in Missouri, but it has not yet given many signs of it.

These general considerations show what Senator Frank P. Briggs must overcome if he is to go back to Washington. His hope lies largely in his own strength. He is publisher of a Macon newspaper and is favorably known throughout the state by reason of his service in the legislature. His voting record in the Senate is a good one. He is honest, forthright, and progressive. While he may not have been the greatest figure on Capitol Hill, he towers head and shoulders over his Republican opponent, James P. Kem, a Kansas City corporation lawyer. In his campaign speeches Briggs has taken an unequivocal stand on all major issues. He has not even played down his support of the OPA in the rural areas where it is unpopular. He has been friendly toward labor, but since he felt compelled to support the President in the Wallace affair it is hard to say how enthusiastically the P. A. C. will work for him. Indeed, it looks as if the C. I. O. would not be nearly so great a force in the forthcoming elections as it was two years ago. There is reason to believe that many labor voters as well as regular Democrats will stay away from the polls in November. If this happens, Senator Briggs will be replaced by an ultra-conservative Republican of small caliber who will probably do little more in Washington than wheeze about Communists—the chief item in his campaign stock.

As for the Congressional contests, only four seem fairly safe for the Democrats. The Fourth District (Kansas City) is likely to return C. Jasper Bell to the House. The Tenth District (in the boot-heel) is almost sure to reelect Orville Zimmerman. Clarence Cannon—no progressive—probably will win again in the Ninth, and in the Thirteenth (St. Louis), so long and so well represented by Jack Cochran, the chances are that his secretary, Frank Karsten, will succeed him.

The most liberal member of the present Missouri delegation, Representative John B. Sullivan, faces threatening opposition in the Eleventh District (St. Louis). He is running against a young Republican ex-service man, Claude Bakewell, who is sure to get strong support in a district which includes much of the city's Negro section as well as its wealthy West End. Another Democrat with a straight Administration voting record, A. S. J. Carnahan, is also in a hard fight in the Eighth District, where he is opposed by an aggressive Republican—Parke J. Banta. Further to darken Democratic prospects, the charges of election frauds in Kansas City have increased the possibility that Albert L. Reeves, Jr., may win over Axtell in the Fifth. Indeed, the only district in which the Democrats seem to have any chance at all to make a gain is the Second, and even there the Republican incumbent, Max Schwabe, probably has a winning edge over his opponent, William L. Nelson, Jr.

Caricature by Seligson

Senator Briggs

On the other hand, at least five Republican incumbents seem to be assured of reelection. They are S. W. Arnold in the First District, William C. Cole in the Third, Marion T. Bennett in the Sixth, the perennially obnoxious Dewey Short in the Seventh, and Walter C. Ploeser in the Twelfth (St. Louis). Ploeser is the chief hate of the C. I. O., but there is no getting away from the fact that he represents the conservative views of most of his constituents in the suburbs of St. Louis County and on the city's South Side. While he is the target of more denunciations than probably any other man in Missouri, the Democrats have never been able to find a strong candidate to oppose him.

Since Congressional elections are local affairs and are governed by local considerations, especially in non-Presidential years, the general conditions outlined in this article will not exert equal force in every district. Many of the contests look close, and a vigorous drive to get out a big vote could make the results more favorable to the Democrats than they now promise to be. Through his own strength and character Senator Briggs may be able to rise above the fortunes of his party. But a survey made more than a month before Election Day points unmistakably to the conclusion that disorganization and apathy, added to exasperation with the Administration, will bring a repudiation of the President and his party in his home state of Missouri.

Fascism, Philippine Style

BY R. F. MILLON

II

THE Philippines today, one year after the war, are in ruins. War damages were estimated by former President Osmeña at $1,000,000,000. Industrial losses include 6 per cent of sugar production, 5 per cent of cocoanut-oil production, 70 per cent of mining, 70 per cent of shipping facilities, and 60 per cent of land transportation. The great bulk of the people live in conditions which in the United States would be described as abject poverty. The pre-war national economy was completely geared to export trade. Ninety-eight per cent of all production except locally consumed rice and fish is for export; 95 per cent of that export trade is with the United States.

Against this background recent developments can be more readily understood. At the request of Paul McNutt, and with the concurrence of President Truman, Congress passed the Philippines Trade Act and the Philippines Rehabilitation Act in April of this year. Both measures were enacted with the professed purpose of aiding the Philippines. Actually, neither bill furnishes immediate aid. The Trade Act provides for the restoration of the pre-war dominance of American vested interests in the Philippines and its perpetuation for twenty-eight years; the Rehabilitation Act contains a stipulation that the Philippines cannot receive the act's principal benefits unless they accept the Trade Act.

If the Trade Act had not been passed, all Philippine exports to the United States would have been subject to full duties as provided in the Independence Act of 1934. There was thus a clear necessity for legislation of some sort to aid the Philippine economy, which had been totally dependent on the United States for more than forty years. When the United States first granted the Philippines preferential trade rights the result was the artificial stimulation of the sugar, cocoanut-oil, hemp, and tobacco export industries and the stifling of Filipino industry for the home market. Raw materials were siphoned into the United States; American manufactured goods flooded the Islands. Since immediate severance of economic ties with the United States would have been injurious, it was thought the Philippines would be forced to accept the proposed act with all its one-sided restrictions.

McNutt pushed the Trade Act through the American Congress by going to Washington and lobbying for it. In the Philippines Roxas, after purging his Congress of a large number of opposition members, has finally obtained approval of the measure, and the act now goes before the people in a plebiscite. Bitter opposition is expected from the Nacionalista Party and the Democratic Alliance, which includes the Hukbalahap, the famous war-time guerrilla organization, but the Roxas machine will probably get the necessary majority vote since it controls the election machinery and the counting of the ballots.

The provisions of the act are almost unbelievably harsh and one-sided. Philippine exports are to enter the United States under a quota system. American exports to the Philippines are to have *no* restrictions placed on them and can therefore continue to flood the Islands. Trade will be free until 1954. From 1954 to 1974 duties increase yearly, until the full duty is paid. Pre-war (1940) exporters of products to the Philippines will retain the right to ship the same proportionate amount until 1974. At the Senate Finance Committee hearing on the bill Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton stated that its provisions will force the Filipinos "to give American citizens special rights which we cannot give to Philippine citizens. Moreover, the bill ties the hands of the Philippine government in allocating quotas for certain products. Not only does this deprive the Philippine government of a sovereign prerogative, but it has the effect of giving pre-war producers a virtual monopoly for twenty-eight years of most important Philippine exports. It would enable them to prevent the investment of capital by new American industries, and new Philippine producers would not be able to compete freely in their own country. These provisions should be eliminated."

For the next twenty-eight years American citizens will have equal rights with Philippine citizens in the development of the Islands' natural resources. Filipinos, it goes without saying, receive no reciprocal rights in this country. The new republic will be unable to use its own wealth to develop its industries and will continue in effect to be a colonial source of raw materials for the United States and an assured, controlled market for our manufactured goods. To top it all off, the sorely needed

R. F. MILLON spent eighteen months in the Philippines as an officer at General MacArthur's headquarters, engaged principally in the detection and exposure of collaborators in the Philippine army. The first part of his article was printed in the issue of September 21.

funds provided by the Rehabilitation Act will not be made available until the Trade Act is ratified by the Philippine Congress. A more brazen attempt at blackmail could hardly be conceived.

The American embassy is now reported to be pressing for extra-territorial rights for American troops in the Philippines and for title to vast tracts of land in the public domain for use as possible future bases. The grant of either would seriously impair Philippine sovereignty. Bitter opposition to these latest McNutt proposals is reported in the Islands.

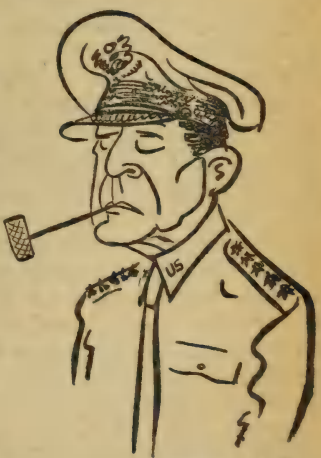
After the election in April Roxas had a thirteen-to-ten majority in the Senate, not a very comfortable one, for under the old rules still in force sixteen men constitute a quorum. His first move in his fight to force the Trade Act through Congress was to have the Senate declare that in the four provinces of central Luzon dominated by the Hukbalahap the elections were invalid, since the Electoral Commission in its report had stated that frauds *may* have been committed there. Without any investigation and in absolute violation of the law which states that only an electoral tribunal may remove Representatives from public office, the Roxas majority, without a quorum, voted to refuse to seat opposition Senators Diokno (now in New York), Vera, and Romero. This done, the House, where Roxas held a sixty-to-thirty-nine majority, ejected the seven Hukbalahap Representatives but seated the lone Roxas man elected by the voters of the same four provinces. Among those expelled was Luis Taruc.

In my first article I exposed Roxas's collaborationist past. That he has not changed his spots is shown by the fact that the man he has appointed as his official secretary, third in succession to the Presidency under Philippine law, is Emilio Abello, who held the same position under puppet President Laurel during the Japanese occupation. Moreover, many leading collaborators, though they had already been indicted for treason by the People's Court, were on the grandstand as guests of Roxas when he took his oath of office. And Teofilo Sison, convicted of treason by the People's Court but free on bail pending disposition of his appeal before the Supreme Court, was present as an honored guest at the Independence Ball held in the President's palace.

Early in August former "President" Laurel and Jorge B. Vargas, the puppet government's ambassador to Japan, were returned to the Philippines from Tokyo by order of General MacArthur, after having been imprisoned for almost a year by the American authorities in Japan. These two men, whose guilt is so clear that they were to have been tried as war criminals in Tokyo, who were accused by Solicitor General Lorenzo Tanada last March of treason on 131 and 115 counts, respectively, are today asking for pardon under a general amnesty, and their appeal is being strongly supported by the Roxas press. Laurel, in his application for release on bail, has clearly shown what his defense will be if he is brought to trial; it will be based on the embarrassing fact that if he, Laurel, is guilty of treason, then so is President Roxas. Tanada, who for the past year has been chief prosecutor of all treason cases coming under the jurisdiction of the People's Court and who was Solicitor General in the Osmeña Cabinet, has retained both posts under the Roxas regime. Attacked by the anti-collaborationist element for remaining in the now collaboration-ridden government and by the collaborators for insisting on bringing many of them to trial, he has come out with a forthright declaration that Laurel and Vargas must be tried for treason. The chances of a general amnesty, however, are very favorable, for Roxas has no reason to believe that the United States government would offer objections.

The Hukbalahap is now disbanded as a military organization, existing only as the Hukbalahap Veterans' Association, but it is still being subjected to a ruthless campaign of suppression by violence and terror, ostensibly because of its lawlessness, actually because it has agitated for agrarian reforms and civil liberties and because some of its leaders are Communists. An Associated Press dispatch of last June clearly indicated the character of the campaign:

> The military police command, Philippine army, today characterized published stories of a major robbery raid on Pantabagan, Nueva Ecija, as "entirely false." Investigation disclosed that reports that 300 heavily armed Hukbalahaps had disarmed municipal policemen, terrorized townsfolk, and made off with rice, clothing, jewelry, money, and livestock were completely baseless. . .
>
> The report is one of a series of similar stories emanating from Nueva Ecija which investigation by American correspondents has shown were entirely fabricated. Apparently deliberate efforts to stigmatize the Hukbalahaps are being made within the province by persons with access to official stationery, or who have forged it. Some of the reports have reached Manila newspaper offices apparently documented by official reports.



Caricature by Seligson

MacArthur

While many stories of Huk "lawlessness" have ap-

peared in the American press, this dispatch denying the stories received little emphasis.

The recently announced "settlement" of the agrarian problem has turned out to be a betrayal of the peasant forces. During the truce agreed on by the Military Police and the Hukbalahap Roxas promised the peasants a considerably larger share of the crop than they received before the war—but less than that guaranteed by former President Osmeña last year. The promise was accepted in good faith by the Huk leaders and transmitted to the people. Since then the Roxas government has flagrantly violated the truce, and virtually open warfare has broken out. Skirmishes involving as many as five or six hundred men on each side have been reported. The Roxas promise about division of the crop developed into a weak recommendation that Congress act in the matter. But Congress adjourned without action. The Roxas drive for forcibly imposed "peace and order" is now in full swing. Juan Feleo, leader of the National Peasants' Union, has been kidnapped and murdered. This outrage provoked Taruc, idol of his people, to issue a bitter denunciation of the Roxas double-dealing and to sever all ties with the government. According to latest reports he has been wounded in the leg in a clash between M. P. forces and a Huk detachment. Recently M. P.'s surrounded two villages in central Luzon and bombarded them with mortar fire, killing many women and children as well as men—because the inhabitants were suspected of harboring Huks.

With a President bent on establishing a fascist state and crushing all opposition by terror, with an economy chained to that of the United States for twenty-eight years to the benefit of America and the detriment of the Philippines, with industry stifled for the same length of time, with the people oppressed and barely able to subsist, the future of the Islands is not bright. The United States is responsible for the situation and should do what it can to rectify it. Pressure should be exerted on President Truman for the prompt withdrawal of United States forces. Pressure should be exerted on the new Congress for the repeal of the restrictive provisions of the Trade Act, on the War Department to recognize officially the services of the Hukbalahap as a guerrilla organization during the period of the Japanese occupation, on the State Department to urge the trial of all "political" collaborators, especially Laurel and Vargas.

There is little time to lose. America's fast-fading prestige is at stake. In the words of former High Commissioner to the Philippines Francis Sayre (*Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1945): "The eyes of the world, and particularly of every people in Asia, are upon the Philippines. The measure of American influence for good in the Far East for years to come will depend largely upon the wisdom and sincerity of American conduct in the Philippines."

In the Wind

WE THE PEOPLE: In answering a recent poll by the University of Denver's National Opinion Research Center, only 21 per cent of the persons questioned said they had ever heard of the Bill of Rights.

OF THE UNITED STATES: Jeff Davis, king of the Hobos of America, Inc., has announced, in Chicago, that hobos are staying off the rods "as part of their patriotic activities in aiding reconversion."

IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION: Gerald L. K. Smith says in *The Cross and the Flag:* "Wheeler made a mistake. . . . He thought it was good politics to deny or mildly repudiate those of us who have been his friends and admirers through the years. . . . The repudiation of old friends who may have been smeared is bad politics. . . . Young, new, and fighting Nationalists realize that there is only one way to be a Nationalist, and that's all-out for your friends and supporters all the time."

ESTABLISH JUSTICE: Joe Louis Barrow has been ruled not acceptable as a candidate for inclusion in "Who's Who." James Joseph Tunney has been listed in that reference book since 1938.

INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY: The July issue of *Writer's Digest* carried an article advising authors on how to write for religious publications. Among other helpful hints, it advises authors specifically to avoid using:

evolution (as a word and as an idea)
social gospel (the idea and the word connected with it)
brotherhood of man (word and idea)
racial equality (word and idea)
tolerance (word and idea)

PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE: Two "colonels" in New Bern, North Carolina, have organized the Confederate Air Force.

PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE: A discharged American veteran living in Mexico City has applied to the Veterans' Administration for aid under the G. I. Bill of Rights to finance him in studying bullfighting.

AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY: An Associated Press dispatch reports that a churchman just returned from Europe told a recent W. C. T. U. convention that "America is on a 'lost weekend binge' which is imperiling its relations with Russia." He added that "a drunken America can't compete with a sober Russia."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The People's Front

WAR before the first snow falls," was the talk in certain circles a few months ago. Time has since disposed of that suggestion, and we may reasonably expect the first spring flowers to bloom in a world at peace. But if such rumors have subsided, one still hears—both privately and in public—many complacent comments on the decisive political efficiency of the atomic bomb.

There are many in this country who hold the view that since the differences between the political and economic systems of Russia and the West must sooner or later lead to conflict, it would be wiser to settle that conflict while the United States still has a monopoly of the bomb. The basic error in this argument is the notion that with the atomic bomb wars can be won by robots and push-buttons. In fact, the idea that a rain of atom bombs on Soviet territory would liquidate the whole hateful system in a matter of weeks—even atomic enthusiasts no longer speak in terms of hours—is pathetically naive. Professor N. F. Mott of Bristol University, chairman of the Atomic Scientists' Association formed recently in Britain, neatly demolished this conception when he said, "To call a spade a spade, the Red Army would not be stopped in its march on Calais." While I was in Moscow, I heard a young foreign diplomat say to a French colleague, "Well, if they bombed Moscow, the Russians would retreat to the Urals, and then to Siberia, and then to China." To which the Frenchman replied, "Yes, but what I'm afraid of is that they might also retreat toward Paris."

The problem, then, is not to bomb Russia into submission, but to bomb Europe and the Levant and the Far East as well. It will not be too easy. Better let the spring pass, just as the autumn is passing, and put off talk about war against Russia until summer when people are more relaxed.

Since James P. Warburg took the trouble of cabling to Germany to check the accuracy of my information (see his letter to the editors on page 454), I felt it would be only fair, both to him and to readers of *The Nation*, to meet his criticisms with equally substantial evidence. I therefore sent my article and his letter to the German friend from whom I obtained the greater part of the material in question. My informant, a former leading trade-union official, is as thoroughly familiar with the present situation in Germany as anyone could possibly be. Though he has lived abroad since Hitler came to power, the American and British occupation authorities have sought his assistance on very important missions of investigation, and he has spent much of the past year in Germany. He is a Socialist, close to Schumacher.

To take up the food problem first. I thought I had made it perfectly plain that I was discussing the distribution of food packages from abroad, not the official rationing system. Food packages—which, incidentally, were allowed to come into the American zone in April and into the British in July, and which have been sent not merely by individuals but by relief organizations and religious groups—mark the difference between relative comfort and near-starvation.

In his reply to my letter my German friend objects to the statement that "the Germans must support this party [the C. D. U.—Christian Democratic Union] if they want to eat." He thinks it would be more accurate to say that "the C. D. U. uses the food packages to build up its political position among the German people." He supports my charge that the church party largely controls the distribution of these packages. He says, in part: "Eighty per cent of these private food packages go to the church charity organizations; 10 per cent to the Socialist Workers' Welfare; and 10 per cent to other relief organizations." As further evidence, if any is needed, Landrum Bolling, writing from Berlin to the Overseas News Agency on September 12, reported: ". . . the entire distribution, from the top committee, which consists of Catholic and Evangelical functionaries but without a single health or welfare expert, down to local parishes, is in the hands of people who are more interested in advancing the interests of the institutions with which they are connected than in determining, objectively, the greatest need and distributing the limited supplies accordingly."

With the rest of my remarks—about the Colonel Blimps, and Hugenberg, and denazification—my German friend is in complete agreement, and I will gladly make available to Mr. Warburg or any other interested reader the full text on these points of his three-page, single-spaced letter. Regarding the Blimps I might cite as further corroboration the recent series published by the conservative Swiss *Journal de Genève* under the by-line of its Berlin correspondent, Georges Blum, who if anything is still more conservative. But just as conclusive is the dispatch from Frederick Kuh in *PM* of October 11 which described a secret memorandum from the British Commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein protesting against "the withdrawal of Britain's support from the German Social Democratic Party" and its backing of "the right-wing Christian Democratic Party." Kuh reports the Socialists as "bitter and disillusioned at the turn which Britain's attitude has taken."

And though Hugenberg is described by Mr. Warburg as "eighty-five and paralyzed" (he is actually eighty-one), his arrest on October 4 by order of the British indicates that he *has* been "active politically" and is not considered harmless; the details of his doings and those of his colleagues in the Conservative Party were reported day after day in the newspapers of France during July and August and are easily available to Mr. Warburg. As for denazification, I could quote here dozens of British and American reports of the increased use of Nazis in high places. One of the most recent appointments in the British zone is that of Fritz Busch to the post of Director of Railroads. Busch had been a member of the Nazi Party since 1933; I even know the number of his membership card—2,956,700.

DEL VAYO

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Trade Barriers Under Attack

THE most consistent and constructive aspect of American foreign policy in recent years has been its emphasis on the importance of loosening the chains which hamper the fruitful exchange of goods between nations. Much of the credit for this is due to Cordell Hull, who, whatever his shortcomings as Secretary of State, brought to his office in 1933 a lifelong passion for freedom of trade. His steady pursuit of this objective, however, would not have been possible without the backing of President Roosevelt, who shared his belief that the constriction of international commerce was inimical both to international peace and to national prosperity.

Throughout the war the Hull-Roosevelt team held steadily to the idea that the organization of the future peace would be incomplete, indeed impossible, unless it included provision for the abolition of economic warfare and the promotion of international economic cooperation on much more ambitious lines than had ever before been attempted. The Atlantic Charter and the Master Lend-Lease Agreements proclaimed the principles whose adoption they sought. UNRRA, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Fund and Bank, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations are some of the institutions which have been set up to translate these principles into practice.

Now the time has come for a direct attack on trade barriers of all description. Last February the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution calling for a conference of all member nations to establish an international trade organization and appointing a preparatory committee, consisting of the Big Five and fourteen other important trading nations, to make arrangements for such a conference. When that committee meets on October 15, it will have as a basis of discussion a "suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization" which was published by the State Department a few weeks ago.

The purpose of such an organization, this document declares, shall be: "In general, to promote national and international action for the expansion of the production, exchange, and consumption of goods, for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and for the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce." That covers a lot of ground—so much, in fact, that it is impossible for me to give even the barest summary of the provisions of the suggested charter. The complexity of the problems it tackles, however, can be suggested just by listing some of the subjects dealt with in one chapter under the heading General Commercial Policy. They include: general most-favored-nation treatment; freedom of transit; anti-dumping and countervailing duties; tariff valuations; marks of origin; reduction of tariffs and elimination of preferences; general elimination of quantitative restrictions; exchange controls; export subsidies; state trading; contractual relations with non-members. Other chapters set forth elaborate proposals for policing restrictive private-business practices—such as cartel operations—and for establishing intergovernmental commodity agreements.

The authors of this draft charter—a large, anonymous group of government experts—have approached their task in realistic fashion. They recognize that it would have been utopian to plan for universal free trade, since most countries, and the United States is no exception, are clearly determined to protect their producers from foreign competition. They recognize also that few if any countries are prepared to commit themselves irrevocably against the employment of such devices as import quotas and subsidies. What the charter seeks to achieve, therefore, is the adoption of rules which will insure against arbitrary action by any member of the organization of a kind that will prove harmful to the interests of one or more of its fellow-members. Again, while the charter in no way prohibits countries from imposing tariffs, it does obligate signatories to enter on request into negotiations for reciprocal tariff reductions with other countries belonging to the organization. Above all, the charter seeks to end discrimination, for protective devices are doubly evil when they impinge with unequal force on the trade of different countries. Consequently all commercial agreements or treaties conforming to the charter will have to include most-favored-nation clauses extending their benefits to all members of the organization.

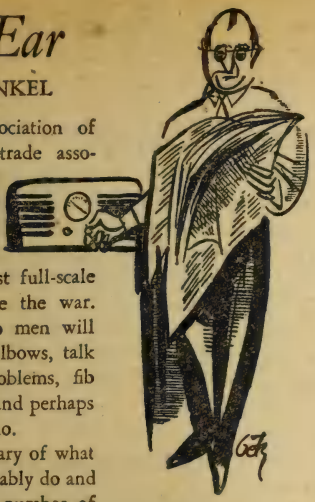
Another realistic feature of the State Department document is its treatment of state trading. It recognizes that while business in this country will probably continue to be conducted mainly by private enterprise, in other countries there is a strong trend toward the nationalization of industry and trade. A charter that sought to block state trading would be completely unacceptable to a large part of the world. On the other hand, a charter which did not provide safeguards against the use of state-trading operations as a substitute for tariffs would be unfair to the private-enterprise countries. For a country which maintained a state import monopoly of, say, steel would be in a position to protect its domestic industry by jacking up prices for the imported material. Therefore the charter provides that in such cases the margins between buying and selling prices shall be subject to negotiation as if they were tariffs. Further, member countries which engage in state trading will be obligated to do business on commercial lines, buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market.

In drafting this charter the State Department consulted representatives of other countries, several of which, including Britain and France, have expressed approval of the general principles on which it is based. However, it is not to be expected that the charter will enjoy a smooth passage either in the preparatory committee or in the full conference scheduled to meet next year. One source of opposition is likely to be the fears of undeveloped nations, such as India, that their industrialization plans will be stunted unless they have a free hand to protect new enterprises. More serious is Soviet disapproval of the whole conception of multilateral trade which the charter is designed to promote. This, however, raises issues which will have to be discussed on another occasion.

KEITH HUTCHISON

In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL



THE National Association of Broadcasters, the trade association of radio, will convene at the Palmer House in Chicago next week (October 21 through 24) for its first full-scale convention since before the war. More than 1,500 radio men will have a chance to rub elbows, talk over their common problems, fib about their golf scores, and perhaps do something about radio.

Here is a brief summary of what the convention will probably do and of some things that a number of radio men would like to see it do.

The broadcasters will struggle with the annual headache of switching from daylight-saving to standard time and back again. Radio programs are sent across country via telephone lines, which brings them from one time zone into another. Thus when people in New York hear Jack Benny at 7 p.m., the listeners in Los Angeles get the program at 3. When daylight-saving time comes around, radio reshuffles its program time so that Jack Benny may still be heard at 7 in New York. Many people in the industry object. But the present system will probably be continued.

Radio men will also battle over the doings of their Broadcast Measurement Bureau, radio's version of an official circulation-measuring unit—what the newspaper publishers call their Audit Bureau of Circulation. They will pat themselves on the back for finally reaching an agreement with the advertising agencies on a standard form of time contract and a standard rate card. And finally they will take up the Federal Communications Commission's "Blue Book" on radio's responsibility to the public.

Everyone will accuse the others of committing the sins that have brought down on all the wrath of the commission. When they get around to doing something, they will amend the anemic broadcasters' code to cut the amount of time now devoted to commercial plugs. Currently the rule of thumb calls for three minutes of commercials on each daytime quarter-hour and each evening half-hour. Since the code has no enforcement teeth the violations are fairly frequent. And since the convention is not likely to put teeth into it, the proposed cuts—of 20 per cent in daytime and 10 per cent in night-time plugs—will give the industry a chance to don sackcloth and ashes for the effect on the listener without curtailing its income.

Unfortunately, an agreement to cut the length of the commercial plug does nothing to improve its content or quality. Nor does it apply to the spot announcement. Radio men of vision are convinced that the spot announcement is the worst thing in radio today. Yet they have no hope that the N. A. B. will do anything to eradicate the evil.

The listener is continually plagued by spot announcements. One comes at the start of a commercial program—this is the cowcatcher; one at the tail end of the program—this is the hitchhike; and one at the station break—at this point the network station in your town sneaks in a local spot announcement between two network programs.

Enlightened executives say that with 60,000,000 radio sets in the country, ownership has reached the saturation point. But, they add, the sets-in-use figures for 1945 showed only 16.6 per cent of the sets being used during the daytime, that is, before 6 p.m., and 27.7 per cent during the evening hours (these figures are the average for the year). Therefore, they say, the way to increase radio's audience is by getting people to listen more often. The networks and the advertisers of network programs believe that their output is as good as they can make it. So there must be something else out of kilter to keep so many people away from their radio sets. And that something, these men reason, is the spot-announcement plague.

They would like the industry to educate the local station operator not to sell spots to the local advertiser. Stations sell and local merchants buy these spots on the assumption that they are the cheapest thing that will do the selling job. This, say the big-time entrepreneurs, was true at one time, but now the local spot is sandwiched in between a hitchhike and a cowcatcher and simply irritates an already irritated listener. If you consider that local radio income in 1945 was about $175,000,000 and that most of this income came from spot announcements, you will realize how many spots there are.

Local stations, instead of selling spots, should be peddling quarter-hour programs. Radio men who have studied the situation say the average one-minute spot, on the local level, costs about one-third of the local quarter-hour program rate. If the local station sold the merchant a fifteen-minute program, the sponsor would get his three minutes of commercial time, would make a better impression on the listener, and would have a program that could be merchandised and used to increase his prestige; most important of all, the ear of the radio audience would not be disgusted.

Until radio executives can convince the industry association that the spot problem must be solved—and they have not done it this year—no relief can be expected. Not unless you, the listener, complain.

LOU FRANKEL is continuity director of Station WHCU of Cornell. His page appears each week.

WORTH HEARING

FRED ALLEN (NBC, Sundays). One of radio's top humorists even though the first program, with Lowell Thomas and H. V. Kaltenborn as guests, did not measure up.

LAGUARDIA (ABC, Sundays). Interesting even when, as sometimes happens, he has nothing to say.

OZZIE AND HARRIET (CBS, Sundays). Suburban America at home, even to the moppets, and fine comedy too.

LUX RADIO THEATER (CBS, Mondays). Commercial radio at its most efficient advertising level. A long-time favorite and a good example of radio as "the peepul" like it.

BESSIE BEATTY (WOR, New York, daily). The first of the Mr. and Mrs. programs and still the best.

Between the Porch and the Altar

I

Mother and Son

Meeting his mother makes him lose ten years,
Or is it twenty? Time, no doubt, has ears
That listen to the swallowed serpent, wound
Into its bowels, but he thinks no sound
Is possible before her, he thinks the past
Is settled. It is honest to hold fast
Merely to what one sees with one's own eyes
When the red velvet curves and haunches rise
To blot him from the pretty driftwood fire's
Façade of welcome. Then the son retires
Into the sack and selfhood of the boy
Who clawed through fallen houses of his Troy,
Homely and human only when the flames
Crackle in recollection. Nothing shames
Him more than this uncoiling, counterfeit
Body presented as an idol. It
Is something in a circus, big as life,
The painted dragon, a mother and a wife
With flat glass eyes pushed at him on a stick;
The human mover crawls to make them click.
The forehead of her father's portrait peels
With rosy dryness, and the schoolboy kneels
To ask the benediction of the hand,
Lifted as though to motion him to stand,
Dangling its watch-chain on the Holy Book—
A little golden snake that mouths a hook.

II

Adam and Eve

The Farmer sizzles on his shaft all day.
He is content and centuries away
From white-hot Concord, and he stands on guard.
Or is he melting down like sculptured lard?
His hand is crisp and steady on the plow.
I quarreled with you, but am happy now
To while away my life for your unrest
Of terror. Never to have lived is best;
Man tasted Eve with death. I taste my wife
And children while I hold your hands. I knife
Their names into this elm. What is exempt?
I eye the statue with an awed contempt
And see the puritanical façade
Of white church that Irish exiles made
For Patrick—that Colonial from Rome
Had magicked the charmed serpents from their home,
As though he were the Piper. Will his breath
Scorch the red dragon of my nerves to death?
By sundown we are on a shore. You walk
A little way before me and I talk,
Half to myself and half aloud. They lied,
My cold-eyed seedy fathers when they died,
Or rather threw their lives away, to fix
Sterile, forbidding nameplates on the bricks
Above a kettle. Jesus rest their souls!
You cry for help. Your market-basket rolls
With all its baking apples in the lake.
You watch the whorish slither of a snake
That chokes a duckling. When we try to kiss,
Our eyes are slits and cringing, and we hiss;
Scales glitter on our bodies as we fall.
The Farmer melts upon his pedestal.

III

Katherine's Dream

It must have been a Friday. I could hear
The top-floor typist's thunder and the beer
That you had brought in cases hurt my head;
I'd sent the pillows flying from my bed,
I hugged my knees together and I gasped.
The dangling telephone receiver rasped
Like someone in a dream who cannot stop
For breath or logic till his victim drop
To darkness and the sheets. I must have slept,
But still could hear my father who had kept
Your guilty presents but cut off my hair.
He whispers that he really doesn't care
If I am your kept woman all my life,
Or ruin your two children and your wife;
But my dishonor makes him drink. Of course
I'll tell the court the truth for his divorce.
I walk through snow into St. Patrick's yard.
Black nuns with glasses smile and stand on guard
Before a bulkhead in a bank of snow,
Whose charred doors open, as good people go
Inside by twos to the confessor. One
Must have a friend to enter there, but none
Is friendless in this crowd, and the nuns smile.
I stand aside and marvel; for a while
The winter sun is pleasant and it warms
My heart with love for others, but the swarms
Of penitents have dwindled. I begin
To cry and ask God's pardon of our sin.
Where are you? You were with me and are gone.
All the forgiven couples hurry on
To dinner and their nights, and none will stop.
I run about in circles till I drop
Against a padlocked bulkhead in a yard
Where faces redden and the snow is hard.

IV

At the Altar

I sit at a gold table with my girl
Whose eyelids burn with brandy. What a whirl
Of Easter eggs is colored by the lights,

Current fiction

Letty Fox HER LUCK

By CHRISTINA STEAD

A brilliant novel about young women in these years of change. "These were the facts, Miss Stead seems to say; this is the way millions of girls live and speak and love today, and these are the reasons for it."—SATURDAY REVIEW. *$3.50*

The Bitter Season

ROBERT M. COATES tells the story of a civilian in wartime. An honest novel, written with tenderness and understanding. *$2.50*

The Iron Chain

EDWARD NEWHOUSE'S short stories have a power and warmth that give the reader complete understanding of the people he writes about. This collection, mostly from *The New Yorker*, amply displays his fine writing talent. *$2.50*

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As the Norwegian dancer's crystalled tights
Flash with her naked leg's high-booted skate,
Like Northern Lights upon my watching plate.
The twinkling steel above me is a star;
I am a fallen Christmas tree. Our car
Races through seven red-lights—then the road
Is unpatrolled and empty, and a load
Of ply-wood with a tail-light makes us slow.
I turn and whisper in her ear. You know
I want to leave my children and my wife,
You wouldn't have me tied to them for life . . .
Time runs, the windshield runs with stars. The past
Is cities from a train, until at last
Its escalating and black-windowed blocks
Recoil against a Gothic church. The clocks
Are tolling. I am dying. The shocked stones
Are falling like a ton of bricks and bones
That snap and splinter and descend in glass
Before a priest who mumbles through his Mass
And sprinkles holy water; and the Day
Breaks with its lightning on the man of clay,
Dies amara valde. Here the Lord
Is Lucifer in harness: hand on sword,
He watches me for Mother, and will turn
The bier and baby-carriage where I burn.

ROBERT LOWELL

Signs of the Times

AN INCREASING number of American intellectuals are reading—and being influenced by—Professor Arnold J. Toynbee's monumental work "A Study of History," of which six volumes, of a projected nine, have so far been published (Oxford University Press, Volumes I, II, III, 1934, $17.50; Volumes IV, V, and VI, 1939, $23). This is not surprising. The work has many solid merits, and its very scope and form are stimulating and exciting to a generation of historians brought up in an arid tradition of academic specialization. Moreover, in a time when the interconnectedness of the world's continents and cultures is both more real and more apparent than ever before, and when serious scholars leave the larger problems of history and politics to quacks and columnists, it is altogether natural that so distinguished a work on universal history as Toynbee's should be eagerly read and deeply pondered.

The merits of Toynbee will be immediately obvious to the reader, so much so, indeed, that they may entirely blind him to its weaknesses. For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with his work I should like to quote a distinguished scholar whose opinion carries more weight than mine possibly could. Reviewing the first three volumes of "A Study of History," M. M. Postan, professor of economic history at Cambridge University, had the following to say (the *Sociological Review*, January, 1936):

> The infinite wealth of fact and allusion creates a pattern as intricate and a texture as rich as those of an Oriental carpet. There is no subject in history which it does not touch, and for every subject it touches it gives a complete summary of the present position in scientific discussion. . . . Professor Toynbee possesses the gifts of a truly great encyclopedist, of a Diderot or a D'Alembert, for he is capable of holding and giving out essential information while pursuing an argument. It matters not that on some topics the information is slightly out of focus, or that on others the present state of knowledge is too nebulous and too yielding to be even summarized with impunity by men with a philosophical purpose. What is important is that for the first time the essentials of modern knowledge in every imaginable field of history and archaeology have been set out by a man capable of comprehending and handling them.

This is high praise indeed, but it is amply justified. It is astonishing how much information Toynbee has packed into the six volumes which have so far been published. Professional historians will be delighted with the range and meticulous accuracy of his scholarship, while the layman will find that almost every page contributes to the enrichment of knowledge and understanding. Nearly everyone has at one time or another heard about or read references to a great number of historical figures and events without having more than the vaguest idea of their background and significance. It is this fact more than anything else, I suppose, which makes Toynbee such fascinating and rewarding reading. Time and again one feels that these odd bits of half-knowledge suddenly emerge from obscurity, assume a lifelike form, and fall into their proper historical frame of reference. The reader of "A Study of History" experiences all the satisfactions of the traveler who finally visits cities and countries which have hitherto remained unreal abstractions. Moreover, the work is written in so graceful a style and with such a wealth of metaphor and allusion that it deserves to rank high as a literary product in its own right.

Dwelling on the merits of such a work as this, however, is not particularly useful except in so far as it induces people to read it, and I hope I have made it quite clear that "A Study of History" is well worth all the time and attention which it requires. The rest of this article, therefore, will be devoted to a critical analysis of the work, which I hope may assist those who are persuaded to read it to a just appreciation of Toynbee's contribution as a whole.

Toynbee's method, reduced to its barest essentials, is to treat Hellenic (Graeco-Roman) "civilization" as an archetype to which all other civilizations, past and present, are assumed to conform with more or less fidelity. This results in the establishment of a theoretical schema—expressed in such concepts as birth, growth, breakdown, disintegration, creative and dominant minorities, internal and external proletariats, universal states, universal churches, etc.—which is used for the purpose of bringing form and meaning into a vast collection of data from all lands and all ages.

There are numerous objections to this procedure, of which only the most important can be mentioned in a brief review. Toynbee nowhere defines a civilization, and his practice in delimiting particular civilizations is essentially arbitrary. It follows that the historical uniformities which he believes he has discovered by empirical means are in reality imposed upon his materials from without. If he had sought to define a social system—using the term in the scientific sense of a whole of which the parts are interrelated in a definite and

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ascertainable way—and if he had tried to identify a number of historical social systems, he would have discovered much more diversity than uniformity. It is this lack of appreciation of historical diversity, with its roots in different social systems existing in different environments and with different means at their disposal, which constitutes the cardinal weakness of Toynbee's work.

This weakness comes out most clearly when we consider the present as history, as Toynbee frequently does. Looking at the world around us through the spectacles provided by Toynbee's theory, we see a Western civilization, which has already spread its tentacles into the farthest corners of the earth and is in the process of overcoming or absorbing its surviving rivals, tearing itself to pieces in a crescendo of fratricidal strife. Will this process lead to a knockout blow by which one great power, emulating the example of Rome, will vanquish its enemies and establish a Western universal state? Such an outcome, in Toynbee's view, would be but a temporary respite. No more than in the days of the Roman Empire could a world conqueror of our time save civilization from disintegration and dissolution. Since, however, the theory allows of no alternative course, Toynbee is impelled by logic and emotion alike to look to divine intervention for salvation. He hopes and prays for "Western Christendom" to be "given grace to be born again as the *Respublica Christiana* which is its own earlier and better ideal of what it should strive to be" (Vol. V, p. 194). The last two volumes, written as the storm clouds of war gathered on the horizon, are increasingly occupied with this theme.

The flaw in Toynbee's reasoning is not hard to discover. A prisoner of his own theory, he is quite unable to appreciate the vast changes which capitalism—a scientifically accurate designation for our dominant Western social system—has wrought during the last four hundred years, or to understand the significance of the emergence of socialism as an actually functioning rival social system. Under present-day conditions a theory distilled from the experience of the ancient Mediterranean world is for the most part irrelevant and therefore entirely misleading.

Capitalism's achievements in the realm of science and industry have laid the foundation for an integration into one body social of all existing "civilizations" and of all remaining barbarians as well. Nomadism, once such a powerful historical force, is rapidly disappearing and with it the "external proletariats" which play an important role in all Toynbee's dramas. Science and industry, once again, have altered the social basis of religion. There is no longer any ground on which to build Universal Churches preaching new Higher Religions; nor, sad to relate, is there any prospect that *organized* Christianity will ever play a constructive role again. Higher Religions and Universal Churches were proletarian—in Toynbee's sense of the word—creations at a time when the objective possibility of abolishing the proletarian status did not exist. Today, for the first time in history, that possibility does exist, and the proletariat has reacted by building a socialist movement which is secular in both spirit and aim. It is highly significant that precisely in those parts of the world where the proletarian status of the masses is most extreme and least endurable, people turn to socialism, not to religion, for salvation. Finally, the burning question which we face today is not whether "Western civilization" can be saved from its own suicidal folly, but whether a capitalist social system which has lost its creative power and is rapidly barbarizing its own children can be replaced by a rational socialist order in time to save the fruits of all the civilizations which have flourished on the face of the earth in the past six thousand years.

When we see that Toynbee's theory fails when applied to the present we are naturally led to ask whether he has not, after all, been off on a false trail in dealing with the past; and the answer is surely yes. The true purpose of a study of history should be to discover and analyze and illustrate the inner laws of social change and development. Had Toynbee been pursuing this purpose he must have rejected from the outset the disastrous doctrine of the "philosophic contemporaneity" of all civilizations, and he must have concentrated on problems of variety and development rather than on the supposedly uniform life cycle of members of a single unchanging species. What we want to know from the historian—as distinct from the antiquarian—is how we came to be where we are and what we are today; and Toynbee's contributions to the solution of this problem, however substantial in volume, are essentially incidental.

If space were available, it would be worth while to examine in detail Toynbee's treatment of a number of important historical topics in order to demonstrate how his failure to identify and analyze specific social systems gives rise to false problems and leads to erroneous conclusions. The bare mention of two examples, however, will have to suffice.

One of the most important—and also most neglected—problems in the history of the entire civilized world right up to the opening of the modern period is the repeated eruptions of nomads from the Eurasian and Afrasian steppes into the territories of the surrounding agricultural societies. It is altogether to Toynbee's credit that he fully recognizes the importance of the problem, and his catalogue of nomad eruptions (presented in an Annex to Vol. III) is a magnificent piece of historical research. But his treatment of the causes of the phenomenon is vitiated by a failure to analyze (a) the social structure of nomadism, and (b) the normal relations between nomad and neighboring sedentary societies. As a result he is driven to adopt the quite unsubstantiated and equally unnecessary hypothesis of periodic climatic changes as the cause of nomad eruptions. His procedure is like that of those economists who, having described the wholly social phenomena of the business cycle, sought an explanation in the wholly non-social realm of sunspots. Toynbee adopts this course because he believes that nomadism is really a "society without a history," which is incapable of internal development and change. Anyone wishing to convince himself of the untenability of this view need only consult the brilliant studies of nomadism contained in Owen Lattimore's "Inner Asian Frontiers of China."

In an entirely different field, we find Toynbee categorically rejecting what he calls the "customary" view that "in the eastern portion of the Theodosian heritage the Roman Empire survived until A. D. 1453" (Vol. IV, p. 328) and building up instead the theory that a new Orthodox Chris-

tian civilization came into being side by side with a Western Christian civilization in the main European domains of the Roman Empire, and that the two societies "are sister growths whose relation to the Hellenic Society is manifestly identical" (Vol. V, p. 6). This theory, however, poses a great riddle: how account for the glaring contrast between a powerful centralized empire in the East which never lost its firm grip on the Orthodox church, and the flimsy Holy Roman Empire in the West which was actually the creature of the church and which committed suicide in the process of trying to win its independence? Toynbee explains the paradox by saying that Leo the Syrian, in turning back the onslaughts of the Arabs, successfully evoked a "ghost of the Roman Empire" in the East; while Charlemagne's attempt to perform the same political feat two generations later in the West proved to be a fiasco. The explanation is unquestionably ingenious, but even a slight acquaintance with the economic and social history of the period is sufficient to reveal its superficiality. The political and administrative structure of the Roman Empire rested upon an urban trading economy with the Mediterranean as its axis and lifeline. The decline of the empire in the West meant the decay of the inland provincial cities; and the interruption of Mediterranean trade, first by the Vandal pirates and finally by the Arabs, gave the coup de grâce to trade and urban life alike. By the time of Charlemagne the objective conditions necessary for a strong centralized state simply did not exist in the West, and they did not again appear until the revival of commerce and cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By contrast, Constantinople remained throughout the entire period a large city even by present-day standards and the hub of a flourishing eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea trade. The continuity of the Roman Empire in the East is indeed more than a dynastic will-o'-the-wisp.

If Toynbee had taken account of such simple facts of economic and social structure as these, he could have often saved himself much unnecessary effort; and his theories would have gained in solidity what they lost in novelty.

I have tried to point out what are, from a scientific standpoint, the chief defects of "A Study of History." It is equally appropriate, and perhaps no less rewarding, to examine the work as a manifestation of the intellectual climate of which it is a product. Really valuable works on universal history are not an everyday occurrence, and those rare groups or individuals who achieve success in this exacting field seem to exemplify and express to an altogether unusual degree the significant intellectual trends of their own milieu and period. Thus the Encyclopedists have come to be regarded as the arch-representatives of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment; Buckle's "History of Civilization," incomplete as it is, is a monument to the strengths and weaknesses of British liberalism in the heyday of the Manchester School; while H. G. Wells's "Outline of History" catches the spirit of men-of-good-will in the early twentieth century as perhaps no other work does. If we analyze "A Study of History" from this angle, what do we find?

Toynbee himself is a highly civilized person whose learning is matched by an unflagging sensitivity to suffering and injustice and evil. One of the most sympathetic aspects of his

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work, in fact, is its unconcealed contempt for intolerance and discrimination in all their many forms. He is manifestly a product of exactly the same Christian-humanitarian tradition as Wells. But what a gulf separates the outlook of the "Study" from that of the "Outline"! Wells was an evolutionist who saw history as a continuous process of adaptation and growth, an optimist who was confident that the catastrophes of his own time were but the birth pangs of a new and higher society, a rationalist who, believing in the sovereign virtues of science and knowledge, confidently assumed that education is the key to salvation. Toynbee, on the other hand, is at bottom a mystic who believes that man is inherently incapable of shaping his own development and that therefore the only way to make life meaningful is to abandon the effort and embrace religion. From this standpoint history is a series of "philosophically contemporaneous" tragedies; the world we live in is a "City of Destruction"; and concern to know its ways—that is, to study science and economics and politics—is vulgar and superficial: the only worth-while goal of human aspirations is the attainment of the Kingdom of God.

The difference between these two outlooks is a great deal more than the difference between two individuals, important though that may be. Wells, though he wrote in the twentieth century, was essentially a child of the nineteenth; he spoke for an expanding society and a self-confident ruling class. Toynbee, coming on the scene a scant generation later, reflects a society in full decline and a class which has lost its grip and forfeited its claim to the respect and admiration it once regarded as its birthright. As a sensitive member of that class who is at the same time incapable of transcending its outlook and values, Toynbee can only look forward to the future with despair in his heart.

Toynbee's tragedy is, of course, a personal one; but it is more than that, for it is shared by many of the noblest spirits of our time. Knowing this, it is impossible to hear his cry of anguish and remain unmoved. But one must not allow oneself to be carried away. If the times are hard, they are also full of hope and promise for those who retain their faith in the human race and its ability to control its own destiny. It is, after all, to the good sense and steadfastness of ordinary people that we must look for salvation; and the invocation of religion and God amounts at best to abdication of one's responsibilities and at worst to bringing aid and comfort to those who, under cover of the Catholic church, are backing the "barbarians from within" who have no use for either religion or God and who are bent on saving their own privileges at the cost of destroying everything that civilized men have learned to value. PAUL M. SWEEZY

Two Proper Crimes

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. By Paul H. Kocher. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THIS is a valuable book for the background of Marlowe's thought; it is not concerned with the baffling detective story of his life, and does not I think recognize the influence of that on his work. There are sections on his knowledge of theology (he knew a lot), astronomy (he had apparently not heard of Copernicus), military technique (from reading only), and witchcraft (pretty sound). The learned precedents for Marlowe's reported blasphemies I think only amount to saying that he could have picked them up easily once he had decided to blaspheme at all. In the section on politics his probable taste for absolutism is explained as due to the "aloofness from human affairs" of a man who seems to have been a government spy for most of his adult life. It is more to the point I think that the Divine Right of Kings was the coming fashion, and coming from abroad; Marlowe was liable to intellectual snobbery and liked to carry an idea to extremes. He was a "man ripe for fascism" all right.

The thesis of this book, according to the blurb, is that he was primarily a Subjective not an Objective playwright, "one of the most highly Subjective playwrights of his age." However, we are told that "Edward II" marks a great advance in the poet's Objectivity, because there he uses irrelevant prejudices in his audience to make them hate the nobles and the king alternately. Such trickery is not Objective in any respectable sense, and if anything it presumably makes the audience more Subjective. Marlowe like other authors achieves the most Objectivity when he best externalizes his Subjectivity, as is dimly recognized on page 279. These ridiculously confusing terms ought to be hooted, I think, wherever they parade themselves, but they do not often succeed in making Mr. Kocher talk nonsense; they are chiefly used to say that the later plays are the more mature.

Mr. Kocher writes well about the puzzle of "Faustus," the question how Marlowe as a declared atheist could feel the story so deeply. He makes clear that Marlowe was fascinated by theology and could write with real horror about the idea of banishment from God. But when Mr. Kocher goes on to say that "there were moments when the ingrained creed sought to take possession of him again, moments when he almost felt that his life had failed of its highest consummation"—in short, that Marlowe was cosily wistful about Christianity, like a Victorian, I feel he misses the whole violence of the thing. If Marlowe had not been murdered so soon he would very probably have been burned alive. It was not hard for him to imagine hell fire. The tension of both realizing and denying the religion was thrust upon him in its most practical form. Surely that is the nerve of the terrific flippancy when Faustus tells Mephistopheles himself that he still doesn't believe in hell. It was not particularly "cold" of Marlowe, as Mr. Kocher thinks, to fail to regard the God of the Christians as a "tender father."

In another field Mr. Kocher is more optimistic about Marlowe's tenderness. "The Aristotelian virtue of friendship, on the other hand, was one of his few real enthusiasms within the limits of orthodox principle," and the friendships of Edward II are given as an example. This emotion, to a man like Marlowe, "would be the clearest revelation of human worth, and an intimation, perhaps not of immortality, but of the presence of a spirit of love. . . . It would always be a bond drawing him towards fuller participation in gentler ideals." The last act of "Edward II" is a crescendo of horror, seen as a punishment deserved by Edward because of his exorbitant love of his favorites. The obscene torture by which he is at last killed is an appalling parody of the

homosexual act, and while it is being done the text presumes that the actor will wring the nerves of the audience by his yells: "I fear me that this cry will rouse the town."

This does not mean that Marlowe agreed with his audience that the punishment was deserved. Edward gives a long list of classical precedents for his tastes: "The Roman Tully loved Octavius" and so on; it seems clear that Marlowe felt a good deal of Renaissance snobbery about the matter. The peculiarity of the mind of Marlowe is not that it is "aspiring" or "Subjective" or considered "will invincible" but that it erected absolutely opposed ideals. The unmentionable sin for which the punishment was death was *the proper thing to do*. There are two occasions in the plays when Marlowe piles up the horror in this way, the deaths of Faustus and Edward, and they die because of the two crimes for which Marlowe stood boastfully and defiantly in peril of death. It seems to me that this is the primary fact about his work, and that a critic who muffles it up, from whatever kindly intentions, cannot be saying anything important about him.

I ought to add that Mr. Kocher is on top of the "Jew of Malta"; he brings out the high ingenuity of that crackling theological farce, and recognizes—like Mr. T. S. Eliot and unlike Dr. F. S. Boas—that the Jew is a parody of what the audience wanted.

WILLIAM EMPSON

Utopia Reconsidered

BRAVE NEW WORLD. By Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

WHATEVER its literary merits, "Brave New World" in the fifteen years since it was first published has caught the popular imagination and become a sort of standard reference to the world of science and the future. By this test, which is not an exact one, it would seem that Huxley's satire is successful and that his images of the over-rationalized life—babies in bottles, the alpha, beta, gamma, delta plus and minus division of society, hypnopaedia and orgy-porgy—should rank, say, with Swift's images of irrationality.

"Brave New World" is, however, a partial satire, its scope taking in but a single aspect of contemporary life. There is in this, as in all of Huxley's novels, a preoccupation with biological theory, the philosophical antecedents of which are social Darwinism and evolutionary thought of the nineteenth century, and whose political connections with the present are perhaps best illustrated by fascism. But there is another strain of thought in modern life on which Huxley's satire does not comment, and that is what one might call the analytic, as opposed to the integrative, tradition, as reflected in some present-day philosophies of science, and which carries over the assumptions and the empiricism of democratic theory from its origins in the eighteenth century. These two traditions are so closely intertwined in the world that it is something of a wonder that Huxley has ignored the latter. There is as much movement in the direction of "individualism," with as much horror in the process, as Huxley, seeing the individual engorged by the group, at the mercy of its pressures, finds in the opposite direction. It seems to me that when Huxley declares in his introduction to this edition of the novel that the state of utopian affairs envisaged in "Brave New World" is now nearer realization than he would

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have thought at the time he wrote it, he is making an optimistic, however grisly, assumption. The nations, though on the brink of total destruction (our greatest theoretical convenience, the atom bomb), are still far from putting away their furious raging together to see what can be done by way of integrative group coercion of the folks at home. Moreover, the integrative process, thus far, and with no sign of letting up, has gone on in virtue of the coexistence of its opposite: *Gleichschaltung* required the Polish furnaces as much as Goebbels, and in Russia there is the N. K. V. D. as well as the charismatic leader cult. The same may be said of the color and race prejudices that infest both British imperialism and our own domestic democracy—one group is solidified at the expense of another. Whole societies are propagandized into cohesion while other whole societies are cut off, all their ties broken before the death that each man in them must face alone. There is therefore no evidence, for whatever comfort this is, that we are moving in a unilinear direction toward Huxley's dread Utopia.

This limits what one can say for the scope of Huxley's satire. Its quality is to be determined by literary considerations, the most important of which is that "Brave New World" is not a good novel. Satire is, of course, a special case, very often departing so far from the novel that it cannot be judged by its standards; but "Brave New World" has the form of a conventional novel and to a large extent its imaginative purpose. Much depends on the inner experience of the protagonists, and the psychological validity of that experience—states of disaffection, rebellion, and reversion to the social norm which mark the behavior of a number of the characters—becomes at times so important to the novel's structure that it occupies a crucial position in the story; the social satire, otherwise the whole bulk of the novel, diminishes at these points to the status of a background. Yet the characters cannot stand out against a background, for by the novelistic standards by which they must now be judged they are no more than paper-thin. Bernard Marx, the undersized Alpha-plus, who as a bottled embryo was mistakenly fed alcohol, puts forth the greatest claim to character in virtue of his defects. He is a possible source of conflict with society, a center of dissatisfaction and opposition out of which drama can arise. But his limitations are too severe—in part, as the result of what his character is within the novel, a necessary limitation, but also as the result of what his character is outside the novel, that is, simply in human terms, where the fault is the author's who tried to make his drama more engaging. Set against Bernard is the novel's true moral hero, the Savage, flown to utopian London from an American Indian reservation. He has in him all the virtues of natural man as well as a poetic remnant, by way of forbidden Shakespeare, of the old culture that once flourished on earth. The Savage is the extreme opposite of the utopian world, and makes the tragic attempt, ending in his suicide, to live as an individual human being in spite of progress. Though he is credible as a repository of the vanished human culture, he is rather hard to take as the mythological figure he is also meant to be. It seems to me that the opposition between artless nature and the utter artificiality of modern man which Huxley tried to establish through the Savage's character was itself utterly artificial. Huxley has by now dropped the Nature half of this opposition, having recognized it as a typically modern myth and therefore far from the unconditioned, fundamental thing he originally took it to be (I believe "Brave New World" is the last of his novels in which the Natural Man as such appears). But Ground, which has since taken the place of Nature, is no more satisfying from a fictional point of view. While representing a position of the utmost metaphysical generality, and therefore, perhaps, free of the specific cultural motives of our time that generated the nature myth, it lacks the latter's vividness in point of imagination and is even less suitable, in being so far removed from contemporary issues as to seem gratuitous, as a source of opposition to modern civilization. For fiction at any rate, opposition to the times is always best centered within the times—which gives the figure of the revolutionary the outright advantage over that of the savage or the mystic. Huxley's antagonists to the world have always lacked this central position; they have, moreover, suffered from the fact that they are clapped together out of convictions which, while undoubtedly sincere, have never proved themselves fictionally by submitting to the test that only detailed, dense, imaginative experience knows how to put to ideas.

Such reservations have to do with the quality of Huxley's fiction as a whole. Considered with respect to their timeliness, where "Brave New World" has the greatest strength, Huxley's novels have all the virtues of philosophy and journalism. As a satire of our present culture "Brave New World," in spite of its limited scope, has at least the philosophical prestige of several well-thought-out criticisms; thus the criticism of the movies, and in general of our passive spectator

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roles in sport, play, and whatever enlivening rewards modern life has to offer—a criticism he has developed elsewhere—enters this novel in the unsurpassed image of the "feelies." The moral of withdrawal and rejection is on all such occasions very well founded both as philosophy and, for its imagistic value, as fiction. But the total withdrawal and rejection exhibit journalism's typical impudence. The confounding on one level in "Brave New World" of Henry Ford, Mussolini, Marx, Lenin, and Freud has no more to recommend its intelligence than a Hearst-press witch hunt, where similar modes of thought are employed.

Perhaps one reason why the social concern of Huxley's fiction is not so broad or so careful as it seems, or certainly as it ought to be, is that his *bête noire* is not the whole of modern social relations but mainly the sexual part. The real horror in "Brave New World" is sex, from the embryo bottle to the contraceptive belt, and the big thing, as in all his novels, is the seduction scene, meant to tie together all the themes and summarize his evaluation, but most fascinating on its own account. The sexual atmosphere in Huxley's books is always one of voluptuous or promiscuous or decadent or undignified, cold, or queasy fornication; and this atmosphere is so heavy that it stifles the moral that love is lacking. Huxley's attempt to give sex its due as a proper reward of life led to such unhappy results as Mark Rampion, the vulgar prude of "Point Counter-Point," who called Beethoven a eunuch, and made Huxley's nature myth as unnatural and inhibited a thing as his subsequent transcendence of nature is forced and old-mannish. Sex, as it seems to have obsessed him, and as it appears in "Brave New World" in transition between mythologies, is the pit in which lies waiting the two-backed beast of our perpetual embarrassment. It traps all with its promise of compensation; it is the escape from horror, from which in turn there is no escape, as the horror itself is deeply sexual. A man, he insists in "Brave New World," has the right to be unhappy, alone, detached, free in his individuality; but while one indorses these precepts, it would seem that they would carry greater conviction, and the satire which surrounds them, greater weight, if the horror to which they represent the recoil had less to do with the sexual attachment. Yet satire is not without an item of ironic self-expense, in that its distortion, which is to shock the world back to sanity, is often itself the most insane thing; without its own disorder it would never call attention to the world's. Thus the distortion of sex, in Huxley's case, its predominance and overwrought horror to which one may attribute his lack of a wider social scope, may actually be responsible for such scope as he has. ISAAC ROSENFELD

The Ivory Tower of Common Sense

PROBLEMS OF MEN. By John Dewey. Philosophical Library. $5.

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CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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What makes it so difficult to review this philosophy is that it is equally hard to agree or to disagree with it. How could one possibly agree with a philosophy, priding itself on its closeness to reality and experience, which is actually so lost in abstract argument that, following it, and its evaluation of past and present history, one feels oneself happily inside a paradise which rapidly turns out to be a fool's paradise? Dewey earnestly holds that the source of all the social and political evils of our time is laissez faire (supposed to have caused the outstripping of social knowledge by scientific knowledge); but a glance at today's or yesterday's newspaper invariably teaches us that hell can be properly established only through the very opposite of laissez faire, through scientific planning. (This, of course, does not say anything against science as such.) Even more out of tune with reality are Dewey's complacent judgments on those evil times of the past in which men were still slaves and serfs; only a great scholar living in the ivory tower of common sense could be so completely unaware of the fact that certain categories of men today are far worse off than any slave or serf ever was. Nor do we need to evoke the extremities of the death factories. Concentration camps have outlived the downfall of the Nazi regime and are accepted as a matter of course; their inmates belong to a new class of human beings who have lost even the elementary human usefulness for society as a whole of which slaves and serfs were never deprived.

But hard as it is to agree with Dewey, it seems even harder to disagree with him, for such disagreement is like disagreement with common sense personified. And who would dare or like to do that? Dewey's arguments, taken in themselves, without any reflection upon reality and experience, and without any remembrance of the commonplace philosophical questions as they appear and have appeared throughout all times (in proverbs, in prophecy, in tragedy, in art, up to the highest philosophical speculations)—those arguments are always sound and obvious, as though one simply could not think otherwise. This fantastic disparity between the argumentation itself, which in an abstract sense is always right, and the basis of experience, which in its historical actuality is always wrong, may be understood in the light of Dewey's central concept, which is not a concept of Man but a concept of Science. Dewey's main effort aims at an application to the social sciences of the scientific concepts of truth as a working hypothesis. This is supposed to put them on a sound scientific basis from which they and we will progress until the supposed gap between natural and social science is closed.

The intention of this approach is certainly humanistic in essence; it tries sincerely to humanize science, to make scientific results usable for the human community. The trouble is only that, at the same time, science, and not man, takes the lead in the argument, with the result that man is degraded into a puppet which through education—through "formation of attitudes," through "techniques for dealing with human nature"—has to be fitted into a scientifically controlled world. As though it was not man who invented science but some superhuman ghost who prepared this world of ours and only, through some incomprehensible obliviousness, forgot to change man into a scientific animal; as though man's problem were to conform and to adjust himself to some abstract niceties. As though science could ever be more than man; and, consequently, as though such a gap between scientific and social knowledge could ever be more than wishful thinking.

Superstition lies at the basis of all radical optimism and all radical pessimism, whose basic concepts of progress and decline resemble each other like hostile brothers. Both are truths in Dewey's sense, for both are working hypotheses in the historical sciences. Both stem from old and time-honored myths without which they cannot be understood or properly appreciated. The myth of progress presupposes that the beginning of mankind was hell and that we move forward to some kind of paradise; the myth of decline presupposes that the beginning was paradise and that from then on, possibly with the help of the original sin, we come closer and closer to hell. There is no doubt that great historians have used the progress myth while others, no less great, have used the other. But if we are serious about truth in history, we had better leave the delightful playground of mythology.

Apart from these considerations, which are concerned only with Dewey as a philosopher and not with Dewey as a great scholar, this book becomes excellent as soon as it deals with analyses of the scientific mind and the functioning of scientific experience. Here Dewey is extremely modern, in the best sense of the word, especially when he tries to "discover in terms of an experienced state of affairs the connection that exists between physical subject-matter and the common-sense objects of everyday experience," and when

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HANNAH ARENDT

The Doctor Will Return

The surgical mask, the rubber teat
Are singed, give off an evil smell.
You seem to weep more now that heat
Spreads everywhere we look.
It says here none of us is well.

The warty spottings on the figurines
Are nothing you would care to claim.
You seem to weep more since the magazines
Began revivals on the Dundas book.
It says here you were most to blame.

But though I cannot believe that this is so,
I mark the doctor as a decent sort.
I mix your medicine and go
Downstairs to leave instructions for the cook.
It says here time is getting short.

That I can believe. I hear you crying in your room
While watching traffic, reconciled.
Out in the park, black flowers are in bloom.
I picked some once and pressed them in a book.
You used to look at them, and smile.

Routes to Headquarters

The first, preaxial digit of the hind
Stubs back a little for a fresher start.
We move this way to keep from going blind.

In great duststorms like these, the punctured heart
Is hastypudding shaken in a bag,
Which you could mold, effendi, with the art

You crowd together from your own unease—
Some mildewed plunder fit for cats to drag
Around the house, smashed congeries.

We limped too long, though, wanting you to stay.
Those storms grew normal as the noise of guns,
Our pulpy hearts leaked better every day.

We acted when you proved yourself a beast.
Saw clearly how to end your life, made plans
To ship ourselves in boxes to the East

Where we attained a bland maturity.
—Then the long coma, hearts annealed, to stare
With glassy eyeballs toward the churning sea.

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FICTION IN REVIEW

WHEN Charles Jackson's "The Lost Weekend" appeared in 1944, I wrote about it in this column only very briefly, commending its precise flexible prose but characterizing its theme as essentially unfruitful for a novel. My estimate differed sharply from majority opinion, and led to my being questioned as to what I meant by dismissing any subject as unfruitful for fiction. Since the question was of course apposite—obviously, no subject can a priori be classified as unsuitable for a novel—I am glad of the occasion of the appearance of Mr. Jackson's second book to admit that my choice of language was careless and misleading. I had wished to express, not the opinion that under all circumstances dipsomania was an unfruitful subject for a novel, but simply the opinion that "The Lost Weekend" handled the theme unfruitfully. It was because Mr. Jackson's book failed to make a vital connection between the private universe of its narcissistic and self-pitying hero and the larger universe that contains it that I thought it failed in its job of literature.

I return to this point of misunderstanding because Mr. Jackson's new novel, "The Fall of Valor" (Rinehart, $2.75), seems to me open to precisely the same objection —though in its case there is strong evidence that Mr. Jackson conceived his story with larger meanings than come through in the execution. The theme of the new novel is homosexuality: if Mr. Jackson fails to make his subject artistically fruitful, this does not mean that the homosexual subject is in itself unsuitable for fiction; it has of course been written about very usefully indeed by Proust, Gide, and Thomas Mann. And certainly I do not imply that Mr. Jackson in any way exploits his subject for its sensational value. "The Fall of Valor" is an unmistakably serious literary performance and, despite its inadequacies, must be recognized as a real advance—at least in intention—over the earlier novel.

The story Mr. Jackson tells is of a college professor who, at the age of forty-four and after some years of happy marriage, begins to show a deep sexual separation from his wife. In an attempt to restore their relationship, the Grandins go to Sconset for a vacation. But the holiday, which is supposed to be a second honeymoon, turns out instead to widen the rift between John and Ethel Grandin. On the trip up the Grandins have attached to themselves a newly married couple—Cliff, a marine on sick leave from the Pacific, and his bride, a former student of Grandin's. When Grandin becomes aware of a growing attraction to Cliff, he at first understands his emotions as a response to the romantic appeal of youth going off to fight and possibly die for its country; then he discovers that behind this symbolic emotion lies a direct sexual attraction. He tries to control his homosexual impulse, but the force is stronger than his will to combat it. He makes a sexual advance to Cliff and is rebuffed. The book concludes with Grandin confronting a life of overt homosexuality and the knowledge of the inevitable dissolution of his marriage.

Now in writing a story of this kind Mr. Jackson has set himself a task which is extremely difficult on two scores. He has the initial problem of making the evolution of Grandin's homosexuality, and Ethel Grandin's reactions to it, psychologically convincing. Then he has the problem of making his study something more meaningful than a case history. For, after all, scientific literature is full of psychologically sound records of the homosexual neurosis, and if we are to read Mr. Jackson's novel rather than a textbook, it must be because its study of disease will tell us about more than disease, enlarging beyond the usual limits of a case history our understanding of the world in which illness exists. "The Fall of Valor," however, seems to me to miss fire on both these counts. Its picture of Grandin's deviation from normality and of Ethel Grandin's response to her situation captures our hearts and minds only in the degree that its view of a normal sexual life is compelling—and this is small indeed. The relation between Grandin's fall from valor and the fall of heroes in a valorous war—surely the important fictional idea in Mr. Jackson's book—has only as much significance as Grandin and Cliff can be made to stand for by their own size as individuals—and this too is very little. We compare "The Fall of Valor" with Mann's "Death in Venice," similarly concerned with the sickness of the modern will and with modern man's impulse to self-destruction, to see that the failure of Mr. Jackson's novel to communicate what it set out to is its inability to suggest, as Mann's story suggests throughout, the human grandeur which alone gives importance to human defeat.

Not only the three chief characters in Mr. Jackson's novel but his minor figures as well lack this novelistic stature and make but a poor thing of the human possibility. There are

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& literature VIEW, first in art, is also in the advance-guard of literature. Among the writers contributing poems, stories, articles, are: Eric Bentley, Jorge Luis Borges, André Breton, Kenneth Burke, Roger Caillois, Albert Camus, E. E. Cummings, Denis de Rougemont, James T. Farrell, Wallace Fowlie, Jean Genêt, André Gide, Randall Jarrell, Henry Miller, Jean-Paul Sartre, Meyer Schapiro, Ramon J. Sender, Edith Sitwell, Wallace Stevens, James Johnson Sweeney, Parker Tyler, William Carlos Williams, and others.

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the children of the Grandin's, for instance, or Ethel Grandin's parents, who, occupying so tiny a place in the story, yet fill it not at all. Or there are the Howards, the middle-aged couple with whom the Grandins become friendly in Sconset, who, meant to represent a robust marital happiness, in fact represent marriage as if it were a steaming tub of family wash. Or there is Billie, Cliff's bride, who, supposed to be sufficiently mature to be a college student of Grandin's, is actually so infantile that only a truant officer might be expected to make any consequence of what goes on in her honeymoon bed. But the major responsibility for the inadequacy of "The Fall of Valor" rests, naturally, with its major characters—with the Grandins and Cliff. If the tragedy of Ethel and John Grandin is to matter, and if we are to care that their marriage is destroyed, surely they must matter as persons and their marriage must be shown to be worth preserving. But neither John's professional career nor his personal quality, neither Ethel's wifely emotions nor her emotions as an ordinary member of the community, are of a kind to command respect, understanding, sympathy; and as for their marriage, it appears to be rooted wholly in some absurd mechanical notion of a woman's marital demands and her husband's "duty" to fulfil them. The conception of Cliff is equally unengaging. We are given many convincing evidences of Cliff's own quite unconscious homosexuality. This is a good insight of Mr. Jackson's—his perception of the sexual ambivalence of the ultra-masculine, football-player type of man. Even more impressive is Mr. Jackson's knowledge of what it is that attracts certain men to war. But if Cliff is to represent heroic youth, he must have more than a heroic physique. He must prove to us, as Cliff never does, that he has force as well as physical bulk. His primitivism must not announce itself as silliness, lest he invalidate the attraction which he exercises on Grandin and make Grandin appear silly too.

The current desire to make literature out of psychopathology has occasionally driven writers—Anais Nin is an outstanding instance—to a false poeticism of style by which they try to raise their work above the usual professional case history. Actually, however, it turns out that the poetical effort diminishes rather than increases not only the truth in their fiction but also the poetry, since there is more excitement of the imagination in a bald statement of a scientific observation than in any conjuring with language. Happily, Mr. Jackson's novel indulges in no poetical fancies. Its style lacks the briskness and freshness of the style of "The Lost Weekend": it has a peculiar dead center; but at least it stands up to its job honestly, without conscious or unconscious literary obscurantism. And yet, from the point of view of its content, if not of its prose, it again reminds us of the distance our fiction of pathology will have to travel if it wishes to transcend and outlast our scientific literature of pathology. For in the long run a good case record of a condition like Grandin's sets up just as many artistic overtones as "The Fall of Valor"; from the pen of a Freud or a Ferenczi, even more.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE engineer who had told me about the new Zenith Cobra pick-up informed me that another new pick-up had been incorporated into two General Electric machines: No. 326 (mahogany) or 327 (walnut), a 7-tube console model ($207.60), and No. 303, a 6-tube table model (no price yet). Before hearing them I listened again to the Zeniths. When I had heard them the first time I had judged the frequency-response of the 12H to extend at least to 7000 cycles; this time, with the help of a frequency test-record, I got a more exact idea of that response: after 5000 cycles the high frequencies begin to decrease in intensity, so that the range between 5000 and 9000 is present in the reproduced sound, but increasingly attenuated The sound, then, is well-balanced and rich, but with the sharp liveness created by strong high frequencies smoothed off.

Now that range between 5000 and 9000 is reproduced with greater intensity by the General Electric No. 326; and its sound is therefore more brilliant and live than that of the Zenith 12H. But the sound of the Zenith 12H is more cleanly defined in greater quiet; it is more powerful and solid; and the larger cabinet makes it more spacious. Moreover the lighter weight of the Zenith pickup — ⅔ of an ounce, as against a little over 1 ounce for the General Electric—means longer life for the permanent stylus; and not only need the Zenith cartridge containing the stylus be replaced less frequently, but the Zenith cartridge costs only $2.50 and is inserted as easily as the eraser in a pencil, whereas the G. E. cartridge costs $7.50 and involves soldering. Also, the Zenith has FM, which the G. E. does not have; and it has the finer record-changer.

The G. E. No. 303 that I heard—equipped with the same pickup and changer as No. 326—sounded to me like a very good table model which was slightly out of order; and I will try to hear another specimen, since other table models I have heard recently — the Zenith 5R086 and a non-automatic E. C. A.—have been very poor.

A reader has asked what I meant by the statement—in the paragraph about the E. C. A. automatic table model and chairside model, in my September 21 article—that "In the table model the treble was a little harsh in both machines; also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C. . . . " He should ask the printer what *he* meant by it; what I wrote was "In the table model the treble was a little harsh. In both machines, also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C. . . . "

Another reader askes what I think of Jussi Bjoerling's voice, which her friends think is not as beautiful as it was before the war, but which she finds as beautiful as ever on the record of *Questo o quella* that was issued last year. My answer is that the voice of Bjoerling today is not as beautiful as the voice on the record, which was made before the war.

And another reader has asked whether I am aware that the feud between Ernest Newman and the late Carl Engel goes back as far as the review of Newman's "Unconscious Beethoven" somewhere around 1927, in which Engel argued very convincingly that the evidence did not justify Newman's conclusion that Beethoven's deafness had been caused by syphilis. Yes, I am aware of it; and in fact I mentioned it in a *Nation* article in 1929. While I was in London, in the fall of 1928, Newman, in one of his Sunday articles, discussed people's unwillingness to hear the occasionally sordid truth about the lives of great composers, and cited as an example the fact that when he had proved Beethoven had had syphilis an American critic had objected to his irreverence. This caused me to wonder whether he had seen Engel's review; and I wrote twice to ask him, but got no answer. In the light of the "Bombastes Furioso" appendix I have no doubt now that he *had* seen the review, and that he had already begun the strategy of that appendix, which I described in my recent article — the strategy of remaining silent as long as Engel said things that were valid and effective and waiting until Engel said something stupid, and of then answering the stupidity and claiming that such stupidity was what he had ignored all these years.

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Letters to the Editors

Says del Vayo Erred

Dear Sirs: Over a long period of time Alvarez del Vayo has proved himself a shrewd and far-seeing observer of political developments and trends, especially in Europe. His words carry the weight of recognized authority. It therefore seems to me important to point out two misstatements of fact in Mr. del Vayo's Intermezzo in Berlin, which appeared in your August 31 issue. Both misstatements were, I am sure, made in good faith; but both are dangerously misleading in these times when so much depends upon intelligent public opinion based on accurate knowledge of fact.

First: Mr. del Vayo believes that "Colonel Blimp is in command" in the British zone. He thinks that British military officials—contrary to the wishes of Mr. Attlee's Labor government—are opposing Social Democracy in Germany and coddling the reactionary forces. He states that "recently anti-fascist circles in Berlin were stunned by the news that the British had authorized a new party, the Conservative Movement, in their zone. The names of its leaders are enough to raise the hair of anyone who knows Germany—Hugenberg, Wulle, and Count Westarp. Hugenberg, president of the Krupp cartel until 1918, was the real force behind the notorious Stahlhelm, the para-military anti-labor organization which was incorporated into the S.S. in 1934." (He might have added that it was Hugenberg who helped Hitler to power.)

When I read this, I felt sure Mr. del Vayo had been misinformed about Hugenberg's present status; but rather than rely upon my own recent observation in Germany, I checked by cable with one of my colleagues in Berlin. His answer was: "Hugenberg is eighty-five and paralyzed, wherefore permitted to be out of jail but personal movements restricted. Hugenberg is too decrepit to be active politically and anyway is banned. Five months ago Wulle was also banned from political activity because of unsavory past including membership in Hugenberg front and anti-Semitism. Still checking Westarp."

I believe that careful investigation would show that the new Conservative Party is of very little importance and has only a small membership, mostly in Schleswig-Holstein and Hannover. I believe there is nothing particularly hair-raising about it or its leaders. As a matter of fact, according to my own observations, the British Military Government—in spite of a few Blimps—strongly favors the Social Democrats throughout the British zone. Certainly Mr. del Vayo's sensational charge is without foundation.

Second: Mr. del Vayo accuses the British and United States military governments of using food distribution for political purposes. He says:

"Generally speaking, in order to win the favor of the American and British authorities, a German must be in good standing with the church. Politically the party in ascendancy today is the Christian Democratic Union. . . . The Germans must support this party if they want to eat, for the hierarchy controls in large measure the distribution of food packages from abroad."

This allegation seemed to me, on the basis of what I myself had seen, most unfair to United States and British Military Government officials.

To begin with, Mr. del Vayo makes a mistake in lumping the two zones—or even the various parts of each. The British zone elections will almost certainly show the Social Democrats and not the C. D. U. in the ascendancy. In the United States zone the C. D. U., or its equivalent, the C. S. U., predominates in Bavaria and Württemberg-Baden, but the Social Democrats predominate in Great Hesse.

Furthermore, the fact is that any German in the British or American zone is entitled to whatever food his current ration card calls for. It may be the minimum ration, or it may be a higher classifaction. The individual's classification is determined by the German local authorities. The food on which the Germans live is not distributed by the authorities in food packages in either zone. Recently, in July, permission was granted to individuals outside Germany to send such packages to individuals in Germany, but so far as I know these packages play a very small part—not nearly so great a part as the black market. As against these facts, Mr. del Vayo says:

"During the months of May and June Socialists living in areas where they comprise 80 per cent of the population received only 20 per cent of the food packages; the remainder were distributed among the 20 per cent who belong to the Catholic Party."

What areas, specifically, did Mr. del Vayo's informants have in mind? What food packages were there to distribute in May and June? And, if there were any, how large a part did they play as against the rationed distribution?

I know of no major area in the British or American zones where there are 80 per cent Social Democrats, or where any party has that sort of preponderance. If there is such an area, it would probably be somewhere in northwestern Germany, and I suspect that in northwestern Germany Mr. del Vayo would find that the C. D. U. is not a "Catholic party," but a mixed Protestant-Catholic party.

To make doubly certain, I cabled about this charge of playing politics with food. The answer I received read:

"Ration classifications set by military governments, but card distribution left to Germans. Obviously there is a certain amount of favoritism but absolutely no—repeat no—evidence political parties cheating. Russians believe in favoring victims of fascism, intellectuals, and politicos with high ration classification, but British and Americans don't favor anyone."

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This does not mean that in the Russian zone one has to belong to the Soviet-sponsored Unity Party in order to eat. It simply means that the Russians do play *a little* politics with food. All the evidence I can find shows that there is no playing of politics with food at all in the British or American zones, except where an occasional individual gets himself a higher ration-card classification through what would here be called "personal pull."

Let us by all means be critical of ourselves and, if necessary, of our Allies. But let us at least make our judgments upon a basis of fact. That much we owe to the people who are doing an exceedingly tough job in Germany.

JAMES WARBURG

New York, September 24

[*A reply by Mr. Del Vayo will be found on page 435.*]

A $2,500 Essay Contest

Dear Sirs: The Institute for Religious and Social Studies announces a $2,500 essay contest, the purpose of which is to stimulate investigation into the problems of group adjustment in the United States.

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LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

New York, September 30

The Shortest Avenue

Dear Sirs: While I cannot but agree in general with Reinhold Niebuhr—as much in deference to the man himself as to the soundness of his theses—there are dark places in his recent article which, I feel, need some light and air.

He mentions an "almost pathetic desire for peace in the Western world." If by the "Western world" Dr. Niebuhr means the United States, then all the newspapers and broadcasting networks in that country have united in a conspiracy to conceal those "pathetic desires" from me. The newspapers, more especially, are simply impatient to have at the Russians. . . .

We run headlong into it again among the higher echelons of the American army and navy. (It would be the worst of ostrich-like futility to deny that this is so.) As far as we are able to estimate the wishes of the spiritual leaders of twenty-five or thirty million American Catholics, they are for war with Russia.

If there is any aversion to war with Russia among the entrepreneurs of American big business, then the writer has been reading the wrong American newspapers for twenty-nine years. . . .

A thing that disconcerts my European friends is the vaulting arrogance of the American public; the blatherskites of the kidney of Mr. "Tex" McCreary—whoever he is—who announce publicly but unabashedly that the American generals and admirals, seeing the Russian armies, know now that they can "take them any time at all!"

My friends feel—and rightly so, I believe—that this "selling the Russians short" by an American group of professional warriors, who have heretofore been singularly, even distressingly, errant in their guesses, is the shortest and widest of all the avenues to war.

FRED O'GRADY

Vancouver, B. C., September 23

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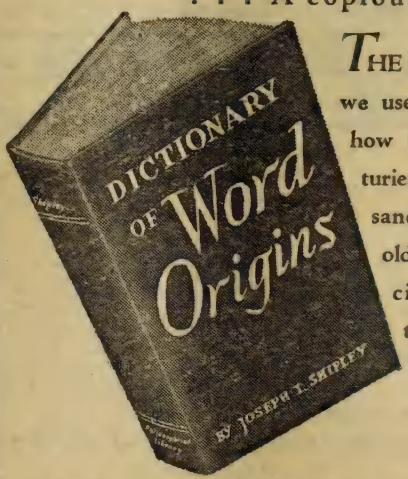

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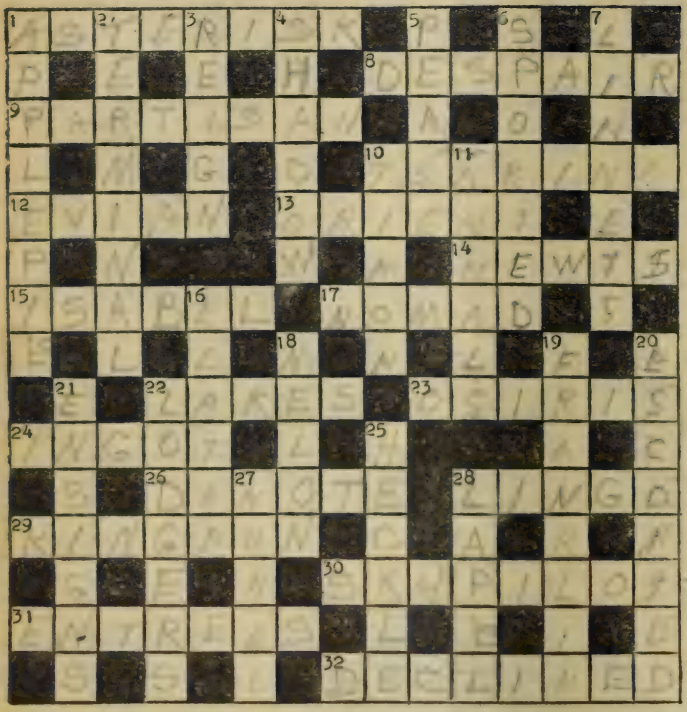
Crossword Puzzle No. 183

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Flower on a broken snowshoe
8 A literary giant
9 He fights for those he favors
10 The Tsar's consort
12 French table water
13 Turn eastward
14 Pond life
15 This girl starts to ask a question
17 Was the Hatter sane?
22 Wordsworth's environment
23 So Iris is an ox, eh?
24 Wouldn't be kept out of the bar; but it was only for a mineral!
26 Not in a British river
28 Hardly recognizable language
29 Contemporary American writer
30 Air Force chaplain?
31 Incomings
32 Refused

DOWN

1 Order more acceptable for board than bed (5 and 3)
2 The end of your training
3 What rulers do
4 Appendage that cannot be lightly dispensed with
5 Pudding that does not entirely satisfy
6 Made merry
7 Common finches
10 Athenian — wearing a watch?
11 Records
16 In high spirits
18 Sweeter form of sour fruit
19 A free man of lightning fame
20 Accompanied
21 Flag lieutenants?
22 Paying guests, the landlady hopes
25 Badger with questions
27 Peace Prize donater who would hardly have won it himself!
28 Turned down by the tailor

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 182

ACROSS:—1 KUBLA; 4 LOW; 6 COPRA; 9 PLUM PIE; 10 STOMACH; 11 EXTRAS; 13 BEDECKED; 15 BOULDER; 16 MARVEL; 17 STAG; 19 TURTLES; 21 PAWN; 23 TOCSIN; 25 PLUNGER; 27 GRADIENT; 28 DEALER; 31 URGENCY; 32 CHEVIOT; 33 KNEES; 34 DEW; 35 DREGS.

DOWN:—1 KOPJE; 2 BLUSTER; 3 ALPHABET; 4 LEEK; 5 WISHED; 6 CROMER; 7 PLACKET; 8 ACHED; 12 SOLUBLE; 13 BLATANT; 14 DELETED; 16 MOP; 18 GIN; 20 SOREHEAD; 22 WRANGLE; 24 SALTIRE; 25 PIANOS; 26 UNDYED; 27 GLUCK; 29 RATES; 30 SCOW.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

"RED BERLIN" IS AGAIN RED, BUT IT HAS chosen a Social Democratic shade rather than Moscow scarlet. This is the outstanding result of the Berlin municipal elections, which provided the first real test of German political sentiment in relation to the occupying powers. In that city no one of the Allies could exert a predominating influence, and it was the one place in Germany where the populace could make direct comparisons about the four administrations. If any of the major parties had a special advantage, it was the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party, formed by a merger between the Communists and a Social Democratic minority, since up to now it has controlled the city government. However, the incomplete returns available as we go to press, accounting for about 70 per cent of the votes cast, indicate that the Socialist Unity Party has come in a bad third, with the Social Democrats far in the lead and the Christian Democrats second. In its platform and propaganda the Socialist Unity Party strongly emphasized "German unity," but Molotov badly splintered that plank when, in order to reassure the Poles, he declared that the Oder-Neisse line should be regarded as the permanent frontier between Germany and Poland. In any event, unity was not a genuine issue since it is the common policy of all the German parties. The real dividing line was between the "Westerners" and the "Easterners," and the former have won hands down. This check to Soviet expansion will no doubt cause rejoicing in Washington and London, but it may prove a short-lived triumph unless we take steps to rescue Germany from the social and political rubble of the Third Reich in which it still lies buried.

*

PROSPECTS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA are brighter today as a result of the Moslem League's decision to join the interim government. The League's action indicates that a measure of understanding was reached at the recent conference between Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru. We must not assume, however, that because the first reef has been cleared all will be clear sailing from now on. Despite the political agreement, feeling between Moslems and Hindus still runs high and serious riots are continuing. A wide gulf remains between the plans of the Congress Party for a strong, united India and the Moslem ideal of Pakistan. But Jinnah's decision implies that the Moslems are ready to modify their demands for two Indias in favor of some arrangement approximating that originally suggested by the British mission—a substantial amount of provincial autonomy within a federated India. In any case, the problem of constitution-making will be easier with Jinnah inside the government.

*

AMERICAN OCCUPATION POLICIES IN JAPAN are encountering increasingly sharp criticism from the Russian, Chinese, and British members of the Allied Council for Japan. It is not so much a clash of opinion on basic directives, in the formulation of which all representatives have participated. It is rather that there is a growing conviction that General MacArthur is dis-

Exclusive!

LASKI

on

AMERICA

Harold J. Laski, back in England after two months in this country, will give his impressions of present-day America in a series of three articles beginning in next week's issue of *The Nation*.

Also:

PRE-ELECTION ROUNDUP

Next week's pre-election issue of *The Nation* will carry the final reports from its correspondents across the country. The last installment of *Robert Bendiner's* political series will cover Pennsylvania and Ohio. *Carey McWilliams* will report from California, *Richard Neuberger* from Oregon, *Milburn P. Akers* from Chicago. And the *Nation* editors will give their appraisal of the national political situation on the eve of the crucial vote that will determine the character of the 80th Congress.

DON'T MISS THE NEXT ISSUE OF *The NATION*

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playing too much tenderness in enforcing the directives on the Japanese government. Last week, the Soviet delegate urged that in the coming local elections the Japanese government be instructed to eliminate defects that were flagrant in the general election of April 10. The American member, Ambassador George Atcheson, Jr., rushed to the government's defense with the assertion that its aims were virtually identical with American aims. This reply evoked an icy retort from the British representative, who said that Atcheson was showing a "cordiality" to the Yoshido government which was hardly justified by its performance. Atcheson's attitude provides involuntary confirmation of Harold Strauss's analysis (page 470) of the factors behind the sudden shift in Japanese economic policy. Until recently, our occupation policies have been aimed at freeing Japan from militarist and feudal control. But the objectives seem to have changed, and the American people have a right to an explanation.

✶

THE PITTSBURGH POWER STRIKE HAS ENDED. The independent union involved has voted to arbitrate the issues in dispute. This is a decision which might well have been taken earlier, but for the erratic leadership of the strikers, saving Pittsburgh from a great deal of unemployment and loss of production and averting unpleasant consequences for labor which seem likely to result from the long tie-up. As the dispute dragged on, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. union leaders (whose sympathies were at first aroused by the injunction granted against the independent union) became increasingly sour. Privately, C. I. O. people have hinted darkly at a plot, pointing out that the striking group was originally a company union and that George L. Mueller, its president, was put through school by the Duquesne Light Company. It is not necessary to accept this colorful but undocumented charge of collusion to believe that the whole irresponsible episode will harm labor and the Democratic Party. By keeping Mayor Lawrence pinned to his desk, the emergency created by the strike removed from the campaign the shrewdest Democratic leader in Pennsylvania. It has given union-baiting Republicans some exceedingly effective ammunition. And, above all, it has set the stage for anti-labor legislation, both in Harrisburg and Washington.

✶

ONCE MORE DR. GALLUP HITS THE NEWS. His sensational analysis of political trends, published in the closing weeks of the campaign, stresses the waning fortunes of the Democratic Party, the shift in the independent vote from the Democratic to the Republican column, and a drop in popularity for poor Mr. Truman so catastrophic that it looks as if he would have a hard time getting elected dogcatcher in Independence, Missouri. We were particularly interested in the sampling

on how the vote would divide if this were a Presidential election year. From Dr. Gallup's figures, it would appear that the Democratic majority had dropped from 54 per cent in the 1944 election to a present figure of 47. Now this 54 per cent awakened vague tinglings of memory, and we consulted our research department to see what Dr. Gallup had come up with three weeks before Election Day in 1944. Dr. Gallup's figure was Roosevelt 51, Dewey 49. On the day before election he upped Roosevelt to 51½ and put Dewey down to 48½. The actual vote went 54–46 for Roosevelt. Now Dr. Gallup himself emphasizes the margin that must be allowed for error, and on the basis of his three-weeks-before-election figure it was actually 6 per cent in favor of the Republicans. If it so happened that the error was as wide this time, then Mr. Truman's vote would today be 50 per cent against his Republican opponent's 50 per cent. We are not suggesting that there is nothing in the trend which Mr. Gallup suggests. All we say is that if you are a betting man don't hang your shirt on a Gallup poll.

✶

SO LONG AS SPECULATION WAS PUSHING prices higher and higher, spokesmen for cotton were remarkably complacent about it. But when the bubble suddenly burst and spot cotton fell from 38.90 cents a pound to 33.52 in three hectic days, they cried calamity and rent the air with charges of conspiracy and demands for the investigation and punishment of those responsible. Possibly there has been an organized bear raid, as Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, has alleged. If so, we must observe that the bulls and the cotton bloc had been asking for it. Raw cotton has not been subject to ceilings and has had all the benefits of a free market, including the attention of speculators whose stock-market activities were discouraged last winter by the ban on margin operations. When the OPA, confronted with the difficulty of holding textile prices in line while the raw material soared toward the stratosphere, sought to increase cotton-trading margins, it was thwarted by the cotton bloc in Congress. Through the summer, indications of a short crop, combined with a huge demand, foreign and domestic, kept the bulls happy and excited; so did the speeches of various Southern state officials who talked cotton up to fifty cents and urged planters to delay sales. But it is in the nature of market booms to grow progressively more vulnerable and the increasing differential between domestic and world prices should have been an obvious danger signal. Many farm products are in an equally vulnerable position and within the next year we shall probably see the cotton pattern duplicated in other markets. If so, it is safe to predict that the Farm Bloc will become as clamorous for government action to raise price floors as it has lately been against government action to hold down price ceilings.

IN THE DEATH OF "VINEGAR JOE" STILWELL the United States has lost not only a colorful hero but an inspired leader and one of its most astute military statesmen. Although many of us will think of General Stilwell primarily as the man who came back to reconquer Burma after admitting that "we got a hell of a beating," the men who served under him will remember him as Uncle Joe, one of the kindliest and most modest men that ever lived. History will undoubtedly emphasize chiefly his remarkable efforts to keep China in the war as an effective ally. General Stilwell's long experience in China and his extensive knowledge of its language and customs enabled him to accomplish what no other Westerner has ever attempted successfully: the training and directing of an efficient Chinese military force. This task called not only for military genius but for statesmanship of the highest order. Fearful lest American material assistance would become a divisive rather than a unifying factor in China—a fear justified by subsequent history—Stilwell controlled the distribution of American supplies with an iron hand. Ignoring both the blandishments and threats of the Chunking militarists, he ruled that supplies should be distributed on the basis of military rather than political expediency. His courageous stand ultimately cost him his post as commander-in-chief of the China-Burma-India theater, but not before Burma had been largely rewon and China saved from Japan's last desperate offensive. Until his death, General Stilwell retained his passionate interest in China. He predicted that Hurley's policy would inevitably lead to civil war and always insisted that the social revolution now under way could not permanently be suppressed, regardless of the scale of American aid. It is deeply unfortunate that America should be deprived of the benefit of his experience and counsel at this critical moment in our relations with China.

Meat and Politics

WHEN a politician who eats, drinks, and breathes politics wants to be particularly mean to another politician he invariably accuses him of "playing politics." So we were not surprised to note that Mr. Truman's radio announcement of meat decontrol was damned by the Republicans, in advance of its delivery, as a "political gesture" designed to influence the elections. That was a safe line to take, even without knowing what the President would say, since it was obvious that whatever he said would have some effect on the voters. Nobody in this country has yet discovered how to hold office without being a politician, and as long as we remain a democracy, nobody is likely to.

What is really troubling the G. O. P. leaders is their uncertainty about the actual effects of Mr. Truman's

decision to abandon the effort to hold meat prices in line. It was not an easy decision for him to take. It meant that he would be accused both of making a belated "flip-flop" in policy and of surrendering to big-business pressures. It involved, as he recognized, not merely lifting ceilings on meat but liquidating as rapidly as possible nearly all the economic controls by means of which the Administration had sought to keep the economy on an even keel until production and consumption had reached a rough balance. However, there was no other practical way of bringing meat back to the markets, for the interests holding out for a rise in prices were strongly intrenched and could only be beaten by a long campaign of attrition. But the time factor could not be ignored—either politically, since the meatless millions were apt to hold Democratic candidates responsible for their empty ovens, or economically, since the ramifications of the packers' sitdown had led to difficulties in a dozen other industries.

Mr. Truman, therefore, climbed down with what dignity he could and took the opportunity to remind the people that responsibility for the situation rested squarely on "the reckless group of selfish men who, in the hope of gaining political advantage, have encouraged sellers to gamble on the destruction of price control." The Republicans responded with heat to that charge, perhaps because they realized it contained a damaging amount of truth. Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee, retorted that if price-control legislation was bad, the fault lay with the Democratic majority in Congress. That was hardly a good debating point, for as the Republicans themselves gleefully admit when it suits them, they have long since taken control of Congress by virtue of their opportunistic alliance with the Southern Democrats.

Nor can the Republicans deny that they have exploited the meat famine for all it is worth. That is quite understandable; according to the New York *Times*, they feel, perhaps rightly, that it is the best issue they have had in fourteen years. But they can be blamed for talking about meat to the exclusion of all other questions. They claim that the tide is flowing their way and will sweep them into control of Congress. But they have told us practically nothing about what they are going to do with their majority when they get it. They talk vaguely about sweeping away the "bureaucrats" and releasing business from its chains. But their notion of a "free market" remains, as always, a strictly one-way affair; it does not include giving consumers the benefit of a little more competition. Mexican cattle or Argentine beef will only enter the country over Senator Taft's dead body.

Since the Republicans' hopes of capturing Congress this year and the Presidency in 1948, while not quite as rosy as they and Dr. Gallup suggest, are far from baseless, their lack of a positive program is doubly alarming. The problems this nation faces in the years immediately ahead are numerous and intricate. They are not going to be solved by a reversion to policies that proved futile in 1930. "The fate of the last great free economy in the world," wrote Walter Lippman in the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 17, "will almost certainly depend on whether business and the Republican Party manage affairs so as to prevent or to bring on another 1929. Some day, therefore, Mr. Taft ought to tell us what he has learned from the twenties, and what he would now do differently when the Republicans come into power."

Will Senator Taft, and some of the other numerous aspirants to Republican leadership, forget meat for a moment and devote one speech before November 5 to meeting this serious challenge from a friendly quarter? In asking this, we don't expect them to stop being politicians. We would only remind them that the flavor of politics can always be improved by an infusion of statesmanship.

Second Chance

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE distance from Paris to Flushing Meadows is a short one as the plane flies, and it is little farther politically. The same tensions flourish in both places; the same issues are likely to explode. In Flushing the victor nations will wrestle with the problem of keeping the peace they were unable to make at Paris, while the people watch with anxiety and little optimism.

The radio talk by Mr. Byrnes and the interview with Mr. Vandenberg on the Peace Conference together provided a coherent and reasoned defense of American policy—and incidentally an answer to Mr. Wallace. Their object was to establish the United States in the role of the firm and friendly supporter of democracy everywhere, and Russia in that of the greedy, suspicious aggressor. Vandenberg even mentioned Munich by way of making his meaning crystal-clear. In this country the statements of both men will be taken at face value by many people. For the provocative behavior of Russia's delegates at Paris has done more than any accomplishments of our own to make the Byrnes-Vandenberg thesis seem convincing. Never has Molotov or Vishinsky or Manuilsky permitted any question to be raised of Russia's motives in its broad security area; and never has one of them granted that an honest excuse might be found for the actions of the West. By their implacable hostility even where policy should have dictated conciliation, they have weakened their case and strengthened that of Byrnes and Vandenberg. But the smooth language used by the two delegates in defending America's role at Paris should not lead us to forget their own record of consistent pettifogging objection to practically

everything proposed by the Russians. It is not quite enough to say that they tried only to prevent the Soviet Union from driving beyond the boundaries agreed upon at Yalta and Teheran. The fact is, Messrs. Byrnes and Vandenberg, like Mr. Atcheson in Tokyo, seem to have followed a fixed practice of opposing all Russian demands, reasonable and unreasonable, on the dangerous ground that any success for Moscow would be regarded as a defeat for the West.

That this is a fact and not the dark imagining of one of those "appeasers" referred to by Mr. Vandenberg is indicated by a recent leader in the London *Economist* commenting upon the Madison Square Garden speech of Henry Wallace. The *Economist* disagreed with many of Mr. Wallace's remarks, above all with his attempt to make "British imperialism" responsible for the American attitudes he disliked; in countering this view the editorial pointed to the "growing anxiety in London over the persistence and precipitancy with which Mr. Byrnes is seeking occasions to challenge Russia." "To be determined to stand firm against any further advance by the Soviets is one thing," says the *Economist;* "but openly to provoke and challenge Russian policy is another." It recalled Mr. Byrnes's earlier tendency to "agree with the Russians at Britain's expense," and remarked that while the change since then was undoubtedly an improvement, "many people in this country are asking whether this is not a bit too much of a good thing." That is what some people in America are asking, too, and will continue to ask in spite of the persuasions of Mr. Byrnes and his colleagues.

We have heard a lot, since the Paris conference ended, about the value of facing frankly the "real issues" raised there, the "real conflicts" dividing Russia and the West. Mr. Vandenberg described the difficulty of finding common ground between "Eastern communism and Western democracy." The Moscow radio speaks with equal feeling about the threat to Russian democracy embodied in Western capitalism. But all the "frankness" displayed on both sides manages to evade the issues that really need to be met with some kind of working compromise if peace is to be maintained.

For it is not, as the Byrnes-Vandenberg duet would have us believe, a mere matter of stopping Russia's advance toward the West or the Mediterranean, or of insisting upon democratic procedures in the Balkans. It is also, and more fundamentally, a problem of adapting American policy to the unalterable fact of economic-political revolution in Europe. Put more concretely, it is all right to argue against restrictive trade agreements and the control of international highways like the Danube, but it would be better to make at least an attempt to fit these excellent free-enterprise principles into the context of Europe's shattered economy and the glaring need of a planned, closely integrated system of production and exchange, particularly in the Danube valley. Until we do this, our objections to Russia's exclusive policies will have a sharp metallic sound in European ears, for the economic advantages of "freedom" for the United States are as evident as the advantages of "restriction" for the Soviet Union.

Conversely, it is not enough for Russia to accuse us of seeking selfish, capitalist-imperialist advantages throughout its area of influence; for this, too, will sound phony as long as large contingents of the Russian army graze on the poor lands of Eastern Europe and reparations draw a big proportion of the industrial plant of the area into Russian hands. Soviet influence has undoubtedly hastened the overthrow of the fascist-feudal oligarchy in the border states and supported essential policies of collective control and regional cooperation which the Western powers have done their best to discourage. But at the same time Russia's preoccupation with its own security has largely obscured the issue of revolutionary change—which, in its varied forms, is the one great overriding issue in all of Europe.

At Paris that issue skulked half hidden behind the conflicts of interest between the big powers which were fought out in the discussions of the five treaties under consideration. At Flushing it has a better chance to emerge in its own right. For the Assembly is not a legislative or an administrative body. It is a world forum—the most impressive that could be organized. Since it can discuss and advise but not determine action, its members are free, or should be free, from the necessity which haunted the Peace Conference of thinking only in terms of national advantage. They can attempt to deal with matters under consideration on their intrinsic merits rather than as tests of national or bloc strength. Without truculence and suspicion, without sanctimonious self-conceit, the nations, great and little, can analyze the nature of the conflicting ideas they hold about the world they are trying to reassemble, each in its own imperfect image.

Perhaps when the camouflage is off we shall see that the conflict of social and national interests is too great to be met by compromise or conciliation. But perhaps the nations will find measures of accommodation sufficient at least to tide over the period of reorganization and reconstruction that lies ahead, and allow time for more profound solutions to be reached under conditions of relative stability. It is to this last hope that the delegates at Flushing should address themselves, and I commend to their close attention the remarkable statement on relations with Russia issued last Saturday in New York by the Federal Council of Churches, a body which represents, not the prejudices or interests of a few but the desires of some 28,000,000 Protestants and unaccounted millions of other Americans.

Pre-Election U. S. A.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IV. New York's Political Spectrum

A FEW weeks ago the leaders of this state's Democratic-Liberal-Labor coalition were worried about registration. Unless New York City could deliver a healthy registration, the theory ran, the Mead-Lehman ticket would have only the faintest chance of success—and the prescribed measure of "health" ran from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000. A short but vigorous campaign was ordered by the strategists, and for a week the top candidates of the three parties gave their energies not to flaying Republicans but to exhorting a supposedly sluggish electorate to do its civic duty and go to the polls. C. I. O. locals offered prizes to shop stewards who would bring in reports of perfect registration. Mrs. Roosevelt had a recording made for frequent radio reminders. Registration rallies were held throughout the city. And even Danny Kaye was pressed into service.

When the polls closed, 2,715,563 citizens were safely qualified to vote—a midterm record for the city. But coalition leaders were hardly less worried after the event than they were before. They couldn't be sure whether the remarkably high registration meant that voters were happy about Mead or unhappy about meat. What might have been a paean of joy was no more than a tentative sigh of relief—a cautious satisfaction that at least the ticket now had a chance to pull through, whereas a low registration would have doomed it completely.

G. O. P. leaders were equally baffled and every bit as nervous. The Republican *Herald Tribune* was editorially circumspect about the "protest" nature of the registration, and in its news columns it played the results without interpretative adornment. The Democratic *Times*, on the other hand, carried the head: "High Registration Viewed as Augury of Dewey Triumph. Impartial Observers Declare the Rush to Qualify Indicates Anger Against Washington." Other "impartial observers," therefore, were not surprised when the next day the *Times* announced editorially that it was splitting its vote, favoring Thomas E. Dewey, Republican, for Governor and Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, Liberal, and American Labor Party, for Senator. The *Times* is thus sharing what appears to be a widespread tendency to cut across party lines this fall. In the absence of some momentous development between now and Election Day, the sound to listen for on November 5 will not be the rumble of a Republican landslide but the lively crackle of splitting tickets.

This prospect of unorthodox voting appears to be the chief immediate effect of Roosevelt's loss on the politics of the state. The curious compound of disparate groups—economic, political, and racial—which were held together by the Roosevelt magic is showing signs of disintegration. I do not see it crumbling in the kind of disaster that the Republican National Committee talks about, but rather losing a chunk here and a fragment there, for no one powerful reason but for many lesser reasons and out of vague dissatisfaction.

THE THREE-PARTY COALITION

The Roosevelt vote in the state was basically distributed among the Democratic, American Labor, Liberal, and Communist parties, with less sharply partisan strength organized by the C. I. O.-P. A. C., the National Citizens' P. A. C., the A. F. of L., and other independent labor and white-collar groups. And beyond this organized vote were the national, racial, and religious blocs—Negro, Italian, Polish, Jewish, and, through the local Democratic machines, Irish Catholic. From all but one of these groups defections are expected, and it is on the unpredictable size of these chipped-off particles, I believe, rather than on the force of a Republican ground swell, that the results will depend.

The three-party coalition, plus the Communists, is still functioning after a fashion, but the cement is weak and the strains increasingly severe. The A. L. P. and the Liberals avoid mutual contagion and do well to keep from attacking each other during the campaign. In a number of Congressional districts they are running rival candidates, especially in the Bronx, where Ed Flynn, the Democratic boss, not only refuses to accept indorsements of his candidates by the two independent parties but has induced his opposite number in the Republican camp to do the same. Dr. John L. Childs, chairman of the Liberal Party, is just as cool as Mr. Flynn to the coalition of expedience. His organization is certain to get a large enough vote this fall to entitle it to permanent standing as a party, and he looks forward to the day when it can enrol all the "liberal-labor non-totalitarian forces" and run its own candidates, because "there is nothing to choose between machines which make public affairs a private interest." The Communists, who feel they can't afford to get too far away from the old popular-front idea if they are to retain even a minimum of influence, are going along with the ticket, but they are obviously less than exultant about their candidate for Governor—and they openly opposed the choice of Lehman for the Senate. Like the A. L. P., they favored LaGuardia, but the local Democrats, reviewing Fiorello's record as a Republican, shuddered at the thought and

insisted on the able but far gentler Lehman, about whom even the opposition can say nothing more damning than that he is "a sweet old gentleman."

THE LABOR VOTE

Against this backdrop of partisan cross-currents the C. I. O.'s P. A. C. is making an earnest effort to keep the labor vote in line. The Wallace affair, the labor-draft proposal, and now the lifting of price controls on meat have reduced enthusiasm for the Administration well below the boiling-point, but the organization is still out to deliver the vote. There is 1948 to be thought of, and P. A. C. leaders want to be in a strong position for bargaining when convention time rolls around.

In spite of the threat of a "grass-roots storm" that would shake the A. F. of L. "to its very foundation," the state federation's Non-Partisan Committee decided after a blistering session to make no commitments. The Republicans professed to see in this a victory, since it was the first time in twenty years that the committee had failed to plump for the Democratic candidate for Governor. The Democrats were less publicly but probably more genuinely pleased, because there is no doubt that the committee sentiment favored Dewey, and its published recommendations would have done Mead no good. Dewey's handling of the elevator strike pleased the federation people, many of whom are also favorably disposed toward Ives. Above all, they are not eager to jeopardize good relations with a state administration that they think all too likely to remain in office. It is noteworthy that when David Dubinsky introduced Mead to the Liberal Party convention, he sedulously avoided any mention of Dewey for fear of antagonizing his fellow-federationists. The A. F. of L. claims 1,300,000 members in the state, the C. I. O. 1,200,000.

Though the state federation has flirted with Dewey, there is no evidence that the coalition will suffer any serious loss on the trade-union front. Both Mead and Lehman are veteran friends of labor, and whatever the political maneuverings of the A. F. of L. leadership, they are counting on the bulk of the rank and file. Where defections threaten to be more serious is among the national and racial blocs.

HARLEM

Probably in no former Roosevelt stronghold are Democratic prospects now bleaker than they are in Harlem. Besides the general post-war letdown and dissatisfaction over food shortages which characterize the state as a whole, Harlem's citizens have a special category of complaints. Although one prominent Negro leader offered the opinion that Truman himself was even more forthright on the question of discrimination than Roosevelt, resentment over Southern influence in the Administration is widespread. More than one Harlemite asked me sardonically how a South Carolina politician could represent American democracy at the peace table, and none had confidence that a Texan Attorney General would break the case of the Georgia lynchings.

Harlem has nothing against Mead and Lehman, but no conviction in their favor either. On the other hand, its papers featured stories day after day on the Ives-Quinn law, which created the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The effects of the law have not as yet been far-reaching, and there is some criticism of the commission's personnel, but by and large it is logically regarded as a major advance, and it is hard to see how Ives can fail to carry the district.

Dewey

Memories in Harlem being no longer than in other Congressional districts of the country, Dewey, too, will cash in on the FEPC, although he scuttled the first anti-discrimination bill back in 1944, when he was lining up Southern delegates for the approaching Republican convention. Similarly credited to the Dewey administration is the redistricting act which in 1944 enabled Harlem's citizens for the first time to elect a Negro Congressman. Actually the redistricting, which helped the Democrats, had been blocked for years by Republican legislatures, but that will not be remembered in the strong Negro drift, which can be checked, I believe, only by intensive Democratic campaigning throughout the district with the aid of such local idols as Mrs. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace.

DEFECTIONS FROM OTHER BLOCS

Other racial and religious blocs in the state are not nearly so solid as the Negro vote, but by and large they were for Roosevelt and now they are sharply divided. A sector of the Irish population is affected by Farley's coolness to the Mead-Lehman ticket, remembering all too well his truculent statement of four years ago that Mead was "not fit to be Governor." This bloc might still be saved if New York's Mayor O'Dwyer were to take a more active role in the campaign. Some Democratic leaders blame O'Dwyer for failing to have made open war on Dewey last year, when the Governor's political fortunes were at an extremely low ebb following the Republican fiasco in the mayoralty campaign. A strong stand by O'Dwyer now, it is believed, might salvage thousands of votes in predominantly Irish districts of Brooklyn and Queens.

The Jewish vote, which became much more of a unit in support of the New Deal than it had ever been before,

shows signs of returning to its normal state of division. To some extent disappointment with the Truman Administration over the issue of Zionism has intensified this trend. The Manhattan Zionist Region, meeting in convention a few weeks ago, accused the Democratic Party of failure to carry out its pledges but refrained from offering blanket support to the Republicans. While some ardent Zionists will undoubtedly vote for Dewey as a sign of protest and a warning for 1948, few Republicans are hopeful that the issue will break Lehman's normally firm hold on the Jewish vote.

The coalition ticket stands to gain from the absence of an Italian name on the Republican slate, but this will probably be offset by dissatisfaction among the more religious of the Poles and Slavs over changes that the peace has brought to Eastern and Central Europe—as though that were Truman's fault, much less Mead's. A more solid gain for the Democrats in the way of a bloc vote is seen in the indignation of veterans over Dewey's thoroughly bad record on emergency housing. This sentiment among the veterans is further directed toward the Democrats by the presence on the coalition ticket of Erastus Corning, 2d, who interrupted his term as mayor of Albany to serve as a private in the army. Corning is running for Lieutenant Governor.

DEWEY-IVES PROSPECTS

While Dewey is privately conceded by many Democrats to have the edge on Mead, there is no disposition to let down as the campaign goes into its most heated phase. The independent groups allied with the Democrats are particularly eager to hold the Dewey vote to a minimum. Should he win, the margin of his victory will be the measure of his chances at the next Republican Presidential convention. The G. O. P. has never yet given a second nomination to a defeated candidate, but 1944 was an abnormal year because of the war, and no party can afford to overlook a candidate who can deliver New York's forty-seven electoral votes.

A victory for Dewey, however, is by no means held to assure a victory for Ives or for the Republican ticket as a whole. Lehman is deeply respected throughout the state and has an unparalleled record as a vote-getter, occasionally encroaching even on conservative Republican circles. On the other hand, Irving M. Ives, in spite of a good record in Albany, is comparatively unknown. He is making full use of the Wallace episode to embarrass Lehman, but the issue appears to be a bit too intellectual to lend itself to popular campaigning.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTESTS

In the state's Congressional delegation the Republicans have hopes of making inroads, but no extensive shift is looked for. The probable Dewey-Ives victory in Harlem might normally be expected to cost the seat of Representative Adam Clayton Powell, especially since his Republican opponent, Grant Reynolds, served in the army as a Negro chaplain, is a capable spellbinder, and has been indorsed by Joe Louis. Reynolds may well win, but the most reliable estimate is that Powell will be returned. He starts out with the 15,000 members of his church, the largest Protestant congregation in the country, and has the advantage of an intrenched personal machine. Intelligent opinion in Harlem puts both candidates down as demagogues but appears to rate Powell as the abler of the two.

Caricatures by Seligson

Lehman

The seat of Democrat George F. Rogers in Rochester's Fortieth District is gravely in doubt, having been won two years ago by 1 per cent. In the Bronx Boss Flynn's cavalier attitude toward the independent parties has resulted in four-candidate races throughout the borough, and while the split will reduce the Democratic vote appreciably, there is small reason to assume that the Republicans will abandon their ignoble role of permanent minority party in that sector, content to feed on crumbs from the Flynn table as reward for only token opposition at the polls.

The extremely conservative Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., is all too likely to win the seat formerly held by Joe Baldwin, who went down in the Republican purge of liberals. The Seventeenth is as Republican as a Maine village, and Coudert is an odds-on favorite to beat his Democratic opponent, Myron Sulzberger. In Queens the death last Sunday of the Democratic candidate, William B. Barry, added more uncertainty to an already confused picture. The liberal and able Mark Starr is running on the Liberal Party ticket. Unfortunately, the A. L. P. has its own candidate, so that the independent vote is divided. It is not unlikely that with the Democratic substitute nomination deferred and the independents split the Republicans will be able to gain another seat. A three-way race in Manhattan's Twenty-first is even more likely to cost the Democrats a seat. In this contest the Republicans and Liberals are teamed in behalf of Jacob K. Javits, a Fusionist, with opposition from Eugene P. Connolly of the A. L. P. and Dan Flynn, a Tammany Democrat.

Perhaps the most curious and interesting fight in the state is in the Eighteenth, where Vito Marcantonio, who will run on any and all tickets, from Whig to Single Tax, faces the hardest contest of his checkered career. Having run as a Republican, Democrat, and American Laborite

two years ago, Marcantonio again made a bid for all three nominations last summer. The A. L. P., of course, obliged, although Vito has been having his troubles in the inner circles of that party, but the Republicans would have none of him, and the Democrats nominated him by a scant 600 votes. During the primary the Republican and Democratic candidates operated out of the same office, and it is likely that many of the votes that went to Marcantonio's narrowly beaten Democratic opponent in the primary will be delivered to his Republican rival, Frederick Bryan, in November. Vito is an adept manipulator, however, and the cagiest opinion in the district is that he will find ways to induce the local Democratic bosses to stay with him and deliver the vote.

Meat on the table by November 5 and an intensive Democratic campaign in doubtful districts may make a material difference in prospects, but as matters stand New York's three-way coalition will do very well indeed to send Lehman to the Senate, hold on to all but one or two of its present twenty-three seats in the House, and keep Dewey's lead down to such modest proportions that the White House will fade from his dreams.

[*Next week Robert Bendiner will discuss Ohio and Pennsylvania, Carey McWilliams California, Milburn P. Akers Illinois, and Richard L. Neuberger the Pacific Northwest.*]

Rankin and the Republicans

BY IRVING M. ENGEL

IN GEORGIA a few weeks ago four people were ruthlessly shot to death in cold blood. One of the men had been arrested on a minor charge but released on bail. The other three—his wife and another married couple—were not accused of any crime. Their only offense was having been born black.

The wilful and brutal killing of four human beings, all unarmed, without the semblance of a legal proceeding, is as un-American an act as can be conceived. We have in the House of Representatives a Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities; yet that committee has taken no steps to investigate the Georgia lynchings.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The guiding spirit of the committee is John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who with the possible exception of his fellow-Mississippian, Senator Bilbo, has done more than any other man in public life today to condone, if not incite, the spirit of race prejudice and hatred that made possible the Georgia outrage. Rankin has not limited himself to attacks upon the Negroes; with equal venom he has spewed hatred on Jews, on aliens, on labor, and on any of his fellow-citizens who were liberal enough to disapprove of John E. Rankin. If intelligent, informed citizens throughout the country were asked to compile a list of the five most un-American individuals in public life today, John Rankin would undoubtedly appear on every list.

The question arises, how is it possible, when we have just finished a war to preserve democracy and are struggling to make a peace in which all mankind shall be free, that a man of the stripe of Rankin is placed by Congress in a position to pass judgment on the opinions, actions, and characters of his fellow-citizens and to persecute and intimidate those of whom he does not approve? The answer to this question is clear on the record. *The responsibility for the creation and continued existence of the Wood-Rankin committee lies squarely on the shoulders of the Republican Party.* The fact that in this they were abetted by the Southern reactionaries in the Democratic Party does not absolve the Republicans from responsibility.

For some six years or more, down to 1944, the Dies committee, under similar leadership, had been allowed, notwithstanding many protests, to ride roughshod over the rights and liberties of our people. This committee finally became so objectionable that in the fall of 1944 it was resoundingly repudiated. Dies very wisely declined to run for reelection; four of the remaining eight members of the committee were defeated. Decent citizens everywhere heaved a sigh of relief and assumed that the danger of a Congressional Gestapo was ended. However, they reckoned without John Rankin of Mississippi and his friend and ally, Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, the Republican leader in the House. These two men devised a clever scheme—and it worked.

On the opening day of the Seventy-ninth Congress, in January, 1945, a routine motion was made to continue in effect the rules of the previous session. To the surprise of most members of the House, Rankin moved that the rules be amended so as to provide for a Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities. This maneuver had two advantages: First, the motion to amend the rules had to be voted on immediately and could not be referred to a committee. Second, if the motion carried, the committee would be permanent, whereas the Dies committee was temporary and had to be renewed from year to year.

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After a brief but bitter debate, the motion was carried by a vote of 207 to 186. This vote was as follows:

For the Rankin motion			*Against the Rankin motion*		
Republicans		137	Republicans		34
Southern Democrats	63		Southern Democrats	44	
Non-Southern Democrats	7	70	Non-Southern Democrats	106	150
		207	Minority Parties		2
					186

It will be seen that the Republicans voted more than four to one in support of the Rankin measure, while the Democrats voted more than two to one against it. The Democratic votes in favor of Rankin came almost entirely from the South.

The record of the Republican Representatives from New York is even worse:

	New York Republicans	*New York Democrats*
For the Rankin motion	15	0
Against the Rankin motion	3	21
Not voting	4	1
	22	22

The Republican Congressmen from New York voted five to one in support of Rankin. Of the three Republicans who had the integrity and courage to vote against him, two—Joseph C. Baldwin and Augustus C. Bennett—were denied renomination by their party leaders.

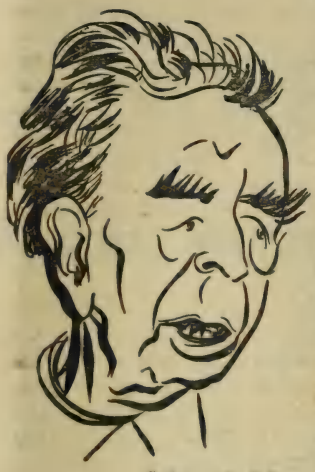
During most of the life of the Seventy-ninth Congress a petition was pending in the House to bring up a motion to abolish the Wood-Rankin committee. It is common knowledge that the principal reason why this petition did not obtain the required number of signatures was the firm position taken against it by Joseph Martin, the Republican leader.

In his present campaign for reelection Martin is running a close race with his Democratic opponent, Martha Sharp, an able and liberal young woman. His principal weapon in the campaign is the ridiculous charge that Mrs. Sharp is a Communist. The close tie between Martin and Rankin is revealed by the fact that after the campaign got under way the Rankin committee started an investigation of the Unitarian Service Committee and its overseas work. This was chiefly in the hope of finding material that could be used against Mrs. Sharp, who acted as agent for the Unitarian Service Committee abroad in 1940 and again in 1945.

For the relief work which she did in Portugal as agent for the Unitarian Service Committee Mrs. Sharp was decorated by the Portuguese government, which is Catholic and strongly conservative. This alone is sufficient to refute the charge that she is a Communist.

We have here the remarkable spectacle of a committee, headed by a Democrat and professedly seeking to expose un-American activities, itself engaged in the un-American activity of assisting one candidate—who happens to be a Republican—in disseminating false charges against his opponent during a campaign.

Governor Dewey, running for reelection, makes frequent attacks on Bilbo and Bilboism. As recently as September 20 he declared in an address that New York has no place for "the tar brush, the lyncher's rope, and the Klansman's sheet for which Bilbo stands," and that "every real New Yorker is determined that the blight of bigotry shall not turn back the clock." But in all his speeches on this subject Dewey has carefully refrained from mentioning Rankin. The reason is obvious. If he attacked Rankin he would be faced with the embarrassing necessity of explaining away the record of his party in Congress on that subject. In the past few weeks Dewey has been repeatedly urged to take a position against the committee, but he has met these appeals with a stony silence.



Caricature by Seligson

John E. Rankin

Mr. Dewey claims that his party has taken over from the Democrats the mantle of liberalism. Republican leaders are constantly charging the Democrats with endangering, if not destroying, our fundamental rights and liberties. These charges must be viewed in the light of the actions of the Republicans with reference to Rankin.

The Republicans cannot escape responsibility by pointing to the fact that Rankin is a Democrat. While the Mississippian nominally wears the Democratic label, an examination of his voting record for the past few years will show that he and the majority of Republicans in the House have consistently voted together. Whether the Republican Party has gone Rankin or Rankin has gone Republican is another question.

To Joseph Martin and the other short-visioned men who, unhappily, control the Republican Party today, it may have seemed clever politics in the midst of the war to clothe the reckless and irresponsible Rankin with the authority of Congress and to send him out on his wild and headlong career of disunity. However, in the long run poor Americanism can never be good politics. If the facts are brought home to the American people they will administer a well-deserved rebuke to the Republican leaders who placed supposed partisan advantage above our fundamental liberties.

The People's Front

IT IS safe to predict that on October 24 the Chilean Parliament will confirm the election of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, candidate of the Radical Party, as President of the republic. Technically, of course, the Parliament is free to choose either Gonzalez Videla or his opponent, the Conservative leader, Cruz Coke; the constitution provides that when no Presidential nominee has obtained an absolute majority, Congress shall decide between the two leading contestants. If the Chilean legislators should favor Cruz Coke over the leader of the left, no one could accuse them of violating the law. But they would be violating the most elementary rules of political common sense. Such an action could only lead to an uprising that would probably result in victory for the masses, followed, after a few weeks, by a military coup à la Perón. Realizing this danger, the deputies of the Liberal Party, whose candidate ran third, have swung their support to Gonzalez Videla. Evidently they recognized that his 50,000-vote plurality expressed not only numbers but the determination of the workers to advance the democratic evolution of Chile.

The task which faces the new President is a challenge to him and to his party. The Radicals have held the Presidency for the last eight years, with Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1939-1942) and Juan Antonio Rios, who died in office last June. Both men tried hard but failed to achieve any real political or economic gains for Chile; although elected by the popular democratic forces, they were compelled to make one concession after another to the right in order to keep power.

I know Gabriel Gonzalez Videla very well. I saw him in one of those moments which take the measure of a man. When the war broke out, he was Chilean Ambassador to France. The French police, already riddled with fascists, many of them in high posts, neglected the ubiquitous Nazi agents and busied themselves rounding up Spanish Republicans and thrusting them into concentration camps. One day I was ordered to leave Paris and establish residence at least twenty-five miles from the capital; the police did this on the thin pretext of shielding me against a Phalangist attack. I told the Chilean Ambassador that I had to go. Without hesitation he answered: "Not unless you want to. You can come and live at the legation with me." At such a moment this took great courage. When Vichy came to power in 1940, he continued to defend the Spanish Republicans in France with the same zeal. Last month, on the day after the Chilean elections, it was rumored that the right would try to steal his victory; within twenty-four hours he had called a mass demonstration of all the left organizations in Santiago to defend the mandate of the people. Evidently he is still the bold fighter I knew in France.

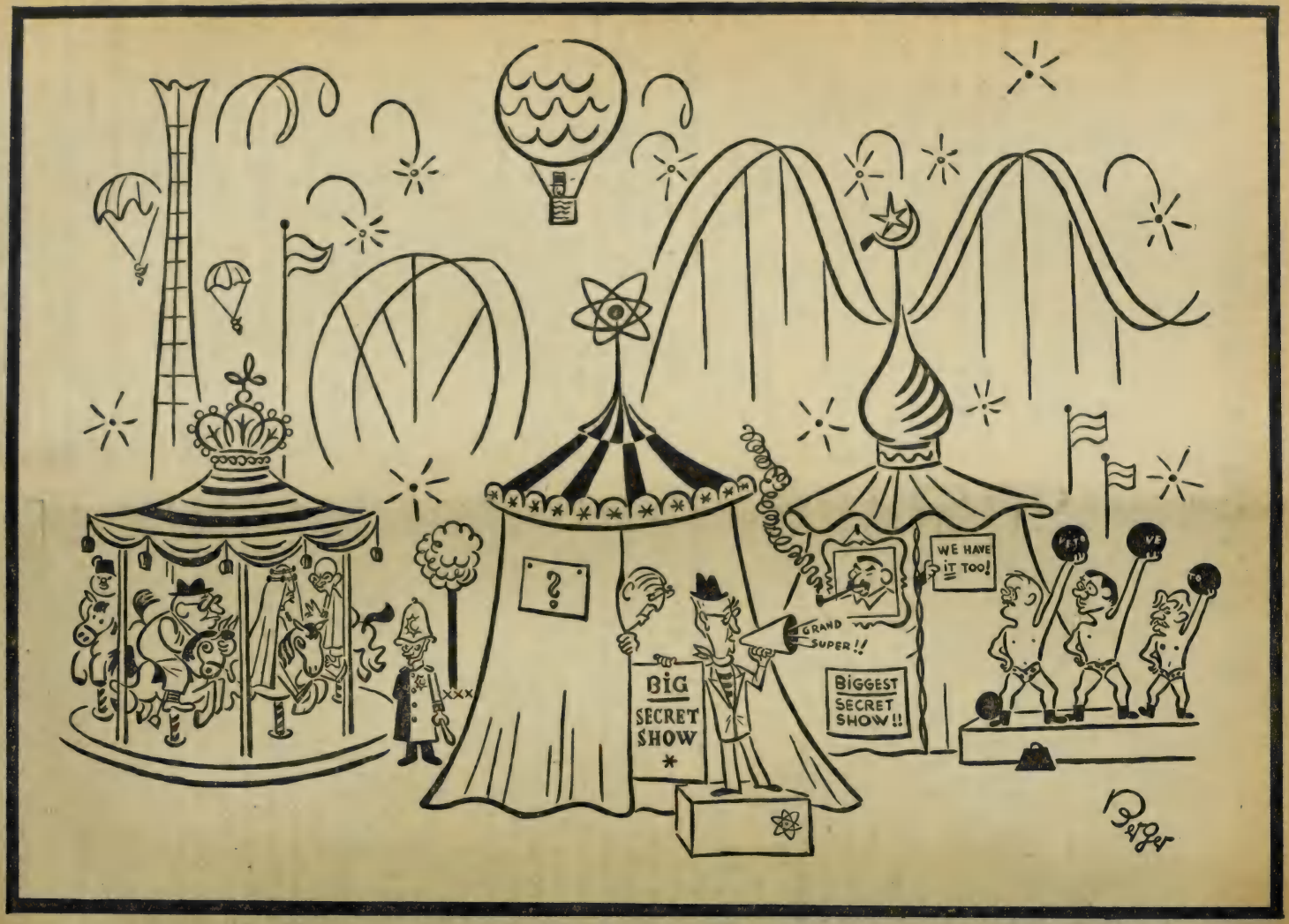
Gonzalez Videla plans to form a representative Cabinet composed of members of the Radical Party, the Communist Party, the wing of the Socialist Party that supported him, and the Liberal Party and Falange, which opposed him. (Incidentally, the Chilean Falange has no connection with the Spanish fascist organization and has decided to change its name in order to avoid any confusion.) In the coming months we shall probably read a great deal about the "Communist dictatorship" in Chile. If we don't, it will be about the first time that a progressive President south of the Rio Grande has had a good press in the United States; usually the accolades are reserved for the Vargases and other "strong men" of the right. Lázaro Cárdenas, whose Presidency of Mexico was perhaps the most extraordinary event in Latin America since Bolívar, passed before the eyes of the American people rather in the unpopular role of a destroyer of "legitimate" foreign interests than as the great social reformer he was.

Latin America cannot even hope that the more progressive section of the American press will counteract the propaganda of the big news chains. With the exception of *The Nation* and a very few other publications, American liberals do not seem to care what is happening in the rest of the hemisphere. Day after day columnists and radio commentators describe outrages against democracy in Europe and Asia. But what about the Dominican Republic, where the most revolting dictatorship rules?

In Latin America one of the most significant social struggles in history is taking place; to the dramatic conflict between classes now in progress throughout the world there is added the clash of races, of white and Indian populations. Few people here seem to know that the outcome of this fight in the southern continent will create within the next ten years enormous political problems for the United States.

It is in this difficult period, when Latin America is threatened by Perón's aggressive fascism and torn by internal strife, that Gonzalez Videla takes leadership in Chile. He has the enthusiasm and youthful energy to succeed. His foreign policy is liberal and anti-nationalist. It is an interesting indication of his views that he has already proposed a plan for an over-all American citizenship which would apply equally to the nationals of every American republic. In the U. N. he will favor a strong democratic policy. His domestic program is progressive though not fully developed. Chile faces many economic difficulties, arising largely from itsheavydependence on foreign investments, particularly in copper and nitrates. Even more than most other Latin American countries, Chile is tied to Wall Street. The results are an impoverished proletariat, side by side with a very small group of wealthy families living like the grandees of two centuries ago, and a state of political instability constantly stimulated by a famine of foreign currency. The only way out in Chile, as in many other Latin American republics, is economic planning aimed at freeing the country from the domination of foreign capital. Gonzalez Videla should create a six-year plan for Chile to secure his independence of action during his term of office. The test will be his ability to improve the condition of the country sufficiently to resist the inevitable pressure of the right supported by financial interests abroad.

DEL VAYO



NEW WORLD'S FAIR

Drawing by Oscar Berger

Postscript on Paris

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, October 16

MR. MOLOTOV had the last word in Paris. Waiting until after the valedictory speech from Mr. Bevin, who commended the conference for having "satisfactorily" accomplished its task of reviewing the five draft treaties and sending them back, with its recommendations, to the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Foreign Secretary of the U. S. S. R. treated the twenty-one nations to a homily in terms as harsh as those of an official party rebuke to deviationists. The conference had been unsatisfactory: efforts had been made to introduce "anti-democratic" clauses into the treaties; "remote" nations such as the British Dominions, India, and Ethiopia had been coerced by dollar-sterling diplomacy into opposing Russian proposals in relation to a Continent in which they had little or no legitimate interest; and certain of the Big Four had been guilty of abandoning some of their previous decisions. Here Mr. Molotov was clearly referring to the significant abstention on the part of Britain and the Dominions in the voting on the article in the Bulgarian treaty defining the frontier with Greece. The Big Four had previously agreed that the frontier should be that of January, 1941; and the Russians were quick to suspect that the British were going back on this decision in order to support at a later date all manner of revisionist claims by Greek monarchists. Bulgaria's interests, Molotov added, would be safeguarded by Russia. In fact, he would make it his business, when the Big Four came to the final drafting of the treaties, to insure that the "incorrect voting" in which the twenty-one nations had indulged would not affect their ultimate terms.

Unless the crossing of the ocean leads to a change of heart as well as sky, Mr. Molotov's attitude bids fair to produce a renewed deadlock when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets in New York. The ministers will, indeed, have to take up their task almost precisely where they left it at the end of their meeting in advance of the Paris conference. On the major issues which were then left open—the "freedom" of the Danube and the status of the Free Territory of Trieste—the Paris debates have done less than nothing to produce a spirit of accommodation: they have merely sharpened the Russian sense of being opposed by an Anglo-American bloc whose satellites extend from China to Peru. The concluding plenary sessions of the conference served merely for a restatement of all the old arguments and for a demonstration that when it came to counting heads the Anglo-American bloc outnumbered the Russian. The resolutions in favor of "equal opportunity" in the Danube valley and of the Anglo-American plan—modified only slightly by the adopted French compromise—for a regime in Trieste in which the governor would have overriding veto powers, and which is described bitterly by the Russians and Yugoslavs as "colonial," were carried by the two-thirds' majority needed to insure that they will receive serious consideration by the Council of Foreign Ministers; but Mr. Molotov has made it plain that though he may be prepared to "consider," he is in no mood readily to agree.

Argument as to rights and wrongs has little point. It may be held that the Russian thesis that commerce and navigation on the Danube should be the exclusive concern of the riparian states is a monstrous affirmation of the principle of closed economies, repugnant to liberal opinion as a system likely to impoverish rather than enrich the world. The reply of the Slav bloc is that in present circumstances "equal opportunity" in the Danube valley means that the economically weak Balkan countries would have no protection against infiltration by rapacious Anglo-American capitalism and the buying up of their key industries by foreign investors, to the detriment of the interests of their people. Equally, it may be argued that when the spokesmen of the Slav bloc contended that the constitution of Trieste should provide for a sovereign assembly and the limitation of the powers of the governor and the Security Council to insuring that the territory's statute was not openly violated, they were proposing a "democratic" solution. The British and American answer is that the democratic machinery envisaged by Mr. Molotov and Mr. Kardelj would be calculated to lead to an immediate vote for the incorporation of Trieste in Yugoslavia, and that the interests of the Triestini can be safeguarded only by keeping the popular assembly in leading strings held by the governor, with armed forces supplied by the Security Council at his call.

Pointing to the apparent British desire to champion monarchist Greece against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania, to ostentatious American tenderness toward Hungary and Finland in the matter of reparations, and to the obvious reluctance of the Western bloc to withdraw their troops from the disputable no man's land of Trieste, the Russians have done their best at the con-

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ference to pose as the protectors of the new "economic democracies" sprung from liberation. The majorities recorded against them in the plenary sessions' voting scarcely support the view that they have made good their claim outside the ranks of their clique of states. They will clearly make further efforts, both when the Big Four meet to draft the treaties and at the session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The British may expect harsh words from Mr. Molotov about the retention of British divisions in Greece and the Cabinet's decision, announced in Parliament this week, to go on paying for the arming and maintenance of the Royalist Greek army until March, 1947. The United States, as well as Britain, is likely to be arraigned by the Russians for its silver dealing with Franco Spain and for its reluctance—which the British government undoubtedly shares—to take any part in imposing an economic embargo against the Caudillo. He is an optimist indeed who looks to see the diplomatic exchanges of the next few weeks—and these, be it noted, will also be concerned with the future of the Dardanelles—making for greater big-power willingness to compromise in the drafting of the five treaties which the Paris conference has reviewed.

Beyond these treaties, moreover, lies the much more important and intractable problem of Germany. The view of a growing number of Labor M. P.'s, which I give for what it is worth, is that the fusion of the British and American zones of occupation has already proved to be a disaster. It seems likely to lead, if it is not already leading, to the rebuilding of western Germany's economy by the importation of American capital and the preservation of the great combines which nurtured Hitler's war machine—not indeed, under their old ownership, but in British and American hands—instead of along the Socialist lines acceptable to the Labor movement here. Every day that this process of rehabilitating Germany on capitalist lines continues, the chances diminish of any quadripartite solution for the future of Germany as a whole. It is idle for Field Marshal Smuts to express the hope that before another meeting of the twenty-one nations a veto will be placed on "ideologies." The clash between the American conception of the future of "democracy"—indorsed it would seem, by the British Labor government—and the Russian conception cannot be smoothed over by phrases. It is real, and it seems likely to bedevil Europe.

Big Business in Japan

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

WHEN the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers) got to work in Japan a year ago, one of the great unknowns was the political temper of the people. Despite the strenuous efforts of various army agencies, the available evidence was contradictory and inconclusive. Some officers expected the potential strength of radical movements to be considerable, while others thought that the leaders had been silenced, jailed, and cut off from contact with the people too long to have much influence. As for the business men, especially those just below the *zaibatsu* level who had suffered from monopolistic constraints, the old Japan hands among us smugly assumed that they would be our natural allies in setting up a "democratic" free-enterprise society.

What we first encountered was a frantic, ruthless scramble for food and shelter, an individualistic spirit of *sauve qui peut* in which no political organization could flourish. Political programs and politicians of all brands were treated with contempt and distrust bred by years of cynical dishonesty on the part of the Japanese government. But MacArthur was required by the directives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to force political consciousness on the Japanese people. (Incidentally, the original directives were extremely liberal and were administered faithfully and vigorously until May, when occupation policies were engulfed by international tensions.) MacArthur met this requirement by heaping responsibilities, especially responsibility for internal economic policy, upon the interim Japanese government, and then encouraging popular criticism of that government. Full civil liberties were restored. Trade unions were nursed along. Radical leaders and intellectuals just released from jail were given radio time and encouraged to revive suppressed publications. By purging the paper-allocation committees, manipulating motion-picture scripts, and controlling radio programs we were able to exert a progressive influence on public opinion. We were even prepared to refrain from opposing a popular movement to overthrow the government.

HAROLD STRAUSS, chief editor of Alfred A. Knopf, spent a year in Tokyo as a captain on MacArthur's staff attached to the Civil Information and Education Division. Two other articles by him on occupation problems in Japan will appear in coming issues.

In order to check on the effects of these measures, the C. I. and E. set up a sizable agency called the Media Analysis Division to report on the political overtones of the press, radio, and movies. Those of us who were connected with this division had an exceptionally good view of the crystallization of the new political forces in Japan. They were not in the least what we expected.

The Socialist and Communist leaders were swept up by the desperate physical needs of the people, and their efforts were diverted from broad social reforms to short-term welfare projects. The worst that the Military Police had to refrain from opposing was a few food riots. The party machinery of the once fairly numerous Social Democrats had been completely destroyed, and it could not be rebuilt on the abstractions of socialism. The intellectuals on whom we had counted to revive such vigorous progressive publications as *Kaizo* and *Chuo Koron* fizzled out lamentably. They vilified the Shidehara government vigorously enough, as everyone did, but advanced only the most timid practical program.

Their timidity had many causes, including the fact that they confronted, not a modern industrial society, but a semi-feudal agricultural society with industrial trimmings. Their strongest immediate inhibition, however, came from their inability to believe that Socialist reforms would be tolerated by the greatest remaining exponent of free enterprise. Yet they could see that many measures being enforced by MacArthur were of a progressive nature—some would say willy-nilly—and all through the winter and spring they wrestled mightily to resolve this paradox. Democracy was the key word. The United States stood for democracy. The Japanese learn things by rote, and they had been taught that democracy and capitalism were historically associated. How did socialism fit in? In hundreds of articles they strained and tortured their wits to provide an answer.

Some who claimed to be Socialists tried to prove that there was no real difference between free enterprise and socialism; some said that America was really Socialist and didn't know it. One humorless pedant blamed the paradox on the inexactness of American terminology, suggesting that just as the First Cavalry Division, then conspicuous in Tokyo, had no horses, so capitalist America was socializing its economic life because modern technology needs a mass base. Other writers advanced the Russian interpretation of democracy, or presented the concept of the welfare state. But all this was merely an intellectual exercise, for the conservative business men and bankers, free of such inhibitions, had stolen the principal plank in the Socialist platform and were shouting mightily for the nationalization of basic industry.

This maneuver by big business caused great surprise and, I must admit, some consternation in the Media Analysis Division. In assembling our list of publications for continuous surveillance and analysis we had carefully included a group roughly corresponding to the *Wall Street Journal*. Some of these were the forthright mouthpieces of banking or commercial interests. Some, not so forthright, we knew to be still surreptitiously financed by the *zaibatsu*. One particularly interesting magazine had a pipe line to the Ministry of Finance and efficiently tipped off speculators to impending fiscal moves. We opposed attempts to purge such publications, because it seemed better to have them out in the open than underground.

In January we noticed that these publications, with a coordination too perfect to be accidental, began a campaign for a planned economy and the nationalization of basic industries. Sometimes they evinced merely a resigned acceptance of the drift toward socialism, but more often they used a tone of positive advocacy. To cite only a few of the available examples, *Jitsugyo no Nippon* said: "Rehabilitation through capitalist policy cannot be expected. Only through state control of finance and production is rehabilitation possible." From *Daiamondo:* "Large-scale industry is essential to Japan's future economy, and with the liquidation of the trusts, that is possible only under nationalization." Again from *Daiamondo:* "It is no easy matter to restore production in an unsettled society with a limited supply of raw materials. Liberalism and free competition cannot solve such problems, for the competition for perpetually inadequate natural resources will be ruinous. A planned economy is necessary." From *Nippon Keizai Shimpo:* "Few financiers and industrialists believe nowadays in the old capitalist creed. Even in the United States not a few employers are advocating a revised capitalism. On the one hand, capitalism is undergoing a modification; on the other, socialism as advocated in Western countries does not deny a role to financiers and industrialists."

Keizai Mainichi carried the theme into politics, urging the Liberal Party to drop its out-of-date creed of economic liberalism—that is, free competition. *Jitsugyo no Nippon* praised the Progressive Party, generally regarded as the most conservative, for neither opposing a planned economy nor insisting upon free enterprise. On several occasions writers borrowed a theme from the left wing and expressed their grave fear that Japan could not make the necessary progress toward socialism while under the guardianship of the United States. In almost

any issue of these publications the name of some corporation chairman or banker would be signed to a piece which declared, "Of course socialistic policies are necessary to save Japan today."

By spring the campaign took on new and astonishing forms. A director of a large public-utility company applauded "the tendency of labor groups to assume management of factories." The reason for this extraordinary view, also adopted by other industrialists, was somewhat clarified by *Daiamondo:* "If labor unions strive *only* for higher wages and the improvement of working conditions, Japanese industry will be paralyzed and in no position to compete for world markets. But if labor shares in policy-making, it will also have to share in responsibility for maintaining labor costs at a competitive level." But perhaps the most impressive contribution to the campaign was a seven-instalment, closely reasoned and brilliantly written analysis of socialism and its necessity in Japan by Itaro Miura, septuagenarian publisher and editor emeritus of *Toyo Keizai Shimpo.* Incidentally, the Media Analysis report on this series was withheld from its usual circulation to Allied missions in Tokyo, presumably on the ground that the Russians might learn something about socialism from it. The furor that the series caused, coming as it did from a man who had long been brother and servant to the tycoons, can only be compared to what would happen here if Henry Hazlitt suddenly took up the cudgels for socialism in America.

What lay behind this campaign? Of course I am not suggesting for a moment that all the reactionaries of Japan had suddenly turned Socialist. Nowadays fascists as well as Socialists are accomplished at nationalizing the means of production, but the movement lacked other fascist characteristics. In my opinion it was the counsel of despair, unconsciously shaped by the peculiar instincts of feudal collectivism which are never far below the surface in Japan and consciously motivated by a desire to be bailed out of a catastrophic economic situation. It was something like the rush of American business to the New Deal in early 1933.

Japanese big business had no plans ready for the eventuality of defeat. When the surrender came, those owners, managers, and superintendents in a position to do so plundered their own companies. They hid valuable machinery in mountain caves and removed supplies and inventories to their private storehouses for future peddling on the black market. Almost all Japanese, rich and poor, had been taught to believe that we would loot and bolshevize the country, and tried to get the jump on us. In many cases little remained of industrial enterprises but the bombed-out shells of factories and their equally shaky financial structures. Most businesses and all banks in Japan are bankrupt in every practical sense. War production, in which almost every firm had participated, was financed by government-guaranteed loans from private banks. Since these loans greatly exceeded the resources of the private banks, they had to be rediscounted at the Bank of Japan. In general, the debts of corporations to banks stand at about 150 per cent of their total assets. Since the government has been forbidden to honor its war-time guaranties, the corporations can only go into bankruptcy, manipulate their way out through uncontrolled inflation (also opposed by SCAP), or submit to nationalization. But under normal bankruptcy proceedings the owners of equities in both companies and banks would be wiped out, and the physical assets would pass to the Bank of Japan. This would be equivalent to nationalization without compensation—and needless to say, the idea of "just compensation" underlies all arguments for nationalization.

A second motive was the hope that the physical entities of large industrial enterprises could be held together by the government against the twin Allied pressures for liquidation of the cartels and for reparations. The dispersal of the cartels among small owners would be fatal to heavy industry. And the Japanese, like the Austrians, seem to believe that nationally owned industries will be better able to resist reparations claims. In this, big business is joined by the Socialists, for both pin their hopes on the retention of large-scale industry and the eventual recapture of export markets.

The last tangible motive was the conviction, frequently expressed, that private industry could not possibly compete freely for raw materials in an economy lacking in natural resources and certain to have its imports restricted for a long time to come. With monopolistic rigging to keep down the cost of raw materials no longer possible and with wages booming thanks to intensive unionization, public ownership seemed the only answer.

But there were also intangible motives. As I have said, collectivist solutions are never very far from the Japanese mind. More sinister, there was some evidence that the industrial bigwigs were not at all reluctant to let their property pass to the government since they hoped to control that government again when the Americans with their foolish insistence on democracy were gone. They remembered that they had succeeded in circumventing all the liberal provisions of the Meiji constitution, and they hoped to do no less for the MacArthur constitution.

In June, however, the Japanese capitalists abruptly changed their minds. They were quick to perceive that under the pressure of international events, notably U. S.-U. S. S. R. tension, the whole temper and tone of the occupation was changing. The softening of the American attitude toward the Japanese economy is a story in itself and must be told separately. The effect of this softening upon the Japanese was that big business had no further need for the counsels of despair. It is now opposing a nationalization program.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Price Decontrol and After

UNLIKE many of my friends, I believe that the President chose the best of several bad possible policies when he decontrolled meat and announced that the already existing program of relaxing controls would be accelerated. I do not, of course, share the simple-minded view that when prices are once again determined by supply and demand, so far as private monopolies permit, our economic troubles will be cured. But I do think that there is nothing so bad as a law which cannot be enforced.

Even during the war, when they were strongly supported by public sentiment, government efforts to stabilize the economy and secure a fair distribution of a limited supply of civilian goods were not too successful; both Canada and Britain developed far more effective programs. And with the end of the war Washington put up but a feeble resistance to demands for business as usual. Even before V-J Day many of the important controls which served to check hoarding were abolished, and with the end of the fighting there was a precipitate rush to abolish rationing. These actions were the fault of the Administration, but the biggest responsibility for the breakdown of price control belongs to Congress, which ignored repeated warnings last spring that by delaying action on the renewal of the OPA's powers it was inevitably encouraging producers to hold goods off the market.

The meat famine last June was the most dramatic example of withholding, and its perpetrators were richly rewarded when Congress at the last possible minute passed a price-control bill that the President very properly vetoed. The subsequent price holiday really marked the end of effective stabilization, for the second bill, passed at the end of July and reluctantly signed by Mr. Truman, was an abortion which commanded neither public respect nor public cooperation. It left the hands of the OPA tied in many cases; it discriminated unfairly between different types of goods; it introduced an absurd division of authority; it encouraged an exodus of trained OPA personnel and so disrupted administration of the law. Lacking vitality and threatened with death when the next Congress convened, it inevitably led to a new bout of hoarding.

When stock raisers and packers started their sitdown strike last month, the government was helpless. It had no power to compel the cattle men to send their beasts to market or to force the packers to buy at prices which, they alleged, would involve them in losses. It is all very well to talk of requisitioning steers, but even if the President's war-emergency powers could have been stretched to cover such an operation, the organization of a grand round-up of the Western ranges would have needed months of preparation and an army of federal agents.

With the elimination of ceilings and the discarding of the wage-stabilization machinery, will our economy set off on an inflationary bender? Personally, I doubt it; in fact, it would surprise me if the cost of living rose as much in the next four months as it has in the last four since OPA was hamstrung. What we are likely to get is some wild fluctuations, with prices of different commodities moving in different directions. The immediate response to Mr. Truman's decontrol move was a fantastic jump in livestock prices which, if held, would almost restrict meat-eating to millionaires. But the simultaneous rush of hogs and steers to the markets indicated that such prices could hardly be sustained. At the same time there was a significant break in grains, particularly corn. With the evacuation of overflowing feed lots and pigpens, now that the livestock interests have won their gamble, the demand for corn, which is in abundant supply, is likely to be curtailed to an extent that will reduce its price far below recent quotations. And in the long run corn and meat prices tend to move in the same direction.

Another significant development was the sharp fall in cotton quotations on October 16. Raw cotton, of course, has long been free from any restrictions and has been rising steadily for months, thanks to an unprecedented demand and an unusually short crop. Textile manufactures have been under ceilings, but there has been steady and successful pressure to force them upward. Thus the situation of both the raw material and the end-products has been such as to encourage speculative hoarding. Now it is anticipated that textiles will be among the early candidates for decontrol, and insiders have begun to wonder whether that may not loose a flood of products on the market just at the moment when consumers, having satisfied their most urgent needs, are showing signs of diminishing eagerness to buy.

The textile industry is not the only line of business in which decontrol may bring on the market a sufficient volume of goods to prevent prices from rising very much, if at all. Recently attention has been drawn to the increasing rate of inventory accumulation. The dollar value of all stocks held by manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers is now more than twice as great as in 1939, and, it has been suggested, we may be in for the kind of inventory inflation that produced the 1937 depression. Taking into account the rise in prices and the much greater turnover now as compared to 1939, the inventory total does not seem unduly large, provided that sales to consumers are maintained on the present scale. However, should a sharp increase in prices be met by increased sales resistance, there might very easily develop a rush to dump inventories which represent withholdings for a higher price rather than legitimate trade needs.

In this event it is probable that retailers and wholesalers would cancel orders wherever possible, while manufacturers cut production and pay rolls. That could start the deflationary ball rolling, and once it does start it is likely to gather momentum, for then we shall find consumers holding back in the expectation of filling their needs more cheaply by exercising patience. Many good authorities believe that this is the immediate danger confronting us and predict that by the middle of 1947 we shall have a collapse in commodity markets and seven to eight million unemployed. If they are right the problem to be solved is how to get over the inflationary crest without too precipitate a descent on the other side.

KEITH HUTCHISON

In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL

WHAT box-office sales are to the theater, Hooperatings are to radio—a gauge of popularity. Since my mail shows that people will jealously defend their own taste in programs against the taste of the average listener, a brief survey of popularity ratings may be useful in enabling readers to criticize the mass taste intelligently and at the same time appraise their own likes and dislikes. Always remember that program quality will be improved only by listening and then criticizing, not by criticizing without listening.

Network Hooperatings have been compiled since 1934 and are published fortnightly. They are based on coincidental telephone queries in thirty-three major cities in which the four major networks have stations. Since network programs set the pace for both quantity and quality, it is necessary for the output of them all to be available if the conclusions drawn from the answers are to be valid. Geographical, numerical, and educational differentials are allowed for, in accordance with standard research procedure.

In the interest of brevity, the data presented below will be based primarily on evening, sponsored programs—more people listen at night and most of the evening programs are sponsored. Each Hooperating covers about 150 commercial programs, which are graded for popularity from as low as 1.2 to highs of 20 and 30. Ratings are compiled in quarter-hour periods and show the comparative appeal of every sponsored program broadcast during that period.

To facilitate a tabular presentation I have divided all programs into seven categories—dramatic, variety, quiz, news and comment, popular music, concert music, and miscellaneous. The first table shows the relative popularity of each category over the years 1944, 1945, and 1946 to date. It is interesting to note that the figures in the third column, even though the season of peak listening is still to come, confirm previous popularity trends. At the end of the war, news, as was to be expected, fell off badly. Concert music came up.

POPULARITY RATING OF PROGRAM TYPES

	1944	*1945*	*1946*
Variety	12.6	10.6	10.1
Quiz	10.6	10.4	.9.4
Dramatic	9.7	9.5	8.6
Popular Music	7.0	7.3	7.6
News and Comment	6.2	6.6	5.4
Concert Music	5.8	5.3	5.6
Miscellaneous	5.5	5.7	4.9

The figures in the following table show what percentage of all programs is available in each of the seven categories.

AVAILABILITY PERCENTAGES BY TYPE

	1944	*1945*	*1946*
Dramatic	25.4	29.1	34.2
Variety	18.9	21.0	18.8
Popular Music	17.8	15.0	15.3
News and Comment	16.3	13.9	11.9
Miscellaneous	8.4	7.1	5.8
Quiz	7.4	7.5	7.6
Concert Music	5.8	6.4	6.4

If you compare this table with the preceding one, you will see that the sponsors are buying the programs that audiences prefer. Notice how, as interest in news lagged, the sponsors also shied away from news and comment. Dramatic programs take first place because a hit dramatic idea will get high ratings and does not cost so much as a variety show; there are usually three or four dramatic shows among the first fifteen in the program popularity ratings. When a variety show clicks, it rates higher, but it is more of a gamble and more expensive. Quiz shows cost less to produce but are even more difficult to make jell.

Clearly, the four types of program at the top of each chart are the prime fare of both listener and sponsor. Talk and discussion programs, excellent as they may be, are not sponsored and do not rate; high-class musical programs show a slight upward trend.

Here, then, are the preferences of radio's mass audience. To what extent do they coincide with your own?

WORTH HEARING

COLUMBIA WORKSHOP (CBS, Saturdays). First and still best of the experimental dramatic programs. Was tarnished for a while, but the gleam of quality is coming through again.

MR. DISTRICT ATTORNEY (NBC, Wednesdays). One of the good mystery "drammers" of radio; especially good when it packs a public-service message.

BATTLE OF THE COMMENTATORS (MBS, Wednesdays). Cecil Brown and Merryle S. Rukeyser give a top current event the verbal once over. Stimulating.

GANGBUSTERS (ABC, Saturdays). One of radio's first thrillers and still a favorite. For a taste of what makes radio run, tune in.

DID YOU HEAR?

FRED ALLEN (NBC, Sundays) give commercial radio a going over to the tune of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Mikado"? Superb radio, priceless satire, and expert humor. If you missed it, a note to NBC may get a repeat performance.

The Nation editors have been gratified at the enthusiastic response to the first columns of Lou Frankel. The fan mail has been heavy. Some letters have raised interesting questions that Mr. Frankel will answer either on the letter page or in future columns. We want to make this column as useful as possible to our "listening audience." Write and tell us what you think of In One Ear and suggest topics you would like to have discussed.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Graves's Own Christ

KING JESUS. By Robert Graves. Creative Age Press. $3.

THIS book should have the excellent effect of forcing the poetic intelligence on the attention of the seminaries. Mr. Graves proposes what amounts to a heresy. He does so not through official channels, so to speak, but by means of a "work of art," confronting the Christian imagination directly with the best that a remarkable modern mind can devise to trouble it. This had remained to be done. With hostile present philosophies the church has coped well enough to give its apologists a rather contented air; they have taken small account of the claims of poetry because poetry as an improved religion has persisted in catacombs of its own. Mr. Graves now emerges, courting whatever persecution he can get for the honor of his brethren—all those to whom poetic intuition and intelligence are the highest grounds of belief.

If there were lions to face—or the stake—would Mr. Graves face them? I am inclined to think so. This may indicate how he differs from George Moore, to make the obvious comparison. "The Brook Kerith" is a smooth work of writing (or rather, I believe, of dictation) but scarcely more a challenge to Christianity than the weaker work of Renan. Moore practiced his art, and incidental irony, for its own sake, for pleasure. "King Jesus" is more formidable. What controls the point in this book is a hand neither light nor grave but muscular, intense but ambiguous, arrogant and bland. The unchristened Welsh visionary in the grandson of von Ranke, Robert Graves has a strong regimental quality; I would not put death for poetry beyond him. And he is "original." As one sensible critic has remarked, Graves's "Claudius" books are simply immortal, in the way "Gulliver's Travels" is immortal, steeped in the ultimate literary dye.

The world is so far from obviously conforming to any of the Christian postulates that a true poet, if he deals with them at all, faces great trials of honesty and taste. Unless the spirit descend to startle him, converting the incredible to the assured, he cannot even write as a Christian; but even if he does, his agony amid paradoxes will not soon come to an end. Eliot's poems, profoundly resigned to that agony, are evidence enough of this. At best there is little to choose—and little power of choice in any case—between "what can be done" with faith and without it; and in our time it is not the poetry of faith that excels. The point that I am getting at is that it should be possible for a Christian—but particularly a Christian writer—to find Graves's perfectly un-Christian "explanation" of Christ's life more fascinating than any he ever heard.

The explanation has all the authority of Graves's curious learning. He suggests this himself in his Commentary (not altogether happily, I think, in that he seems to trade for a moment on his reputation as Imperial historian for the Augustan Age). The learning is not only classical, as heretofore, but rabbinical and anthropological as well. Going on the hypothesis that the Roman governor of Judaea must have had a Roman, administrative reason for placarding Jesus as "King of the Jews," and arguing that as a legalist any Roman governor would have been most impressed by considerations of title, Mr. Graves has concluded that Jesus was actually the legitimate heir to the throne of Herod.

It is a theory of great ingenuity, and it is Mr. Graves's own. In support of it he quotes, as one epigraph of the book, Talmudic passages of the second or third century in which Jesus is referred to as "of the wicked land of Edom" and "near to the kingdom." King Herod the Great grew up as an Edomite (of Esau's tribe); Mr. Graves sees his singularly bloody reign as the effort of a lifetime to restore to Edom the birthright lost to Jacob, at the same time restoring to the Jews the worship of Set, the Egyptian sun god, represented in Jewish tradition as Seth, Adam's son. This is all neat enough. Monarchs everywhere in those ages created or remodeled the institutions of religion, and certainly the Jewish kings after Moses were not above adding to the Law. Herod, swayed by his religious madness, might have had such designs as Mr. Graves ascribes to him. He might, too, have murdered his eldest son, Antipater, whose mother was the Edomite, Dora, to fulfil an ancient ritual prescription that the king should sacrifice his heir—as Abraham consented to do for Jehovah.

The cultist survival in Palestine, even under strict Jewish law, of ancient Egyptian and Canaanite religion is one of Mr. Graves's assumptions. Jesus's mother, Miriam, was herself born "under the old dispensation," as the High Priest, Simeon, calls it—conceived by her mother at the Feast of Tabernacles, which was still a fertility festival in the cult of the Great Mother Goddess of the Mediterranean peoples, whose worship had always required ritual prostitution. Graves represents Miriam and the noble Prince Antipater secretly married by the High Priest, who wishes thus to unite the royal line of David and the royal Herodian house. Simeon thinks that their child, born at the close of the fourth millennium, might well be the Messiah awaited by Israel.

I find a good deal of austere charm in the story of Miriam's sojourn with her cousin Elizabeth, her faintness when she hears the report that Antipater's life is threatened by his father, her marriage after his death to the kind old man chosen for her by Simeon, and the birth at Bethlehem at the winter solstice when the tribesmen of that region believed that not only the sun but time stood still. Graves endows the child Jesus in Egypt with a prodigy's powers of mind and will and more than a prodigy's command of the supernatural. These powers are understood, however, as attributes of supreme royalty: of the sacred kingship with which Jesus is to be anointed (christos). In Graves's version Jesus's godhead is never by himself or others conceived as equivalent to Jehovah's; it is, rather, similar to the divinity of Dionysos or of the Babylonian Tammuz. He is not the Word incarnate, for Mr. Graves rejects "the late and propagandist" Gospel of St. John, but an incarnation, in the historical, intellectual, and

ascetic man, of mythical attributes and destinies: a sage, a poet, a "wonder worker," and a magnificent immortal spirit whose perfection has but one flaw, a flaw fatal to his Messiahship.

Jesus's mission, as he understands it, is to destroy, on Jehovah's behalf, "the power of the Female," that is, of the Great Goddess who is "mother, bride, and layer-out to fallen man." He conquers Anger, Fear, and Lust in his forty days of trial in the wilderness, conquers the Goddess's priestess, Mary Magdalen, in her underground House of Spirals, and when he takes as his queen the third Mary, Lazarus's sister, he maintains his chastity, denying her a child. But his inflexibility is his undoing, for he must then restore Mary's dead brother to her by pronouncing aloud the Holy Name of God, and for this he knows the penalty: he must lay down his life for his friend. Jesus fails, therefore, because he is wrong in believing that the Female's time is done. His defeat makes him a sharer not only in human death—which he seeks, aware of its necessity—but, it is powerfully implied, in the whole mystery of human destiny and effort.

With this skeletal theme the gospel according to Mr. Graves is enacted in a Holy Land to which we have never been before (just as his Rome was an unsuspected city)—a vexing province of fanatics to the cynical Romans, a mountainous garden to the people, God's footstool to the seers and scrupulous expounders of the Law. Those who believe in Jesus's kingship and witness his ritual laming and anointing in a grove of the terebinth oak are Kenite tribesmen, nomads, inheritors of the older faith of Mesopotamia and Canaan, which is compatible also with the religious wisdom of the Essenes, in whose monastery Jesus has prepared for his mission. There are brilliant passages of exposition on Old Testament texts, on astronomical lore and linguistic and symbolic magic—the wisdom of which Jesus is portrayed as a divine master. Besides all this, most but by no means all of the New Testament incidents and sayings are given new meanings in Mr. Graves's context. It is a triumph of perverse plausibility to have made Judas the intelligent disciple whom Jesus commands to betray him; only in this case it is the "late and propagandist" gospel of St. John—elsewhere disavowed—that Graves follows in reporting the incident.

At this point criticism can perhaps begin by noting that the logic pursued by Mr. Graves in his gospel is a "poetic" logic—that is, a rationale of accepting what is consistent with a certain effect and rejecting what is not consistent with it. I hope I have acknowledged sufficiently that the effect achieved in "King Jesus" is quite a wonderful one; and I hope, too, that in speaking of poetic "effect" generally I convey no disrespect, for I understand by it all the validity a poem can have. What is so intensely interesting here is that a mind convinced of that validity and of no other, trusting, that is, to the odd personal vision as best arrived at and therefore hostile by its very nature to the claim of public validity made for Christian truth, should seriously propose an esoteric alternative to Christianity as more satisfying to human intelligence and should at the same time affront the intelligence when necessary, demonstrating time after time the palpable distortions his faith compels him to practice on the simplest matters of record.

Mr. Graves has written this book, as usual, with the pen of a contemporary, an Alexandrian scholar named "Agabus the Decapolitan," and this is a shield for Mr. Graves, since an unknown quantity of his statements about Christ and the Christians can be laid to Agabus's limitations of sympathy and information—or rather to his dismissal of such limitations as actually exist in favor of hypothesis presented as fact. Mr. Graves constructed his account of the relationship between Jesus, Jehovah, and the Great Goddess largely on the basis of recent archaeological studies in Palestine. The known facts are fragmentary and the subject of cautious monographs. It appears that some details of some Jewish observances resembled the prior rites of the heathen—for example, booths of greenery at the Feast of Tabernacles recalled the Mesopotamian and Canaanite fertility festivals. With such data to go on, Graves's imagination, traversing the historical darkness like lightning from horizon to horizon, created a religious Israel all his own.

The lay reader may leave to the seminarists the task of examining this book in detail, but two examples may be noted as typical of Mr. Graves's method. In each case Agabus the Decapolitan is speaking in his capacity as a kind of intelligence officer to undeceive posterity.

"In a somewhat obscene passage in the book of the Prophet Ezekiel is to be found Jehovah's bill of divorcement against his two partner-Goddesses, who are there named Aholah and Aholibah." In Ezekiel, Chapter 23, these names are expressly given to Samaria and Jerusalem, and have nothing to do with goddesses; the passage concerns Jehovah's displeasure with the behavior of Israelite communities.

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why
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"His [Jesus's] usual preface was the twice-repeated Hebrew word *Amen*, which literally means 'He was firm' and which he used in the sense of 'Jehovah has firmly declared.' The Gentile Christians, wishing to exalt Jesus into a God, translate the irksome *Amen* merely as 'Verily.' . . ." For all its assurance this is perfectly wild. Not only was there a Hebrew adverb, *Amen*, meaning "so be it" or "surely," but in the Gospels Jesus invariably followed it by attributing to Himself, not Jehovah, what He was going to say with the words "I say to you."

When the intelligence report is submerged in the narrative, Mr. Graves writes with suavity and beauty, and it is certainly true that he has, as he says, great respect for Jesus. But in passages like those I have quoted there is not only inaccuracy but, as they multiply, a certain anti-Christian pettishness or uneasiness that all Mr. Graves's powers cannot quite dispel. It is, I think, only a consciousness on his part that although the Christ of the church simply won't do for him, his Christ really won't do for anyone. Orthodox Catholics, he concedes, "can afford to disregard my story as irrelevant to their faith; Catholicism is an incontrovertibly logical system of thought, once it is granted that many of the events mentioned in the Gospels transcend human understanding and must therefore be taken on faith"—a premise he says he rejects. But the absurdity of this position must be clear to him, for his Jesus brings Lazarus back to life and himself survives death, and the comparatively minor miracles reported in the Gospels transcend human understanding not more but less than some of the purely magical events Graves has substituted for them. He has, in effect, rejected the infinitely abstract mysticism of St. John's Gospel in favor of a mysticism concerned with oak trees—fragrant to the imagination but theologically not in the same class. ROBERT FITZGERALD

BRIEFER COMMENT

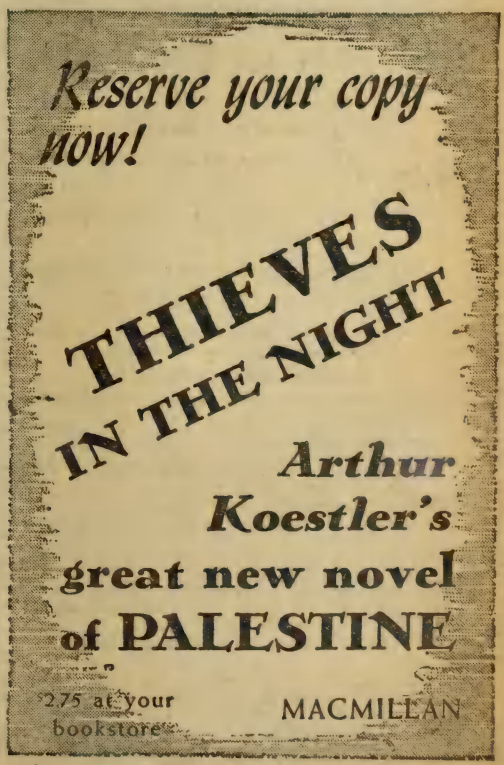
A Plan to Bell the Cat

AN INTELLIGENT CONSERVATIVE'S PROGRAM for full employment and capacity production is offered by Harold Loeb in "Full Production Without War" (Princeton, $3.50). Mr. Loeb, author of the "Chart of Plenty" and the "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity," set out to see how the potentialities revealed by his investigations could be translated into actualities. In the process he acquired an enormous respect for the price economy, without, however, losing faith in his goal. He came to the conclusion that planning and the restoration of free competition were alike impossible, and that the only hope was to make the existing system of monopolistic competition produce full employment and abundance. This book tells why and how. It is closely reasoned, and deserves careful study by both progressives and conservatives. It is therefore a great pity that it is not more readable. There are far too many repetitions, involved sentences, pedantic phrases—Ph.D. jargon.

Mr. Loeb's argument starts from the fact that efficiency is constantly increasing. This makes possible increased wealth, which might be "released" by lower prices or higher wages, but in the main is not and can't be. Instead, it gives us unemployment and depression. The cure is the creation and distribution of new money. But if the spending of this is left to "private agencies," too much of it will go to increasing plant and equipment ("excess capital formation") and too little to consumer goods. Hence the necessity for a broad, "non-competitive" public-works program, taxes to prevent excess capital formation, and a steadily rising minimum wage, with a minimum family income of $4,000 as the goal. This is ingenious, coherent, and logical—though keeping the works program "non-competitive" might present unsuspected difficulties. But would "free enterprise" accept it? That is a question Mr. Loeb seems hardly to have thought of. Yet it is crucial. EUGENE FORSEY

Race and the Church

BUELL G. GALLAGHER, professor of Christian ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, candidly acknowledges the moral bankruptcy of the Christian church so far as its attitude to the non-Caucasian races is concerned in "Color and Conscience" (Harper, $2.50). For when Bilbo declared, without being repudiated by the church, that the white man was the custodian of the gospel of Jesus Christ, he did not know or rather preferred not to remember (a) that St. Paul fundamentally opposed any division of Christianity along racial lines, (b) that until the seventh century a considerable percentage of Christians were colored people, including some of the greatest Christian theologians, and (c) that the identification of Christianity with the Caucasian peoples, an obvious deviation from Christian principles, merely afforded a cheap



excuse for bringing the black heathen "under the gracious civilizing influences of the Christian faith—to save his soul by buying his body, thereby profiting the master in this world and the slave in the next."

The author warns that the colored peoples, all over the globe, outnumbering the whites two to one, are fed up with white imperialism and world domination, and he demands for them full social and political freedom *now*: "A peace built on white supremacy is the guarantee of tomorrow's global war on race lines." A first step in the direction of progress would be the abandonment of the fundamental confusion between supremacy and superiority: "The first is an undeniable fact of the present world; the second is an invention of the mind to defend the first." Church and school should stress that while differences between individuals exist, there is no such thing as superior and inferior races.

Turning to the American scene, the professor insists that equality of opportunity *without* social equality, which more liberal-minded whites are willing to grant the American Negro, and the meeker ones among the colored people are ready to accept, would not solve the problem. The caste system must be utterly destroyed: "The real significance of color caste lies not in color, but in caste. With caste removed, color ceases to have irrational overtones attached to it." Even Bilbo's slightly more liberal colleague from Mississippi, Senator Eastland, would be shocked by the author's quite logical demand that all taboos be removed from intermarriage between colored people and whites.

A church without Christian ethics is dead, the professor exclaims, and in this ardent and sincere appeal to Christian conscience he urges clergy to abandon the dangerous identification with white supremacy which he regards as a serious internal threat to the church itself. One deplores that in this otherwise comprehensive study the economic undercurrent behind the cry for white supremacy is not emphasized. It is less ignorance than racial egotism that makes men like Bilbo and Eastland, as well as their ilk abroad, stubbornly cling to the folly of racialism. It is the old fallacy of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. Professor Ashley Montague recently suggested that the theory of racism was precipitated by the slaveholders' necessity to prove the inferiority of the slaves in order to ward off the dangerous arguments of the Abolitionists. Hitler admitted to Rauschning that he knew in the scientific sense there was no such thing as race, but that he needed that precarious concept to further his plans. Professor Gallagher should remember that the church will fight against color bias efficiently only from the moment it prefers to be the spokesman for all those that labor and are heavy laden rather than to be a tool of the rich.

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An Analogical Empiricist

WILLIAM JAMES WROTE in his Hibbert Lectures: "Let empiricism once become associated with religion, as hitherto, through some strange misunderstanding, it has become associated with irreligion, and I believe that a new era of religion as well as of philosophy will be ready to begin." So spoke the prophet, and one wonders why the naturalists have not had to sweat as much blood in explaining it away as the Catholics in making palatable the *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*. Perhaps the answer lies in James's cautious, equivocal, un-Kierkegaardian approach to the whole question, which has not satisfied the orthodox either inside or outside the fold.

In "Religion of a Scientist" (Pantheon, $3.50) Dr. Lowrie of Princeton, Kierkegaard's translator, has undertaken to introduce the work of James's chief source of inspiration in religious matters, Gustav Theodor Fechner. In the preface to the one other book of Fechner's available in English, "The Little Book of Life After Death," James speaks of him as "a philosopher in the great sense of the term . . . one of those multitudinously organized crossroads of truth." In this day of specialization, of the great and the "smelly little" orthodoxies, Fechner will appeal to most readers as a charming curiosity, a dealer in probabilities and the cosmological *quien sabe*. Psychologists may remember him as the founder of experimental methods in psychology and the notion of the "threshold"; physicists may have heard of his theory of psycho-physics, or botanists of his work on the soul life of plants, later elaborated by Francé; but very few will think of this immense scientific labor as only the groundwork for a new natural theology. Like Goethe, despite his inductive precision, he relied chiefly on reasoning from analogy: Goethe called it "graciously disposing one to belief." And as in Goethe also, there are overtones of Spinoza, Plato, and a Leibnizian optimism. An autumn haze of mid-nineteenth-century confidence mellows all of Fechner and makes him a strange cross between Emerson and William James. The materialism of the time was cruder and easier to combat than

our modern materialisms; the faith-for-faith's-sake argument seemed more innocent than it does now.

Dr. Lowrie had an almost hopeless task in attempting to distil the essence out of Fechner's fifty-one published works, which range from minute discussions of plant *mores* to poetic rhapsodies and pseudo-medical lampoons on such subjects as A Proof That the Moon Is Made of Iodine. The book leaves you unsatisfied—and a little bewildered—which is what the editor seemed to intend. I found his commentary lively and interesting. R. W. FLINT

FICTION IN REVIEW

FOR some reason the wonderful central idea of Kenneth Fearing's "The Big Clock" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) calls to mind an otherwise unmemorable novel, "The Chinese Room," which could boast a character who experimented on his own mind by writing himself anonymous letters. In Mr. Fearing's anti-detective story—since we always know whodunit, Mr. Fearing's book can scarcely be called a mystery—the basic notion is even more beguiling. Here a young man is appointed to supervise a hunt for himself, though he knows that to discover himself means death. Unfortunately, the resolution of this dilemma is not equal to its invention: the conclusion of Mr. Fearing's novel is as fortuitous as the arrival of the marines in an old movie thriller. But we cannot have everything, even in books whose only purpose is entertainment, and despite the letdown of its ending, "The Big Clock" is one of the pleasantest suspense stories to appear in a long time. And this is not a matter only of its central device. There is also its light-fingered but telling satire of the intellectual high jinks that go on high in the offices of *Crimeways*, where the hero is employed. Of the several novelists who have had their fun with a certain fabulous magazine empire, Mr. Fearing is the most intelligent and economical.

Disappointment is an inadequate word to describe the chief emotion with which anyone who enjoyed Christine Weston's "Indigo" will read her new novel, "The Dark Wood" (Scribner's, $2.75). Mrs. Weston's book has several threads of narrative. First, it is the story of a young war widow who refuses to believe that her husband is dead until she meets another man with an uncanny resemblance to him. Second, it is the story of this resembler, a veteran who has returned from the war to find that his wife no longer loves him. Third, it is the story of the resembler's wife and her attempts to get a divorce so that she can marry her noncombatant lover. But neither separately nor in their interweaving do any of these threads guide us to whatever Mrs. Weston had in mind when she conceived her novel—except that one comes to suspect she was probably trying to say something healthy about readjustment to post-war situations. The very dense "wood, which by no path was marked" through which Mrs. Weston's characters wander is equally uncharted for her readers.

In T. H. White's "Mistress Masham's Repose" (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $2.75) a little orphan girl of ten who is being reared by a cruel governess and a wicked vicar discovers an island inhabited by the descendants of Swift's Lilliputians. Her guardians want to capture the tiny creatures for a circus, but with the help of a benevolent cook and an eccentric scholar the little girl outwits these exploiters. This is one of those books—on which the English seem to have a corner—designed for children of all ages. But also in the way of such English fantasies, "Mistress Masham's Repose" is far better than it sounds in outline. It is literate, graceful, and malicious, not merely whimsical, altogether a really charming contrivance. DIANA TRILLING

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

EUGENE O'NEILL'S first play in twelve years is "The Iceman Cometh," now current at the Martin Beck Theater. The performance starts at 5:30 in the afternoon and runs, with a short intermission for dinner, until the conventional 11 p. m. Probably not more than half of the theatergoing public gives more than reluctant consent to the accepted proposition that O'Neill is first among American playwrights, but most of the members of even that reluctant half go grumbling to the appointed playhouse at the appointed unaccustomed hour. If Mr. O'Neill has so much as the normal human love of power, then the spectacle presented must in itself be sweet. No other American dramatist would dare ask what he asks. In all the world only he and Shaw can give what amounts to command performances and have the command obeyed. Before the curtain went up on the first night, tickets had been sold many weeks ahead, and even the grumblers will fight for the privilege of being allowed to grumble.

In the daily press the old irreconcilable differences of opinion were again spread out at full length. In one evening paper the bewildered reader might learn from the reviewer of the published text that "The Iceman Cometh" is a ponderous, incompetent bore and on an adjoining page find the drama critic expressing the opinion that it is, on the contrary, one of the indisputable masterpieces of modern writing for the stage. Precisely this difference of opinion just as sharply expressed has, moreover, been the prevailing rule since the days, now some three decades removed, when Mr. O'Neill's earliest pieces were being performed at the Provincetown Playhouse. And it is a significant fact which I have never seen noted that no one ever thinks of him as merely a pretty good playwright or maintains that he is, let us say, the second- or third-best American writer for the stage. By common and this time enthusiastic consent, he is either the first or the twenty-fifth, either great or contemptible. And though this, of course, does not prove that either the one judgment or the other is sound, it remains nevertheless a point in his favor. Even the very worst judges seldom confuse the excellent with the pretty good, and genius is almost never mistaken for mediocrity, though it is, often enough, denounced as incompetence.

The new play will not change anyone's opinion. Twelve years may have set Mr. O'Neill a little more firmly in his ways, may have made him even less concerned than before to placate any spectator whose expectations are not those which he is able to fulfil, but "The Iceman Cometh" might have been produced in 1934 instead of 1946 for any observable difference between it and its predecessors in theme, or mood, or technique. Here, in the back room of a saloon below which no lower depth exists, a group of broken men await the coming of a traveling salesman who has promised them a share in one of his periodical drunks. Presently he appears, strangely transformed, to announce that he has saved himself and that he is prepared to save them. They must stop putting off until tomorrow that first step on the road back which each has for so long been promising himself, and for a time it seems that the traveling salesman is some sort of Third-Floor-Back or Stranger-in-the-House. But presently it appears that the reform he has in mind is of no conventional kind. What he wants is that each should destroy in himself the last torturing hope, learn once for all that he cannot ever do what he has thought of doing, and then, like the traveling salesman himself, accept the freedom which comes when the last illusion is lost. How he himself has lost it is the dramatic secret not revealed until near the end, and it need not be told here, but among the group to whom he preaches only one, or possibly two, becomes his convert. The rest return to the bottle with whose help they can still delude themselves, and the moral seems to be that freedom from illusion is the freedom of death, that the man who has conquered the liar hope has conquered life also. Because the action takes place in a saloon, "The Iceman Cometh" has already been compared to Saroyan's "The Time of Your Life," and it has also, more reasonably, been compared to "The Lower Depths." But in theme at least the more meaningful parallel is with "The Wild Duck," where "the life illusion" is similarly presented as the shameful prop without which most men, at least, cannot stand.

Eddie Dowling, for the Theater Guild, has staged the play with great care, and though there is really no star, no virtuoso performance likely to entertain the spectator to whom the play is not in itself interesting, it is set forth with full competence and in a fashion which should make it impossible not to judge it on its own merits. How, then, can it be that the judgments are so wildly diverse; how can the work possibly seem to two reasonably competent people a masterpiece on the one hand, a monstrous imposture on the other? How can the whole corpus of the author's writing and his standing as a playwright be the subject of a similar dispute, if, indeed, two discourses which seem never to meet on any common ground can be called a dispute?

The only possible explanation seems to me to be an irreconcilable difference in standards and expectations, and it may as well be admitted that many of the things which have always been said about O'Neill's plays and which will be repeated about this one are true as far as they go. In certain senses of the term O'Neill is not a good writer. He has never learned, perhaps never cared to learn, the disarming ingenuity which enables many to make even a foolish story seem diverting, and taking himself with full seriousness, he has never attempted to disarm criticism by the mock-modest assumption that he is, after all, only a popular entertainer. He lacks wit in even the broadest sense of the term, and his dialogue, far from being poetic, is often heavy in a way that remotely suggests the heaviness of Dreiser. I said once and I am willing to repeat that for a man who possesses genius or something very much like it he is singularly devoid of that mere talent which Shakespeare, let us say, so abundantly possessed. For the sake of argument at least I will also admit that the nihilism of the present play was more modish twenty years ago than it is today and insist that the question of his intellectual profundity is not really relevant. If these admissions constitute an indictment from which there is no acquittal, then there is no more to be said. A dozen playwrights can write plays sparkling with all the virtues that O'Neill never remotely suggests. But a reputation even grudgingly granted has already, in thirty years, been somewhat tested by time, and it has survived the absence of almost every secondary support. The uniqueness of O'Neill's position testifies to the uniqueness of his quality. His somber power continues to assert itself and cannot be dismissed. What distinguishes him is not skill and

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it is not, primarily, intellect. What does set him apart is a depth of passionate sincerity, an intensity of emotional conviction, almost monumentally impressive. There is, in all probability, no other playwright to whom the plays which he writes mean so much—not in terms of fame or money or in terms of the legitimate joy of the artist in performing his function, but in terms of the feeling and the conviction which they express. Obviously to O'Neill the tragic sense of life is an overwhelming and ever present reality which envelops everything and beside which nothing else counts. And to the fact that he does, in spite of everything, manage to convey that tragic sense the grumbling presence of his detractors pays its tribute.

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT IS interesting to compare Marcel Pagnol's "The Well-Digger's Daughter" with the popular American film "To Each His Own." Both examine at some length the consequences of having an illegitimate child, and both, in their very different ways, are highly designed and artificial. But the American film, for all its polish as a production and in spite of a good many glints of secondary reality, struck me as one of the most false and unpleasant movies in years; whereas the French film, pitifully raw as a production—it was made during the German occupation—and showing its own fair quota of worse faults than that, has about it a very remarkable amount of truth and beauty.

"To Each His Own" is so little worth talking about that I will make few more comparisons: let it suffice that from the moment the girl knows she is pregnant she acts like the moral coward nearly everyone in Hollywood and in the audience requires her to be, and that every plot complication and tear jerk from there on proceeds from, and exploits, premises of cowardice, cynicism, and the rottenest kinds of sentimentality. In "The Well-Digger's Daughter" it never once occurs to the girl, or to her father, or to anyone else that she must avoid the consequences or be tricky about them, and most of the rest of the picture, proceeding from this simplicity, remains equally real and touching. There is a beautiful scene, for instance, in which the girl tries to tell her casual lover of her sadness in being no longer a virgin, of her sense of separation from her family. There is a very painful scene in which the workman brings his pregnant daughter—and her five younger sisters—before the parents of the young man; these parents, true to their shopkeepers' mentality, cannot conceive that he has come for anything but blackmail, and manage to infect the father with their own assumption that the girl is a promiscuous liar. And there is a wonderful scene in which these parents, who have just learned that their son has died in the war, first see and desire to help their grandchild. Such scenes as these are written and played with a gentle and pure feeling for outrightness and comedy which makes all that is most serious in them extremely unaffected and poignant. In later scenes, significantly, when the story goes questionable—with the son's unexpected return, and eagerness to marry the girl—the acting goes rocky too. Even the late Raimu, as the girl's father, an actor with matchless discretion, as a rule, about when to neutralize the sentimentality with something dry, hard, and practical, puts on an old-fashioned gagging smirk which must now cause his ghost one of the few blushes it ever need suffer. And the delightful clown Fernandel, who has been finely sympathetic as the second-string suitor, shoves his head in the window for the punch-line with all the quality that used to be got by making Buck Jones's horse flare his lip and cross his fore hoofs at the final clinch.

In at least half of this film, however, it is so happy to see people behaving like human beings in a basic, moving, difficult situation that I thoroughly understand and like what Archer Winsten means when he writes that such a film can be made only by the pure in heart. And mainly I agree. But to an extent even much that I like in this film, and in its whole French kind, makes me uneasy. I'm not too fond of the fondness for nature symbolism—the bread in "Harvest," or here, the contrast-collaboration between aviation and well-digging. But I could let that be. What bothers me more is that something goes a little fishy about the purity of attitude in which the people are seen—good and true as it is, essentially. This sense of honoring the basic needs and experiences and values, of delighting in the animal innocence of unspoiled people, is hard though I hope not impossible to have without some taint both of sophisticated patronage and of snobbish, pseudo-respectful sentimentality, and without depending upon and stimulating those attitudes, however obscurely, in the audience. At its queasiest the attitude seems to read: "We're all just more or less good animals—or anyhow *they* are, and how we like and envy them." It is more worldly wise and more genuinely humane, but it makes me think of the attitude of the nicer Southern people toward "darkies"; it even sets some faint bells blurring over in the Hitler corridor, where all such simplicities are, I gather, sincerely yet perversely venerated. I think there is much in these simplicities that requires our veneration, but that for people sophisticated enough to feel the veneration, there are many hidden traps.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, during its brief fall season at New York's City Center, presented a new ballet, "The Bells," which made one feel sorry for the dancers who had to make themselves ridiculous in it. Also, Balanchine's "Serenade" was restored to the repertory, but in a condition which indicated that it had not been rehearsed enough. Insufficient rehearsal of a company which included many new dancers was one of the things that made the performances of other works less brilliant than they had been; another was the injury that kept Danilova out of the performances—with consequences that would have been less serious if the management did not persist in operating without enough leading dancers. In addition there was the injury to Tallchief. And as though the company were not sufficiently unnerved by all these things, there was the loss of Balaban, who had provided the dancers with the secure musical foundation they needed, and his replacement by Boutnikoff, who made things difficult for them with tempos that were excessively fast or excessively slow when they were not erratic.

At the Metropolitan Opera House Mr. Hurok has presented a combination of (1) the De Basil Ballet Russe, (2) Markova and Dolin and their group taken from Ballet Theater, and (3) Eglevsky and Hightower. The De Basil repertory has been performed by the De Basil personnel; Markova has danced in "Pas de Quatre," "Giselle" (which I have not yet seen), and the new "Camille" with additional dancers from the De Basil company; Eglevsky and Hightower have danced classical *pas de deux*

by themselves, and have contributed the "Bluebird" *pas de deux* to the De Basil "Aurora's Wedding." Since most of the De Basil repertory and personnel are poor the results have been rather unsatisfactory evenings—for example, an evening in which the crude performance of Stroganova in "Swan Lake" was followed by Lichine's "Cain and Abel," one of the worst ballets ever seen in New York, then by "Pas de Quatre," in which Markova and Hightower danced with Stroganova and another poor dancer, Morosova, and finally by the interminable hubbub of Massine's "Fantastic Symphony."

One of the slightly better evenings began with the hubbub of Lichine's "Francesca da Rimini"; then came Taras's "Camille," which I thought was much better than his "Graziana"—more individual and ingenious in invention—and which had a superb setting by Cecil Beaton and was beautifully performed; then the "Black Swan" *pas de deux* with Eglevsky and Hightower; and finally "Graduation Ball," which was badly horsed up, but which had the charming "Giselle and the Scotsman" episode, beautifully done by the company's most talented dancers, Stepanova and Tupine. They danced in "Les Sylphides" another night, and also in "Yara," which had good music by Mignone, beautiful settings by Portinari, and choreography by Psota that was delightful in the gay early scenes but boring when it got solemnly symbolic; and while the principals in "The Blue Danube" were not very good, the over-all effect was pleasant, largely because of the original setting and costumes that De Basil retained when Massine took "Le Beau Danube" away with him.

Ballet Theater lost Markova, but it retained Kaye and Alonso, who are highly accomplished dancers; it lost Eglevsky, but replaced him with Youskevitch, who is a more elegant classical dancer; it got back Laing for the Tudor ballets, and Tudor himself to rehearse them with the many new dancers. The result was a strong company which, in the more intimate Broadway Theater, has given precise, finished, and at times brilliant performances of Tudor's "Lilac Garden," "Pillar of Fire," and "Romeo and Juliet," De Mille's "Tally-Ho," Robbins's "Fancy Free," and other works of this kind that I care less for, such as "Robbins's "Interplay" and Kidd's "On Stage." There have been also, thus far, beautiful performances of "Swan Lake" with Kaye and Youskevitch, a hair-raisingly brilliant "Black Swan" *pas de deux* by the same dancers, and other lovely *pas de deux* by Alonso with Youskevitch and Kriza.

But Balanchine's two works have come out less well. In "Apollo" Alonso, Kaye, and Fallis have remained and have been excellent, but Youskevitch doesn't yet know his part well enough and hasn't danced it long enough to fill it out into the sustained flow that Eglevsky achieved. But even with this lessened effectiveness the work is still the glory of Ballet Theater's repertory, which the management might recognize by not always putting it first on the program, to be wrecked by late comers. And the management may be critized for not only putting "Waltz Academy" first every time but for treating it very shabbily otherwise: its subtleties and strokes of wit in dance terms require the utmost precision of execution to come off; but it has been given with many new dancers who have not been rehearsed sufficiently, with Fallis who is unable to do what Kaye used to do in her part, and with Alonso who dances in the wonderful *pas de deux* so languidly as to deprive it of the brilliance it used to have with Gollner and Hightower.

The new version of "Pas de Quatre" is charming, and was well-danced by the group headed by Alonso, whose own feats of quietly achieved point-balance were comparable with Markova's, but whose performance did not have the wit of Markova's. "Les Patineurs" has very bad music by Meyerbeer, an over-cluttered setting and rather ugly costumes by Beaton, and choreography by Ashton that is amusing for a while, but too slight for its length. And that is all I have seen so far.

P. S. I have seen Ballet Theater's new production of "Giselle," with settings and costumes by Eugene Berman, effectively revised choreography and staging, and performances by Alonso, Kaye, and Youssevitch that make it one of the most excitingly beautiful and powerfully dramatic pieces of "ballet theater" in recent years. Don't miss it.

Letters to the Editors

Conscription a Necessity?

Dear Sirs: A veteran whose memories of service life are by no means all pleasant, I nevertheless believe wholeheartedly that conscription is both a moral and a practical necessity for the difficult years to come. Current opposition to the bill seems to be based on two romantic fallacies: (a) that military training "maintains the war system" through fear, and degrades the religious and political fiber of the nation; and (b) that conscription inevitably entails an armament race and aggressive imperialism. These arguments are essentially the same as those of the pre-war utopian pacifists and isolationists, based on a negative fear of moral contamination rather than a candid appraisal of moral and physical resources. They tell us that instead of depending on the services to teach citizenship, we should inaugurate a "real" citizenship program in our educational system, ignoring the fact that military life is one of man's oldest and most effective educational systems. Nobody expects the army alone to make citizens, but it can be a step toward understanding of the meaning of community. . . .

There are frivolous arguments on both sides. Nobody wants conscription to create health or better citizens as if we were living in a political vacuum. It is necessary because, while we are what we are in a world not yet ready to forswear the arbitrary use of power for nationalist ends, we must keep our power within the moral control of a democratic process rather than leave it in the hands of a few professionals. . . .

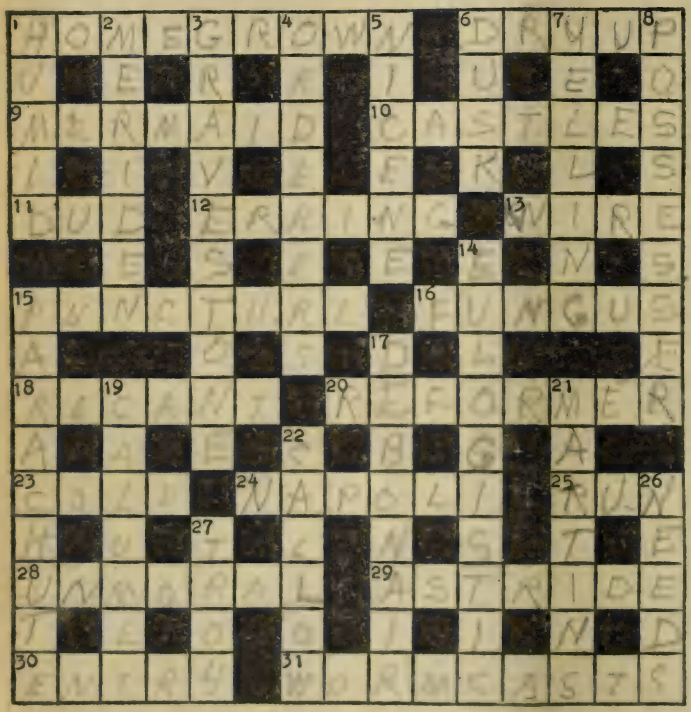
It is time we stopped equating military life with its abuses; this war made it clear that the abuses arose chiefly from irresponsibility of command and the excessive privileges of command rather than from any more fundamental defect of democratic organization. There is no basic reason why peace-time military life should be any more degrading than, say, fraternity life in the colleges. . . .

Why must we be more purist in this field than in our economic life? Certainly, the ultimate end of an army is to fight, but the aim of any competitive activity is the destruction of its opponents. Freedom from fear must always be a relative thing; the plain fact of the present is incipient anarchy that can only be overcome by a gradual healing of moral and ideological wounds over a long period of time. A realistic policy recognizes that preparedness through limited conscription is a means to that end.

Conscription is, of course, only a temporary expedient and useful only while larger world military organizations are in the planning stage. Perhaps its greatest use will be as a link between

Crossword Puzzle No. 184

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Adjective of no import
6 Say no more! (3 and 2)
9 She is particular about her coiffure, but has no interest in shoes
10 King's places, or changes places with a king
11 One failing to make a report
12 Going about looking for trouble
13 A message from the pole
15 Not a desirable blow-out
16 Sport, Gus, may prove poisonous
18 Eat humble pie
20 In war this politician might rally broken ranks
23 Old King
24 Naples, as the Italians know it
25 Get a move on
26 Ethical? Just the reverse
29 Exerting pressure on both flanks
30 As many of the gentry as gain admittance
31 Seen on lawns after wet nights

DOWN

1 Warm and moist
2 Town of Connecticut
3 It's highly improbable that you'll ever read what it says about you
4 They like to give others orders
5 An old Creed
6 When we incline to take a gloomy view of things
7 Making a howler?
8 He has
14 Stoic guile (anag.)
15 It opens during the fall
17 Debutante broadcasting. Very genial
19 Peace pipe
21 Birds of the swallow kind
22 The cow has eaten every bit of the green
26 We no longer have them when we meet them
27 Helen's weight

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 183

ACROSS:—1 ASTERISK; 8 DESPAIR; 9 PARTISAN; 10 TSARINA; 12 EVIAN; 13 ORIENT; 14 NEWTS; 15 ISABEL; 17 NOMAD; 22 LAKES; 23 OSIRIS; 24 INGOT; 26 DENOTE; 28 LINGO; 29 KINGDOM; 30 SKYPILOT; 31 ENTRIES; 32 DECLINED.

DOWN:—1 APPLE PIE; 2 TERMINAL; 3 REIGN; 4 SHADOW; 5 PEASE; 6 SPORTED; 7 LINNETS; 10 TIMON; 11 ANNALS; 16 ELATED; 18 MELON; 19 FRANKLIN; 20 ESCORTED; 21 ENSIGNS; 22 LODGERS; 25 HECKLE; 27 NOBEL; 28 LAPEL.

our bitter past experience with a pacifist-utopian philosophy and our hopes of a realistic, responsible center of preventive world power—if, in the last analysis, there is such a thing.

R. W. FLINT

New York, October 3

Radio Executive Applauds

Dear Sirs: May I congratulate you on the new weekly radio page, which, I learn, is to be a regular feature of *The Nation*. In Lou Frankel you have one of the best-informed men in this field. He knows the subject of radio broadcasting, and, perhaps because his ideas coincide so closely with my own, I think his point of view is absolutely sound. As a regular reader of *The Nation*, I welcome this new department.

NATHAN STRAUS
President, WMCA

New York, October 11

Uphold's Rachmaninov

Dear Sirs: Whether one agrees or not with the commendations or strictures of your Records department conductor, there is no doubt of his seriousness about music. It is therefore the more provocative that in a recent article Mr. Haggin referred to the Second Concerto of Rachmaninov as "trashy." I am at a loss to understand how anyone who has heard this masterpiece rendered, either by Rachmaninov himself or another, can dismiss it so unqualifiedly. That it contains passages of frank sentiment does not, in my opinion, detract from its merit. Music is preeminently the voice of the soul and its deepest emotional claims, and it is understandable that Concerto No. 2 should have been used for its dramatically poignant content as background to a number of films. The earliest instance of this, I believe, was in "The Scoundrel," the Hecht-MacArthur picture starring Noel Coward. There is a depth and organic unity to this particular work of Rachmaninov which justifies its present vogue and which will undoubtedly catapult it to immortality.

Could it be that Mr. Haggin finds no echo in himself of the experience embodied in Rachmaninov's darkly beautiful piece? Could it be that mass popularity itself offends him? One final comment: if films can stimulate music appreciation in "those who are receiving their musical education from the films," should Mr. Haggin curl his lip?

MAURICE PEIZER

New York, October 11

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

IS MR. CHURCHILL JUST TRYING TO MAKE our flesh creep by his portentous remarks about the size of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe, or is he seriously implying that Russia is planning early physical aggression? Expressing alarm about the rapidity of British demobilization (a year ago he was chiding the Labor government for not releasing men fast enough), he alleged that the Soviets were maintaining 200 divisions on a war footing in European countries outside Russia and demanded confirmation or denial of his figures. When the government spokesman confessed inability to give exact numbers, Mr. Churchill charged "evasion" and asked for formal talks between government and opposition leaders—a step taken only in the event of a grave crisis. All this seems to us an unnecessary and provocative ringing of alarms at a moment when the first international necessity is a reduction in tension. It is known that there are large, too large, Russian forces in Eastern Europe, but Mr. Churchill's estimate of 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 seems way out of line. In an article in the New York *Times* of September 29, Hanson Baldwin put Russia's armed forces at about one-third of their peak war strength of twelve to fifteen million and estimated the total outside Soviet frontiers at "more than 1,500,000." This, however, included considerable numbers in Korea and Manchuria. Moreover, the Soviets appear to be reducing rather than increasing their armed strength. The 1946 budget for the U. S. S. R. cuts military expenditure to little more than half the 1945 total, and a new demobilization order—the fourth within the last six months—has just been announced. Most suggestive of all is accumulating evidence of a shortage of man-power in Russia's fields and factories, a shortage which endangers fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan and limits Russia's ability to fulfill Mr. Churchill's ominous predictions.

*

A STORM IN A GLASS OF RUSSIAN TEA WAS whipped up by the recent report that in the U. N. Atomic Commission Professor S. P. Alexandrov had made radical proposals for a worldwide survey of uranium resources "that even went beyond some phases of the United States control plan." The immediate response to this sensational report gave some indication of the eagerness of the American people to detect a change of heart in the Russians, who have consistently stood firm on the Gromyko plan for national as opposed to international control. It now appears that the Alexandrov "proposal" was wrenched from its context in the amicable and informal discussions which are being carried on in the private sessions of Committee 2. As far as we can learn, what the Soviet delegate was discussing was the problem raised by the differences between high-grade and low-grade ore and the relative availability of uranium that might depend upon the varying efficiency of extractive methods. As King Gordon pointed out in *The Nation* of October 19, the Atomic Energy Commission has made some headway by carrying on its discussions on the technical level with specific reference to the main phases of the control problem: (a) diversion of materials, (b) clandestine operations, (c) forcible seizure of installations. This is hardly the stage in negotiations when sensational "revelations," however well-intentioned, should be sought for. Political differences or concessions will doubtless emerge later. Meanwhile, let's give the commission a chance to reach what agreement is possible on the practical details of control.

*

FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS SEEKING CREDIT from the United States put themselves in a false position when they simultaneously applaud attacks on "dollar diplomacy." But the State Department became equally involved in contradictions when it expressed its resentment at such attacks by cancelling a loan previously offered to Czechoslovakia. This action, coupled as it was with inspired hints that only "friendly" countries could expect future aid, obviously seemed to confirm the charge that American wealth was being mobilized as a political weapon. Perhaps it was realization of this fact that caused Mr. Byrnes at his press conference on October 22 to deny he had adopted a policy of withholding financial aid from countries within the Russian sphere. American credit facilities, he said, were limited and would therefore be reserved for countries which were both needy and friendly. Contradicting the earlier State Department explanation, he added that cancellation of the Czech credit was due to the fact that need for it was less urgent than had originally been supposed. This

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statement seems to us to fall far short of a clear and constructive foreign-loan policy. What is required, we would suggest, is a declaration that all borrowers will be expected (a) to use credits in ways that will not damage American interests; (b) to adopt policies calculated to promote trade with the rest of the world and to facilitate eventual repayment; (c) to offer proof that their political systems are reasonably stable. Adoption of such criteria for credit applicants would be far better than attempting to divide sheep from goats on political lines and would be more in keeping with the spirit of the non-discriminatory economic program we are now championing at the preliminary International Trade Organization meeting in London.

✶

O. JOHN ROGGE, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE Attorney-General, has been dismissed from his post because he made known facts about the Nazi Fifth Column in the United States which he had gathered while on an official mission to Germany. Possibly Mr. Rogge was technically guilty of insubordination when he disclosed the contents of a report which Attorney-General Tom Clark has decided to suppress but his action was a public service. On the other hand, the Attorney General owes a full explanation of his conduct to *his* employers, the people of the United States. Why was he so anxious to wrap an iron curtain around a document which apparently includes much pertinent information about the ways in which the Nazis organized their propaganda in America and sought to influence the 1940 election? Was it because the report, on the basis of evidence gathered from Nazi files and officials, names some well-known American names including that of Senator Wheeler? And why did he refuse to allow Mr. Rogge to reopen the grand-jury investigation of Douglas M. Stewart and George T. Eggleston, publishers of *Scribner's Commentator*, after evidence had been found that their magazine was subsidized by the German government? Was he afraid of embarrassing the *Reader's Digest* which now employs Mr. Eggleston? These are questions which Mr. Clark must answer if he does not wish to forfeit the confidence of those whose legal interests he is supposed to safeguard.

✶

MR. ERNEST BEVIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE House of Commons debate on foreign affairs took the form of a 109-minute global flight in the course of which he alighted briefly in almost every troubled area in the world. Unfortunately, his observations in the main were as superficial as those of most tourists; they neither added to what he had said on previous occasions nor inspired much hope that the problems touched on were approaching solution, with the possible exception of that of Indonesia. However, when he landed in Germany

the British Foreign Secretary had something new and important to say. In regard to the future constitution of Germany, his ideas seem fairly close to those recently outlined by Secretary Byrnes. Both desire a federal set-up akin to that of the United States with a central government exercising certain reserved powers and the states retaining authority over all other matters. There is also Anglo-American harmony on the subject of the Potsdam Agreement and when Mr. Bevin said it must either be carried out as a whole or replaced by a new agreement, Mr. Byrnes surely murmured "Amen." But Mr. Bevin's proposals for the socialization of German heavy industry may well have caused perturbation in Washington. It is true that many American officials, possibly even Mr. Byrnes, are reluctantly beginning to recognize that the prerequisites of a viable free-enterprise system do not exist in Germany today. But very strong opposition is to be expected from American business men including the influential groups that have large investments in Germany. The United States, therefore, probably will not hurry to assist in the delivery of a new socialist economy; Russia, strange as it may seem, is not likely to be overly cooperative unless assured of more reparations; France continues to give priority to the question of divorcing the Ruhr from the Reich. Consequently, Mr. Bevin's plans can only be carried into effect if and when they are incorporated within a much wider agreement between the Big Four.

✶

JOHN L. LEWIS HAS MADE WHAT MUST SEEM to him an extremely smart move in threatening to call his miners out on strike on November 1 if the government fails to reopen contract negotiations. By breaching the present contract on a technicality, he has obtained the jump on the C. I. O. in the inevitable scramble for higher wages started by the lifting of price control—which, incidentally, he advocated. He has blocked the expected return of the mines to their owners and forced President Truman into a difficult dilemma on the question of general labor policy. Doubtlessly most important of all, from his point of view, his action threatens to turn the tide against the Democrats in three key senatorial contests. He probably even views with satisfaction the likelihood that a coal strike would increase inflationary pressures by delaying full industrial production indefinitely. We have no sympathy for Lewis's tactics, and we should like nothing better than to see his unscrupulous maneuver fail. But we hope that the government will not be jockeyed by the anti-labor press into a position of resisting the miners' legitimate claims. The dispute involves the interpretation of two specific points in last summer's agreement: the assessment basis for the retirement fund and the scope of vacation pay. In both instances, the union has a case which merits examination.

Three Problems for Peacemakers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE opening of the United Nations Assembly in its improvised quarters at Flushing Meadows was marked by a cordiality that seemed more than merely formal. Part of the credit for this should go to President Truman, whose friendly speech of welcome and warning was in encouraging contrast to the complacent remarks broadcast by Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Vandenberg on their return from the Paris conference a few days earlier. Mr. Truman made an urgent plea for a prompt settlement of the critical issues before the Assembly, insisting that the peoples of the world, exhausted by war and still oppressed by fear, would not be patient with delays and unnecessary wrangling. He acknowledged the existence of sharp differences among the Allied powers but emphasized the dangers in a division into geographical or ideological blocs, pointing out that the Council should be used "as a means for promoting settlement of disputes as well as for airing them" and that "the exercise of neither veto rights nor majority rights can make peace secure." In short, he asked for agreement.

If the temper displayed by the President were to dominate the meetings, we might hope that the Assembly would serve as an example to the Big Four and the Council, both of which will begin deliberations next week. Unfortunately, Mr. Truman's address was not the only keynote struck as the Assembly opened. In Brighton Mr. Attlee made a speech to the British Trades Union Congress, bristling with harsh comments on Soviet and Communist tactics and attitudes, which was surely as ill-conceived and ill-timed a bit of oratory as Mr. Churchill could have produced. Happily, its effect was dramatically altered next day when the T. U. C., by a four-to-one vote, repudiated the government's policy on Spain in a resolution calling for the severance of all economic and diplomatic relations with Franco; while a broad resolution criticizing the Attlee-Bevin foreign policy as a whole was defeated by only a three-to-two margin. Frederick Kuh, writing in *PM*, reported that the vote "was a shock to Bevin and his Cabinet colleagues," who did not expect "approximately 40 per cent of Britain's organized workers to express publicly their grave concern at the government's role in foreign affairs."

The Nation *is happy to announce that, beginning next week, Vera Micheles Dean, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, will write a weekly eye-witness story of the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly.*

Mr. Bevin, Kuh said, would arrive in New York for the U. N. meetings "with his position in Britain seriously weakened."

Perhaps the action of the T. U. C. will speak louder than Mr. Attlee's words. It is hard to believe that the Bevin policy, so closely linked with that of Mr. Byrnes, will continue unchanged in the face of such formidable opposition in the labor movement of Great Britain—which forms, after all, the government's chief constituency. In any case, a test will soon come on the Spanish issue, raised by Trygve Lie in his outspoken report to the Assembly.

SPAIN

Mr. Lie's bold demand that the United Nations formulate a plan to help the "reestablishment of a democratic regime in Spain" went far beyond what is customary in an official report. Since the question of Spain is still technically on the agenda of the Council, the Assembly may discuss it but not make any recommendation to the Council. But Mr. Lie's move was not a casual or irresponsible one. The issue is stalemated in the Council and might stay there indefinitely unless the Assembly showed clearly its concern and desire for action. Mr. Lie's other obvious purpose was to indicate that the Assembly could give "comprehensive guidance" to the agencies and members of the U. N. in their relationship with the Franco regime: a clear recommendation that the Assembly put a stop to the vacillating policy of various agencies, including the World Court, regarding Franco Spain.

Whether the Council will relinquish the Spanish issue to the Assembly no one can yet say. The chief opposition has come from the Russians, who want to keep important matters in the hands of the Council, and who also suspect with good reason that the Assembly, under British-American pressure, might kill the issue or vote a watered-down resolution that could only strengthen Franco. It will take clear evidence that the Assembly really means business to induce the anti-Franco members of the Council to agree to drop Spain from the agenda. One can safely predict that some days will pass before things have crystallized and next moves have been decided upon; it may even be that the interested powers will deliberately delay action until after the American and French elections on November 5 and 10.

Meanwhile, Franco's representatives here and in Spain show signs of great perturbation. The hysterical statement put out by the embassy in Washington was without diplomatic precedent. For the official representative of this fascist state to charge the Secretary General of the United Nations with secret plotting and "unwarranted aggression" is an act of impudence which is certain to bring a sharp reaction against his government. But it is easy to understand the annoyance of Franco's friends. After the Council fiasco of last June they were justifiably unprepared for the vigorous irruption of the Spanish issue in the Assembly.

SOUTH AFRICA

But Spain is not the only controversy to invade the meetings at Flushing. The first battle in the General Committee occurred when Field Marshal Smuts asked to have India's complaint against South Africa removed from the agenda. It is easy to understand why the veteran South African leader wishes to block an airing of the long-standing grievances of Indian residents of South Africa, which culminated last summer in the passage of an act designed to segregate them in restricted areas. Public defense of such legislation will no doubt be embarrassing to Marshal Smuts, who would rather orate about liberty and justice as abstract ideals than discuss their application in his own bailiwick. What is worse, from his point of view, is that the sordid facts about South African racial policies, which any debate must reveal; are not likely to forward South Africa's desire to incorporate within its Union the mandated territory of Southwest Africa.

In the General Committee, Smuts argued that the Indian question should be taken off the agenda because Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter forbids interference by the U. N. in matters "essentially within the jurisdiction of a state." But the Charter also stresses the pledge of members to respect human rights and freedoms "without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." And if that is not enough to permit the U. N. to investigate alleged violations of civil rights within a state, the Indian government also charges specific violations of treaties in which governments now incorporated within the Union of South Africa pledged full citizenship rights to Indians brought in to work in the sugar plantations. Finally, the dispute is of such a character as to "impair friendly relations among nations," for it has already led to a termination by India of trade relations with South Africa. This fact alone, it seems to us, compels the Assembly to debate the question and recommend action to the Security Council.

VETO

The other important issue precipitated in the Assembly was the perennial, all-but-insoluble issue of the veto. But, curiously, the controversy over this disputed item seems for the moment to have lost most of its acrimony. After some initial resistance Vishinsky withdrew his objection to an Assembly debate and by so doing joined his colleagues in the Council in a position which allows the smaller powers to air their various criticisms while at the same time safeguarding big-power control and the veto.

This does not mean that debate will be worthless. The veto may be, as the London *Times* says, "the inevitable corollary of a voting system on major issues in interna-

tional affairs," but it has not accelerated action or produced unanimity. The trouble is, no practical alternative has so far been proposed, for the substitution of a simple majority rule is unthinkable in present circumstances. The best one can hope for is a more serious effort, or possibly an agreement, on the part of the big powers, to exercise restraint and adopt practices which will tend to bring about decisions without the necessity of a showdown. Such a change implies more private negotiation and less public demonstration. Open covenants arrived at with a certain degree of secrecy seem to offer the best present chance of agreement among the nations.

In any case, we can take it for granted that the veto will remain in force for the time being, no matter what the Assembly may say or do. One would almost think that Russia's delegates might for once lean back in their seats and let their Western allies do the talking, for this time at least they will not be left alone.

The Voters' Turn

ACCORDING to Senator Claude Pepper, the greatest danger to the Democratic Party in next week's election is "the sense of defeatism which the opposition has been able to instil in certain quarters through one of the shrewdest propaganda campaigns ever employed in American politics." The defeatism is there, all right, and if it is purely the synthetic product of Republican strategists, then they have indeed been shrewd beyond all expectations. But this analysis seems to us to credit them with far more ability than they have actually displayed and to blame the Democrats too little for the incompetence, timidity, and lack of imagination that have marked their own campaign.

On the basis of the reports we have printed in the survey of Pre-Election U. S. A., completed in this issue, we are admittedly none too hopeful, but it is not so much the prospective results that concern us as the depressingly low level on which the battle has been fought. In the year in which the peace, if any, is to be framed, practically no candidate has bothered to discuss foreign policy—unless hit-and-run jabs at Russia come under that heading. In this year of transition from war to peace, no candidate has seriously faced the intricate problems of inflation, of labor-management relations, or of how to prevent the most disastrous economic crash in our history. The Republicans have been too busy proving that their opponents are directed from Moscow and exploiting a hunger for meat among the best-fed electorate in the world. The Democrats have spent their energies denying a communism they had never embraced and badgering the Administration into scrapping controls for the sake of votes. In a world charged with atomic energy, a national campaign has been fought in the shadow of a meatball.

If the campaign has been craven and uninspired, it does not follow that the results will be unimportant. On at least three counts they will be as far-reaching as any in the country's history. First, a victory for the G. O. P. will be interpreted, by Democrats as well as by Republicans, as a popular mandate to scrap most of the New Deal. Second, a Republican Congress—or even a Republican House and a Democratic Senate—will mean a stalemated government for two years, during which the voice of the United States will be all but meaningless in the council of nations. Third, a number of key committee chairmanships will fall to reactionaries like Taft, Bridges, Taber and Knutson. And fourth, the way will be cleared, organizationally and psychologically, for a Republican Administration in 1948. The fate of liberal Republicans during the past year should leave no illusions as to what that development would mean. The purging of Charles La Follette, Robert La Follette, Joseph Clark Baldwin, and other liberal Republicans (plus the shocking campaigning of Wayne Morse, which Richard Neuberger touches on elsewhere in this issue) underscores the difference that exists between the two major parties—even if the Democrats have not covered themselves with glory in the campaign.

For the most part, we have concentrated our attention in these pages on those states that have the largest number of doubtful Congressional seats—Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, and New York. There are numerous other contests of importance which we were unable to treat in such detail. Besides the election of senatorial nominees Tone, Guffey, Huffman, Rogers, and Lehman in the states named (Illinois has no senatorial contest this year), we hope for the return of Kilgore (West Virginia), Tunnell (Delaware), Briggs (Missouri), Murdock (Utah), Mitchell (Washington) and O'Mahoney (Wyoming) to the Senate and the election to that body of Erickson (Montana), Donart (Idaho), McMurray (Wisconsin), McGrath (Rhode Island), and Brunner (New Jersey). In addition to the liberal candidates for the House that have been discussed at some length in these pages, we want to put in a last-minute word for such consistent New Dealers as Traynor of Delaware, Hook of Michigan, Celler of New York, Murphy and Kelley of Pennsylvania, Forand of Rhode Island, Savage of Washington, and Biemiller of Wisconsin.

Like everyone else, we are unable to account for the remarkably high registration reported from industrial centers in all parts of the country. Since we will know within a week whether it represents a "resentment vote" or the tireless energy of such organizations as the P. A. C. and the League of Women Voters, there is no point in further speculation. But there is no question that it is democratically desirable to have that registration on the books. Whatever its inspiration, we hope it will be used to the limit. Now that the campaign orators are finished, it will be a relief to hear from the voters.

When the Birds Come Home to Roost

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, October 24

AS IF the fevers of the political campaign, defeatism over foreign policy, and soaring prices were not enough trouble for us all, top government economists have added a new disquieting item. They say that the accumulated facts point to an economic recession next spring or summer.

Both Democratic and Republican campaign orators have brushed aside this new problem. No one in Washington or outside has suggested what might be done to brace the country against the coming shock. The prospect is made darker by the possibility that the Republicans will gain control of the House. Any remedial legislation offered by the Administration would then have to run the gauntlet of such old-line conservatives as Representatives Taber, Wolcott, and Knutson, who in the event of a G. O. P. victory would control the powerful Appropriations, the Banking and Currency, and the Ways and Means Committee.

The professional economists of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Department of Commerce, and the OPA expect a few more months of inflation before the decline. They say, "We are just going into the last high wave now." They forecast rising food prices till late winter (according to the Department of Agriculture) or till summer (according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics) and then a downward trend. Clothing costs, they believe, will move up during the winter, but manufacturers and merchants will be forced to restore the moderate-price lines; higher-priced clothing is not selling well. They foresee general rent increases. The break in prices, they agree, will come in early or late spring.

There is disagreement on how severe the recession will be. The more optimistic economists regard it as a steadying economic factor which will bring a normal adjustment of prices. Others fear that many small businesses, retail, wholesale, and manufacturing, will be wiped out.

The OPA frankly admits that for some weeks prices will continue to go up. Paul Porter has said it will be impossible to "quarantine one segment of the economy against rising prices." By the end of the year, the OPA estimates, only 40 per cent of cost-of-living items will remain under control. Among them will be furniture, clothing, automobiles, building materials, metals, and rents. Increases will be granted in these fields.

Wage controls will be dropped, except in isolated cases. The Wage Stabilization Board, if it remains, will have only representatives of the public as members, and will arbitrate, not fix wages.

The economists mark the stages of inflation by the time when Congress virtuously removed excess-profits taxes; when John Snyder, then Reconversion Director, overruled Chester Bowles and granted steel a price increase of $4 a ton; when Congress allowed the two-month price holiday in July and August; and when holes were torn in the OPA bill finally signed by the President. Now they report a weakening of the four factors that entered into the inflationary pressure—namely, supply running far behind demand, production bottlenecks and low inventories, record high take-home wages, and record savings.

The Department of Commerce experts on inventories say that the period of bare shelves is coming to a close. Industry is beginning to accelerate production. Take-home pay has dropped alarmingly. Savings are being dissipated. A Federal Reserve Board study of liquid assets reveals that savings are unevenly distributed. People in the highest income bracket, who make up 3 per cent of the spending units of the nation, hold 23 per cent of the aggregate liquid assets. Those in the lowest income bracket, 20 per cent of the spending units, hold only 7 per cent of the assets.

One of the most important causes of the expected decline in prices is a psychological one—consumer resistance. Economists who keep in close touch with the merchandising picture report that consumers will refuse to buy high-priced or shoddy goods once goods return to the shelves in abundant supply. A story is told about a large Chicago department store which was unable to sell household appliances. A merchandising consultant was called in. He advised, "Take all but two off the counter, and you'll sell." He was right. Customers are looking over the goods that are not scarce, asking prices, comparing them, and in many cases walking out. The economists predict that many small businesses which jumped in and got goods on the market in a hurry will be wiped out in the recession, together with the inexperienced merchants who took whatever they could get and now have their storerooms filled with products that are not going to move. Even with respect to food prices some cautious optimism is expressed. One official put it this way, "I could sure eat a $3 steak today, and perhaps tomorrow, but by the next day I think my appetite wouldn't be so insistent. I should say that the butcher is going to sell a lot more stew meat than steaks." The Bureau of Agricultural Economics believes that meat prices will be back

to summer levels—though these were not low—by mid-winter.

There is one big *if* in all the predictions about prices dropping—*if* there is not another round of wage increases after strikes paralyzing basic production. John L. Lewis is threatening to start the process. He has issued another one of his thundering ultimatums to the government as operator of the coal mines. Unless the government agrees to reopen the contract and discuss wages, there will be a coal strike on November 1. A coal strike would shut down steel mills, which are still far behind on orders, and manufacturing plants all over the country. Apparently John Lewis does not give a hoot about the effect on the nation's economy. He would launch his attack at a most critical moment for the Administration; a coal strike on the eve of the elections would raise the deuce with the Democrats. Since Congress is not in session, no immediate threat of anti-labor legislation hangs over his head as it did last spring. If Lewis succeeds in getting a wage increase, other unions will be forced by rank-and-file sentiment to press for similar raises.

And if there is another round of wage increases, the price spiral will go higher, and the collapse will be that much worse.

Pre-Election U. S. A.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

V. Pennsylvania Portents

Pittsburgh, October 21

SUCH comfort as can be found among the Democratic leaders of this second most populous state of the Union rests on a dubious political axiom which a veteran of the Harrisburg legislature passed along to me. "We Democrats," he confided, "never figure to win on our own brains, but on Republican stupidity."

If the formula were not far too simple, Democratic prospects here would be excellent, because the Grand Old Party in Pennsylvania is outdoing itself this year. At the very start of the campaign Ira T. Fiss, Republican Speaker of the House, thought it a good idea to expose the national origins of one of the opposition's nominees. "Why, their candidate for Lieutenant Governor," he said, "is a full-blooded Italian. He spells his name D-e-n-t. How many t's there are after that, I don't know." Later, by way of a forced apology, Speaker Fiss explained merely that "little things like that slip out." Another Republican extolled his party's choice for Governor on the ground that he was a Protestant. And in Philadelphia, Republican Boss Joe Pew needlessly stirred up the old Roosevelt following by referring to the late President as a "Pied Piper" a few of whose "political rats" were still on the loose and in need of extermination.

These are only a few of the oratorical gems that have studded a campaign in which foreign relations, atomic controls, and a peace-time economy have been blandly ignored so that justice might be done to the more pressing issues of godliness and the threat of a Soviet Pennsylvania. Republican Governor Edward Martin is appealing for Joseph F. Guffey's seat in the Senate with the twofold thesis that Democrats are merely fronts for communism and that God is on the side of the Republicans. His party's state chairman announced at one stage of the campaign that William Z. Foster was about to be brought into Pennsylvania to stump for the Democratic ticket; whereupon the Democratic strategists dredged up the fact that the Communists had supported the Republican nominee against William C. Bullitt in the Philadelphia mayoralty campaign three years ago. They also charged, for good measure, that the Republicans had made a deal with the Communists to bestow the "kiss of death" on the Democratic Party.

"No matter what they say about one another," sagely editorialized the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, "we can't believe the Democratic or Republican candidates in Pennsylvania are Communists. . . . And we won't believe that they are statesmen either until they lift the campaign from its present depths. . . ."

In this murky atmosphere it is the Republicans that stand to gain, their own stupidity notwithstanding. The state is traditionally one of the most Republican in the country, and in the absence of clearly defined and rousing issues—not to mention the absence of leadership on the Democratic side—it threatens to slump back into the torpid condition which for decades made its politics the private preserve of such eminent statesmen as Boies Penrose, Andy Mellon, and Boss Vare.

His most ardent supporters privately concede that Senator Guffey has only an outside chance to be reelected. "He is up against one of the best campaigners in the country," one of his supporters admitted to me, "with unlimited funds and a well-organized state machine. That is a combination almost impossible to beat." It is no reflection on Guffey, whose New Deal views go back to the days of Wilson, to concede that it was Roosevelt who carried him into office, no other Democrat having represented Pennsylvania in the Senate since 1875. It is just as true that while Guffey has gone down the line for the Administration, he has, as master of the state's patronage,

made many enemies within the party. At the end of Governor Earle's term of office a savage intra-party fight broke out over the succession, and while a peace was eventually effected, the scars remain, with parallel Democratic organizations existing in some districts and patronage used for factional purposes. The coolness of some of Guffey's old opponents was an insignificant factor while Roosevelt was around to impose unity, but now the old hostility is emerging again. Most of it is private and beneath the surface, but there is also an organization of "Anti-Guffey Democrats."

Joseph F. Guffey

Governor Martin has, besides the advantages already cited, more platform appeal and, almost as a matter of course, a vastly better press. Guffey suffers, in fact, from an unusually rough treatment in the papers, derived in part of course from their political character but in no small measure also from his inability to handle reporters. Martin is much smoother—and more deceptive. An ardent upholder of "free enterprise" who doesn't believe the world has moved an inch since McKinley was shot, he has a talent for wrapping up his politics in moralistic packaging. He is opposed to such devices as the FEPC, he will tell you, because good-will must come from the heart and not from a statute.

Martin, too, has his intra-party troubles. These culminated during the campaign in the bolt of John Shroyer, former Secretary of Highways and Martin's rival for the nomination. Shroyer, who is State Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, jolted the G. O. P. a month ago when he chose a twenty-three-station radio hookup to lash out at the Martin administration. Counts in his indictment of his own party included the bungling of a veterans' program, which "has been a miserable failure and is now a sorry mess," the killing of an FEPC bill, graft, and control by men who resort to "the easy prescription of 'leave it to the federal government' and then damn the federal government for spending money."

Telling points, all of them, but it would take more than one such episode to give confidence to the Democrats of Pennsylvania on the eve of this election. Generally speaking, I found them hoping rather than hopeful, with nervousness particularly marked in the Philadelphia area. The farm districts in the east and central parts of the state are almost incurably Republican, while the mining and industrial counties here in the southwest are for the most part certain to remain Democratic.

Philadelphia is the crucial spot that will determine the outcome of the Guffey-Martin race. It will also determine whether Pennsylvania's next Governor is to be Colonel John S. Rice—a capable though colorless liberal who went down the line for Earle's New Deal measures—or Attorney General James H. Duff, who is as independent as a man can be with the backing of the Pew-Grundy machine, which is to say, as independent as a trusty in a progressive prison.

Philadelphia gave Roosevelt a plurality of 210,000 in 1936, a margin that fell to 150,000 in 1944. The best the Democrats hope for now is to take the city by 50,000. They figure that this will be enough to allow Guffey and Rice to squeeze through in view of the normal Democratic returns in the Pittsburgh and Scranton areas. Less partial observers are not inclined to believe that the Democrats will get even that much of a lead.

Registration in the city, as in most industrial centers, is abnormally high, but entirely unpredictable. On the surface it favors the Republicans, but Philadelphia has had local Republican government for fifty-three years, and its thousands of firemen, policemen, street-cleaners, and municipal clerks register Republican as a matter of safe practice and then vote as they wish. It is expected of them, and the same goes for employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the banks, and scores of large corporations. On the other hand, the Democrats are not counting too hopefully on a switch to pull them out of a bad spot.

No other city in the country offers so magnificent a target for Congressional gains as Philadelphia presents to the G. O. P. This traditional Republican city has a solid delegation of six Democratic Representatives, an undreamed of phenomenon in pre-Roosevelt days. No one of these seats is now beyond Republican reach, though two of them appear to be reasonably safe. Local Democratic officials privately concede two and consider two others doubtful. The Republicans are more or less counting on adding four to their bag, and it is most unlikely that they will get fewer than three. Philadelphia liberals hope that among those who weather the gale will be young William Green, Jr., of the Fifth Congressional District. One of the thirteen men in the House to oppose the Truman labor-draft bill, Green put in as active a first term as any freshman Representative on record. With a solid background of k. p. at Camp Lee, he was in no mood for demagoguery in the Veterans' Committee and made himself a painfully sharp thorn in the flesh of Chairman John Rankin.

Four silk-stocking districts on the outskirts of the city are worth watching because of a band of crusading New Dealers who are campaigning with a zeal that recalls the high old days of 1934 and 1936. Vernon O'Rourke,

Henry Chapin, Edgar Campbell, and William L. Batt, Jr., make up the gallant quartet, and I predict that they will all be heard from in the future, even though only O'Rourke is thought to have much of a chance this year.

In the Eleventh District, centering around Wilkes-Barre, Representative Daniel Flood will need more than his good voting record to get by, but there is a chance that the Democrats will pick up a seat here in Pittsburgh. Unless there is a Republican landslide, Eberharter and Buchanan, Democrats, will certainly be returned from this city, and, in addition, the Twenty-ninth District may well be swung away from the G. O. P. This district went Republican by only a thousand votes two years ago, and the race this time is between Democrat Harry L. Davenport, a liberal business man and secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce, and John McDowell, a small publisher with a reputation for racial prejudice that will not help him in an area with a sizable Jewish population.

The long-drawn-out power strike here will probably not affect the outcome in the Congressional races, but it has unquestionably harmed the Democratic state ticket as a whole. In a campaign that is weak enough in any case it has removed from action one of the party's shrewdest campaigners—Pittsburgh's Mayor David Lawrence. The semi-paralysis of the city for a month will inevitably reduce the expected Democratic margin here, throwing an additional burden on the party in Philadelphia. And that staggering organization seems to me hardly fit to carry the load of another ounce, even though I don't share the despairing view, to be heard in surprising quarters, that "when Franklin D. Roosevelt died, the Democratic Party in Philadelphia died with him."

VI. Retrogression in Ohio

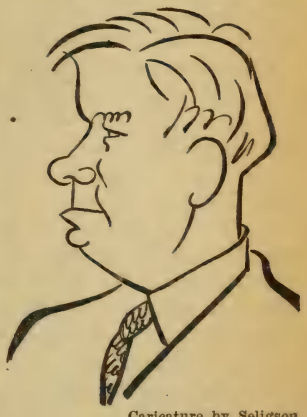
Columbus, October 24

AT a private luncheon with friends here a few weeks ago, "Honest John" Bricker made a remark that has been widely repeated throughout the state—and rightly so, for it reveals magnificently the mind of Ohio's Republican nominee for the Senate. "I hear," said Mr. Bricker, with serious concern, "that the Socialists have gotten to Bob Taft." When an anachronism like Taft can be considered touched with the Marxian virus, it is no wonder that Jim Huffman, Bricker's mild opponent in the Senate fight, can be palmed off as a Communist and the P. A. C. held to be all but synonymous with the N. K. V. D. That is the level of Bricker's intellect, and the level of the campaign in this state.

In several respects the Ohio campaign is even more dismal than Pennsylvania. In the first place, Bricker has less intelligence and less personality than Martin, and he adds an extremism that is not common among seriously considered Presidential aspirants. Running for the Vice-Presidency in 1944, he announced that he would accept the votes of Gerald L. K. Smith and his followers as being as good as any other votes, and he barely had the grace to reject a proffered place on the ticket of Smith's own lunatic party. If he could, he would scrap every last vestige of those government controls that mark boundaries for private enterprise and would otherwise fulfil the fading dreams of such good friends of his as E. T. Weir, of National Steel. Typical of the Bricker mentality was his announcement last week that "definite proof has now come from Moscow that the campaign of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in this country is being directed from Communist Russia." The proof? An unidentified Russian commentator said that "the election of a Republican Congress would be a national disaster."

What makes the campaign peculiarly depressing, aside from Mr. Bricker, is the absence of any vigor in the opposition. Huffman is a pleasant and able man, with a good voting record in the short time he served in the Senate, but he is not pressing the fight home. His chief campaign issue is Bricker's "absenteeism" from the Governor's desk during the months he campaigned for the Vice-Presidency in 1944.

Huffman's weakness would be less serious if there were anyone else on the ticket to rally the Democratic forces. But the reverse is the case. Governor Frank Lausche, once a bright hope of Ohio Democrats, has followed so peculiar a political line that he has dissipated an enormous reserve of popularity and may well lose the governorship to a nonentity. Apparently fancying himself a kind of LaGuardia, Lausche has adopted an "independence" that takes the form of ostentatiously snubbing his best friends and supporters. To demonstrate that he has no tie to labor, which was largely instrumental in sending him to Columbus four years ago, he has leaned over backward so far that the P. A. C. has refused to indorse him for reelection. P. A. C. leaders hope, nevertheless—and obviously expect—that labor will vote for him rather than for Thomas J. Herbert, "an echo of the Taft-Bricker-National Association of Manufacturers machine," whose election would be a "major tragedy."



Caricature by Seligson
John Bricker

Lausche's attitude has produced uneasiness within the Democratic Party as well as in labor circles. Having declared himself a "free man" on accepting the nomination, he conducts his campaign from separate headquarters and has been making his chief appeal to rural audiences on the county-fair circuit, taking the industrial centers for granted—perhaps too much for granted. Recent statewide polls show his popularity in the big cities dwindling rapidly, but he is still a slight favorite to win. Seventeen out of the eighty-eight counties in the state were enough to elect him last time, and he is counting on them to repeat.

These same polls show Bricker far ahead, and I met no one who would have put a dollar on Huffman's chances. It is not too much to say, in fact, that the Democratic Party in the state is close to demoralization. The only really vigorous effort to contest a Republican walkover is being made by the P. A. C., which amounts to more here than in states with brighter prospects. From its handsome new offices in this capital comes some of the most effective election propaganda that I have seen anywhere. The organization has been extremely vigorous in all the industrial centers of the state with the exception of Cincinnati, which ironically is Jack Kroll's home town as well as Senator Taft's. The two largest industries of that city—Procter and Gamble and the Cincinnati Milling Machine Corporation—are not even organized, thanks to paternalistic labor policies, and the town itself is characterized by one of its liberal citizens as "an old men's home with a nice low tax rate."

The Democrats hold six Congressional seats in Ohio, and they will have to fight hard to hold more than half of them. The doubtful three are now filled by Walter B. Huber (Akron), Edward J. Gardner (Hamilton), and William R. Thom (Canton). Two Democratic seats in Cleveland and one in Youngstown are safe unless there is a G. O. P. landslide, and a few optimistic Democratic leaders talk of capturing those now held by P. W. Griffiths (Marietta) and Homer A. Ramey (Toledo). As matters stand two weeks before the vote, the Democrats will be well off to retain Lausche in the Governor's Mansion and to salvage half their Congressional delegation, not counting Senator Huffman.

Whatever the outcome, the P. A. C., in this state at least, can feel that it has accomplished something. Thousands of rank-and-file unionists to whom politics not so long ago were a complete blank now have a real feel for the mechanics of the business—telephone brigades, registration lists, transportation to the polls, watchers, and the rest of the apparatus that once was the exclusive domain of professional ward-heelers. It will all come in handy again. As one Ohio liberal remarked, "We are conserving our strength for 1948; we are realistic about 1946."

The California Derby

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, October 20

FEW election campaigns in California have been so confused as the curious political contest that has been going on here since the June primaries. The Democrats have been floundering around like chickens with their heads cut off; indeed, since Governor Warren captured both party nominations in the primaries, the ticket has actually been without a head. With no gubernatorial candidate and missing the unifying influence of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic nominees are conducting free-lance guerrilla campaigns, making whatever personal alliances seem expedient, being very inaudible about the national administration, and avoiding other Democratic nominees as much as possible.

The Republicans, faced with a heavy Democratic registration, are sedulously imitating Governor Warren's successful "non-partisan" pose. Seeking to trick the large Democratic majority, they are masquerading as liberals, whereas the Democrats, sensing a swing to the right, are stressing their conservatism and respectability. With party lines not being emphasized by either side, scarcely existing in fact, it is difficult to forecast the results.

Ever since a system of cross-filing was introduced in 1913, party regularity has declined in importance as a factor in California politics. On June 5 California elected not only a Governor at the primaries but also a Secretary of State, a Controller, a Treasurer, the four members of the Board of Equalization, twelve of the state's twenty-three Representatives in Congress, fifteen of the twenty state Senators, and sixty of the eighty members of the Assembly. The effect of cross-filing blurs party lines in California more than in any of the other states where it is permitted—Maine, Massachusetts, New York, and Vermont—because of the heavy newcomer vote, which has been a major factor in every election since 1920.

For United States Senator present odds favor Will Rogers, Jr., the Democratic nominee. In the primaries Senator William Knowland received 740,849 votes (514,667 Republican, 226,182 Democratic), and Rogers 705,070 (501,634 Democratic, 203,436 Republican),

Ellis E. Patterson, who contested the Democratic nomination with Rogers, received 362,963 votes (76,151 Republican, 286,812 Democratic). Assuming that there will be no sharp shift from the primary vote, Rogers should be able to overcome his 40,000 deficit by capturing most of the Patterson votes. He should also get a sizable share of the 177,377 "decline-to-state" registrations. Knowland is not a popular figure in California, and the efforts of the Republicans to "humanize" him, in the manner of Governor Warren's face-lifting operation of 1942, have not been successful. Rogers is a clever politician and an excellent campaigner, with an attractive platform and radio manner. On domestic issues he has taken a consistently progressive position, but he has had little to say on foreign policy other than to favor a vague "middle-of-the-road" line. Quite outspoken about Palestine, an issue close to his heart, he has also characterized the regimes in Spain and Argentina as dangerously totalitarian. Although Rogers has annoyed some liberals by his unblushing opportunism, it must be recognized that he is waging a vigorous uphill fight. He should win.

Caricature by Seligson

Governor Warren

With respect to the two high state offices—those of Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General—the situation is extremely complicated. Since Governor Warren is a likely Republican nominee for either the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency in 1948, the Lieutenant Governorship has assumed exceptional importance. The Republican nominee is Judge Goodwin Knight of Los Angeles, who shares the ideological convictions of John Bricker. The Democratic nominee is State Senator John Shelley of San Francisco, a likable, popular man, long prominent in the American Federation of Labor. He had a good progressive record in the legislature, but he has been conducting a curious campaign, uttering warm praise for Governor Warren and a certain amount of double-talk about the major issues. Shelley should win, however, and for the same reason that Rogers may be expected to—because he has the support of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. In the race for the Attorney Generalship, the Democrats have an excellent candidate in Edmund G. Brown, the district attorney of San Francisco, but the Republican nominee, Fred N. Howser, district attorney of Los Angeles, has the advantage of an indorsement by the A. F. of L. The most unlikely successor to Robert W. Kenny that could be imagined, Howser has backing from doubtful elements and lavish financial support.

In the Congressional contests reports from northern California are somewhat confused, and I shall refrain from commenting on them. In southern California such outstanding liberal Representatives as George Outland, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Clyde Doyle, and Ned Healy seem assured of reelection. (Chet Holifield and Cecil King, both progressives, were reelected at the primaries.) In the Twentieth District the Democratic nominee, Everett G. Burkhalter, has a good chance to defeat Carl Hinshaw, one of the most reactionary Republicans in Congress. The Representatives who face the toughest fights are E. V. Izac in the Twenty-third District (San Diego) and Jerry Voorhis in the Twelfth.

In the Sixteenth District Emmet G. Lavery, the liberal candidate, was defeated in the Democratic primary by Harold Harby. Liberal elements in the district then decided to conduct a write-in campaign for Ellis E. Patterson, the incumbent. As a result, support for liberal Assembly candidates in the district and also for Rogers, Shelley, and Brown has been weakened. Naturally the conservative Democrats have resented the effort to run an independent candidate against the Democratic nominee. Because of this split, the likely winner in the Sixteenth District is Donald L. Jackson, Republican.

Perhaps the most significant development in California politics this year has been the remarkable growth of liberal sentiment in the San Joaquin Valley. In the primaries John G. Terry, a school teacher, came within a few hundred votes of defeating Alfred J. Elliot in the Tenth District. Without newspaper support and with only a meager campaign fund, Terry conducted an exciting campaign. Had it not been for a "pastoral letter" urging his defeat which was read in the Catholic churches, he would certainly have won. In the other San Joaquin district, the Ninth, Dr. Hubert Phillips of Fresno State College is putting up a magnificent fight against Representative Bertrand W. ("Bud") Gearhart and has a slight—but only a slight—chance to win. For the information of Mr. Ickes, who recently indorsed Gearhart, it should be said that Dr. Phillips is one of the outstanding progressives of the state, with a long record of consistent liberalism.

Some of the Democratic candidates viewed the recent visit of Henry Wallace with very meager enthusiasm. Most of the southern California Congressional nominees welcomed it, but one of these, Jerry Voorhis, let it be known that he wished Mr. Wallace would tend to his duties as editor of the *New Republic*. It was obvious that Messrs. Rogers, Shelley, and Brown shared this view. Pro-Wallace sentiment is apparently strong in Los Angeles and San Diego counties, relatively weak in the rest of the state.

A few comments, in the nature of postscripts, should be added to complete this report. The A. F. of L., with handsome billboards advocating the election of Warren (Republican), Shelley (Democrat), Howser (Republican), and Rogers (Democrat), is the likely winner of the November election in California. Of the state initiative proposals, Number 11—to establish a state FEPC—has aroused most interest. In the last few weeks big-business groups have used the radio and billboards to denounce the FEPC as a C. I. O.-P. A. C. measure. Actually the proposal has the widest possible church and civic support. The campaign to put it over, however, has lacked imagination and boldness. If the measure wins, it will be a minor miracle. Finally, I can report that Colonel James Roosevelt, despite some serious initial blunders, is doing a good job as state chairman of the Democratic Party. Some of the bitterness of the primary fight seems to have disappeared.

The Pacific Northwest

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., October 24

FEW regional leaders of the Democratic Party doubt that a Republican will be elected President in 1948 if the Truman Administration continues its vacillating course. All hope of preserving the advances in conservation, reclamation, and public power made in the Pacific Northwest under President Roosevelt apparently depends on electing the Democratic candidates for the United States Senate in Washington, Idaho, and Montana.

In all three contests these Democratic candidates are known liberals; the Republicans are reactionaries. In Idaho, State Senator George Donart, Democrat, is pitted against Representative Henry C. Dworshak, who voted against extending the reciprocal trade agreement, against the British loan, against price control, against civilian control of atomic energy, and for the Case anti-strike bill. In Washington the thirty-nine-year-old Senator Hugh B. Mitchell carries the Democratic colors into the field against Colonel Harry P. Cain, demagogic mayor of Tacoma. Across the 800-mile width of Montana, Leif Erickson, forty-year-old conqueror of Burton K. Wheeler, is opposing a colorless Republican rancher named Zales N. Ecton. Mitchell, Donart, and Erickson all support public power and regional authorities patterned after the TVA. This is important in an area where swift mountain rivers hold captive half of America's hydroelectricity. Mitchell drafted the bill for a Columbia Valley Authority. Erickson is chairman of the committee for an authority for the Missouri. Utility money is flowing like a torrent to check their efforts. If these men win at the polls, the Northwest may be able to save its power program even with a Taft or Dewey in the White House.

What are the prospects? Erickson will probably be elected; after Wheeler's elimination the G. O. P. was left with only a second-stringer to finish the game. An eleventh-hour break could decide the Idaho race for either side. The Mitchell-Cain contest is in the lap of the gods; Seattle gamblers are wagering a timid $10 to $9 on Mitchell. In the final analysis, the size of the vote probably will be the determining factor. If the labor vote is at the polls on November 5 instead of at a movie or beer parlor, the liberals running on the Democratic ticket will win. Yet it may take oxen and wainropes to drag it there.

Because the state of Washington is the most populous, prosperous, and strategically located in the Pacific Northwest, its Senate seat is the great prize of the 1946 elections. The issue is as clear as spring water. Harry Cain, a former Young Democrat, gives away nylons to get women to his Republican rallies, where he delivers a say-nothing speech which might serve as a caricature of a typical political oration. Hugh Mitchell is often too honest for his own good. He was one of three Senators to vote against the so-called Petrillo bill, giving as his reason that it "seemed based on Petrillo's unpopularity and not on sound legislative principles." With practically no assistance Mitchell has brought the CVA from the region of dim hopes to the point where even the cautious Secretary of the Interior, Julius Krug, has indorsed it.

One of the anvils Mitchell must carry in his knapsack is the bitter rumpus in Seattle over the alleged communism of Representative Hugh De Lacy. Attacks on him are dismissed by De Lacy as "red-baiting," but many newspaper readers remember that he was the only delegate at the 1940 Democratic convention to rise from the floor and oppose the renomination of Roosevelt—he feared the President would plunge the nation into an "imperialist war." A lot of people know what this sort of talk meant, and though in the past the Seattle district has been good for Democratic majorities as high as 40,000, De Lacy will be lucky to win by 5,000 votes, if he wins at all. This will affect the whole ticket, and Mitchell needs a head start in Seattle to offset inevitable Republican majorities in the orchard valleys east of the Cascade Mountains.

What will happen to Representative John Coffee of Tacoma, after the $2,500 check episode which hit the headlines late in the summer? Coffee is expected to win, despite the fact that his Republican opponent is trying to make him out a combination of Jesse James and Dick Turpin. I talked to many of Coffee's constituents, and they told me they thought he had been foolish rather than venal. He will hardly win by the decisive margins of the past, but his liberal voting record probably will carry him across a perilous passage in his political career.

Liberals of both parties in the Columbia Basin are heartsick over the apostasy of Senator Wayne Morse, who has spoken for both Cain and Dworshak. Inasmuch as Mitchell is indorsed by every trade union in the state of Washington and Cain has been charged with backing an anti-strike initiative measure in 1938, Morse's attitude seems to need explaining. After Morse predicted that California's anti-public-power Republican Senator Knowland would lick Will Rogers, Jr., "hands down," Glen Taylor, the senior Senator from Idaho, commented drily, "Mr. Morse was evidently under heavy pressure from the Republican National Committee. There are not enough thumbscrews in the world that the Democratic National Committee could apply to make me speak for Bilbo or Pappy O'Daniel because they are Democrats." Morse's closest friend, an attorney for the A. F. of L., insists he never would have spoken against Mitchell and Donart had he not been ill. But the Woodworkers, the largest C. I. O. union in the West, has announced that it has "written Morse off the books as a liberal."

The Alaska election, held early in October ahead of the big snows of the Yukon and Tanana valleys, has not cheered the Democrats. National interest was focused on the favorable vote for statehood, but more significant was the balloting for members of the territorial legislature. Not since 1930 have the Republicans packed even a featherweight punch in Alaska. The present territorial House of Representatives has twenty Democrats and four Republicans. On October 8 the people of Alaska spun the wheel around. They elected fourteen Republicans and ten Democrats.

Four times the Northwest gave majorities to F. D. R. matched nowhere else outside the South. Driving through the region these last weeks of the campaign, I have tried to find out why the Democrats have slipped so badly. After all, the Democratic Party authorized construction of the huge dams at Grand Coulee and Bonneville, which brought large-scale industry to the Northwest. People are reasonably prosperous. There may be a scarcity of tenderloin steaks, but no one is hungry. Why, then, are the candidates of the Democrats in danger? Why will it be difficult to get out the whopping vote essential to Democratic success?

The answer, I think, lies in the lack of fire and courage in the national Administration. People are indignant over high prices, shortages, and the lack of low-cost housing for war veterans, but the President has been unable to dramatize the Machiavellian role played by the Republicans and Southern Democrats in bringing about this situation. I have yet to meet one voter favorably impressed by Truman's lifting of meat controls. Business men scold him for waiting so long. Housewives whose husbands earn $200 a month ask how they can pay nearly a day's wages for a pot roast.

The Republicans, incredible as it may seem, are citing 55-cent bacon-and-egg breakfasts just across the border in British Columbia as argument for a political change. "Had enough?" they ask, pointing out that roasting chickens are 30 cents a pound in Vancouver and that the excellent dinner at the exclusive Empress Hotel in Victoria costs only $1.65. Of course, they neglect to say that Canada has price controls which would make the average American business man think he was manacled hand and foot.

Caricature by Seligson
Hugh Mitchell

Democratic finances simply don't exist. The party in Oregon lacked the $300 to buy a message in the official "Voters' Pamphlet." Hugh Mitchell has about half as much radio time as Harry Cain. A battered sound truck driven by Glen Taylor and his wife is the principal Democratic weapon in Idaho. Many New Deal appointees, once generous campaign contributors, now keep their wallets in their pockets.

Another albatross about Democratic necks is Mr. Truman's apparent indifference to local issues. People here are more concerned about water for irrigating their crops than about world-shaking issues on the other side of the globe. On the eve of every election Roosevelt always had something to say about developing the vast resources of the Columbia River. Truman has not indicated that he is any more aware of the Columbia than of the Orinoco. The voters of the Northwest had become accustomed to a Democratic Administration which advocated public power, demanded forestry conservation, and strove to end discriminatory freight rates and other monopolistic practices holding back the region's development. All this seemed to end with the death of President Roosevelt.

"The country don't need two Republican parties," I was told by a Northern Pacific brakeman, coupling freight cars on a siding above the irrigation canal at Yakima.

Illinois: McCormick and Kelly

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chicago, October 25

ILLINOIS elects twenty-six members of the national House of Representatives on November 5. Only the delegations from New York and Pennsylvania exceed that number. So Illinois, politically apathetic, lacking even the drama of a senatorial or gubernatorial contest, may be a determining factor in the political make-up of the next Congress. Currently the state is represented by fifteen Republicans and eleven Democrats, but it has an unusually large number of so-called marginal districts. As the desultory campaign nears its end, with the G. O. P., headed by Robert R. McCormick as publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, and Governor Dwight Green, alternately seeking to frighten the electorate with the specter of communism and to arouse its wrath over shortages, the people, jingling more money in their pockets than ever before, show little or no interest in the issues, bogus or real.

Before analyzing the situations existing in the reputedly marginal districts, I should explain that the state has not been redistricted since 1901. The Congressional result, therefore, will not necessarily reflect the political sentiments of the people of Illinois. Cook County, ordinarily a Democratic stronghold, has approximately 52 per cent of the state's population. But Cook County has only nine Congressional districts wholly within its boundaries. A tenth lies partly in the county and partly in suburban Lake County. Fifteen lie wholly within the other 100 downstate counties. The twenty-sixth Representative is chosen by the electorate at large. Not only is there unequal representation as between Cook County and downstate but also as between districts in both areas. Population disparities range from the Seventh District's 914,053 inhabitants (1940 census) to the Fifth District's 112,116. Both those districts are in Cook County. Downstate's Twentieth District has but 162,528 inhabitants, while its Eleventh has 385,207. Thus only the vote for Congressman-at-Large can be used to evaluate political sentiment in the state as a whole.

The marginal districts include the post of Congressman-at-Large, currently held by Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, a Democrat; the Third (Chicago), now represented by Edward A. Kelly, Democrat; the Ninth (Chicago), won two years ago by Alexander Resa, Democrat; the Twenty-second (East St. Louis), recaptured from the G. O. P. two years ago by Melvin Price, a G. I. Democrat; the Second (Chicago), now represented by William A. Rowan, a Democrat; the Nineteenth (downstate), represented by Rolla C. McMillen, a Republican; and the Twenty-first (downstate), represented by Evan Howell, a Republican. Only Democratic optimists calculate that either the Nineteenth or the Twenty-first, currently held by Republicans, will go Democratic. Predictions of upsets in those two districts are based largely on the fact that the Democratic nominees have put up a good fight. The two districts went Democratic at the peak of New Deal strength but returned to the Republican fold long ago.

Thus the situation in Illinois reduces itself to the fact that the Democratic Party cannot reasonably count on gains and that it will be extremely fortunate to retain the eleven seats it now holds.

Results in at least three of the five marginal districts now held by the Democrats are highly doubtful. In the order of Republican expectations, these are the Third and Ninth districts and the at-large seat. Downstate's Twenty-second (East St. Louis area) is a toss-up. Chicago's Second District, although slightly debatable, would go Republican only in event of a landslide. In Chicago's Third District Edward A. Kelly—no relation of Mayor Kelly—is hard put. The district includes industrial areas, ordinarily Democratic, and Cook County suburbs, ordinarily Republican. It went Republican in 1942, sending the red-baiting Fred Busbey to Washington, where he supported the activities of the Dies committee. Two years ago the large outpouring of liberals in behalf of Franklin D. Roosevelt enabled Kelly, who had previously represented the district, to recapture it. In the last session of Congress Kelly, who had previously given full support to Roosevelt, voted with the Republicans and Southern Democrats on a number of crucial questions. In the current contest, therefore, in which Busbey is again the G. O. P. nominee, Kelly inspires little enthusiasm among liberals, and his reelection, without such support, is problematical.

In Chicago's Ninth District the able and liberal Alexander Resa, the incumbent, is opposed by Robert Twyman, a personable Republican business man who has waged an effective campaign on very conservative tenets. Twyman is a newcomer to Chicago politics, though he was once secretary to the late Senator New of Indiana. Liberals and labor groups are giving nominal support to Resa, but liberals of all categories have been slow to move in the current campaign. Resa, for example, carries whatever burden there may be in an indorsement from the P. A. C. without the compensation of any great activity in his behalf by what some Chicago politicians ruefully refer to as the Political Inaction Committee.

Emily Taft Douglas, an able campaigner and a sincere

and effective liberal, has the unusually hard task of winning reelection from the state at large. Two years ago, running against the notorious Stephen A. Day, she picked up a plurality exceeding that given by Illinois to Roosevelt. Long active in the League of Women Voters and other civic organizations, she has much independent support. She will probably get a Cook County plurality of something like 150,000. That will be enough only in the event that widespread apathy downstate prevents her opponent from coming to the Cook County line with the normal G. O. P. plurality of 200,000 to 300,000. The odds, what with a Republican trend downstate, are against her. Possibly her own independent strength can pull her through.

The Twenty-second, the only downstate district represented in Washington by a Democrat, is an even bet. It has two heavily populated industrial counties, St. Clair and Madison, and three rural counties, Bond, Washington, and Madison. The rural counties are expected to give Calvin Johnson, the Republican nominee, a plurality approximating 7,000. An outpouring of labor votes in Madison and St. Clair for the incumbent, Melvin Price, will be needed to retain the seat for the Democrats. Johnson won the seat in 1942 and lost it to Price in 1944. Chicago's Second District, now represented by William A. Rowan, Democrat, was long considered debatable, but in recent days the Democrats have become more confident.

To return to the contest for Representative-at-Large, Mrs. Douglas's Republican opponent, William G. Stratton, served one term in Congress (1940-42) and then was elected state treasurer. He has an ultra-conservative, ultra-isolationist record, and with "Ham" Fish and Stephen A. Day, was involved in the Viereck-Frank episode. But on the basis of past performance he must be reckoned no mean vote getter.

Stratton has spent most of the campaign in red-baiting, and he finally overstepped himself when he sought to link Mrs. Douglas—native-born Illinoisan, product of the state's school system, daughter of the late sculptor Lorado Taft, and wife of an eminent University of Chicago economist—with Moscow. His own record of association with Viereck then became an issue. Before that, on account of his brief war-time navy service, it had been largely ignored.

Such Republican worthies as Chauncey Reed in the Eleventh District, Leo Allen in the Thirteenth, Noah Mason in the Twelfth, Anton J. Johnson in the Fourteenth, and Leslie Arends in the Seventeenth have nothing to fear. They come from districts which went Republican during most of the New Deal peak years. Probably all incumbent G. O. P. Representatives from the state will be reelected. Broadly considered, the group stands for *Tribune* isolationism, *Tribune* reaction, and *Tribune* red-baiting. Without exception, they acknowledge the leadership of Robert R. McCormick.

Uninspiring as the fact may be, present hopes to keep the state's Democratic liberals in Congress rest largely on the vote-getting ability of Chicago's notorious Kelly machine. The P. A. C. has not bestirred itself, and other liberal groups, with the exception of the small but active Independent Voters of Illinois, appear to have lost their effectiveness since Roosevelt's death. Boss Ed, incredible as it may seem, is being called on to save whatever vestiges of liberalism may remain in Illinois. *Sic transit gloria!*

The Soviets Clean House

BY WALTER DURANTY

IN THE present flurry about Soviet Russia much is being made of an "internal upheaval" in that country. We are told that the dread word "purge" was allowed by the Moscow censor on, I think, June 28, and that since then the newly named Ministry of State Control (ex-OGPU, ex-NKVD) has been doing a wholesale job of "purging" in many fields. Although we are also informed that "unlike other Soviet upheavals, notably those of the mid-thirties, the sentences so far reported have been confined to prison terms and fines," the tone of dispatches is ominous and in tune with other alarums and excursions of the anti-Soviet orchestra.

However, all this talk about "purges," now and in the past, ignores the fact that the "purge"—or *chistka*, as the Russians call it, literally meaning "cleansing"—is an essential feature of the principles and conduct of the Russian Communist Party and was in operation as far back as 1920. The *chistka* was then used to cope with the somewhat indiscriminate admission of new members to the party during the civil war (1918-20); by 1920 more than twenty thousand "undesirables" had been placed on probation or expelled. The test which Communists must pass was threefold, dealing with faith,

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works, and conduct—that is, knowledge of and belief in Marxist doctrine, obedience to party rules and instructions and performance of party duties, and personal behavior so scrupulously correct as to bring no slur upon the party name.

At various later periods exceptional stress was laid upon one or another of these three points, but serious dereliction in any of them was enough to warrant expulsion or a period of probation. Thus there was a very sharp purge in 1921, when Lenin's New Economic Policy (N. E. P.) was opposed by many of his followers. This purge was so severe that the membership of the party was reduced from 732,000 in March, 1921, to 532,000 in March, 1922. And the decline did not stop there, for the Twelfth Party Congress in April, 1922, represented a membership of only 386,000—scarcely more than half the 1921 figure.

The mechanism of the purge was as follows: Every party member, high or low, was called before a meeting of his cell, or unit, to answer the questions of a board of examiners appointed by the Central Committee. Other fellow-workers, friends or relatives, including non-Communists, might be present, and the Communist being examined could appeal to them for support and corroboration of his statements. The examiners might also appeal to the "audience" to confirm or deny complaints and generally to illumine each case. This was the system before Lenin's death, and it has been continued since within the party.

In the fall of 1924 a nation-wide drive was undertaken against the profiteers, Communist and non-Communist, who had exploited the New Economic Policy. Scores of thousands of "Nepmen"—private business men—and party and non-party officials were arrested and punished for crookedness and for taking or giving bribes. State organizations of investigation and punishment, like the Peasants' and Workers' Inspection Committee, the Criminal Police, and the OGPU, formerly known as Cheka, conducted this drive. It was not a party purge—this distinction is important—but simply an effort to correct abuses which had developed because the party leaders, notably Stalin and Trotsky, were already engaged in a struggle of persons and power and methods caused by Lenin's serious illness and imminent death.

I venture to suggest that the present "internal upheaval" in Russia is like what happened in 1924—that is, a general cleaning out of the cobwebs and mess which accumulate in any house when its occupants are so deeply preoccupied with something else that they have no time to keep it in order. In the last five years the U. S. S. R. has been fighting for its existence. That was what counted most. Now that the war is won, the Russian leaders have time to look around, and they see rust and moths and corruption and even places where thieves have broken in to steal. Doubtless they also see that the enormous number of new party members, welcome and useful during the war, requires some sifting—now that the war is won. That would be a party purge; and so we have today the dual process of a party purge, or *chistka*, and the punishment of non-party members for the many sorts of misconduct and abuses which are the common response of human imperfection to the double temptation of greed and opportunity.

It is not surprising that American public opinion and its informants in the press and radio should misunderstand the present state of affairs in the U. S. S. R. Apart from the censorship and the confusing effect of such factors as the shortage of consumers' goods, transportation difficulties, and the presence of millions of refugees from the western provinces in the Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia, there is the bewildering memory of the treason trials and so-called Great Purge in the years 1936 to 1938. The whole tragic story of that vast and panic witch-hunt has yet to be revealed. It was not a party purge in the usual sense of the phrase, although it was primarily concerned with party members and, as in 1921, reduced the party membership by more than one-half. Nor was it mainly, as in 1924, a national housecleaning. In a sense it was both, but it was something else. It was an explosion of national suspicion and fear which shook the country to its roots but also destroyed the network of foreign intrigue and fifth-column activity, native and foreign.

There is a further point which merits consideration. I refer to the Cheka, or OGPU, or NKVD, or, as they call it now, Ministry of State Control, that subtle organization which often changes its name but never its character—or its purpose and methods. From the very beginning, when Lenin early in 1918 appointed Felix Djerjinsky to head the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission) against counter-revolution, that body—with all its names—has been far more than a secret police or an intelligence service. It has been that of course, but it has also been, first, last, and always, the executive arm and the vigilant watchdog of the Soviet state, the right hand and obedient servant of the ruling force in Russia, which is the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and of the Politburo which runs the Central Committee—and therefore of Stalin, who runs the Politburo.

On certain occasions foreign public opinion has been led to believe that this particular organism of the Bolshevik system was the power behind the throne, an *imperium in imperio*. Once perhaps, for a moment, this fancy may have been true, when Yagoda dared to dream that a dog could bite its master. So Yagoda was shot. Before him and after him—perhaps even during that moment of his extravagant dream—the Cheka, OGPU, NKVD, or present Ministry of State Control has always been the swift sharp sword of the Kremlin.

The People's Front

FEW people can undergo the test of power and emerge unchanged. This is truer in Europe than in the United States. Here politics does not have the same prestige; a successful American business executive or professional man seems to feel that a government job is something one accepts only in time of war or some other national emergency as a patriotic duty and with a certain feeling of condescension. As a rule, the men most susceptible to the effects of power are those who least expected to fill a post of authority: the newspaperman who never dreamed of leaving the city room, the militant of the left who never in his life saw the inside of any official building except a jail, the professor absorbed in the search for a new philosophy, or hormone, or star. Taken out of their usual surroundings and set down in a ministry, or embassy, or Military Government office, such men too often become transformed—conceited and unbearable.

Italy's new Minister of Foreign Affairs is not one of these. I saw Pietro Nenni three months ago in the Italian embassy at Paris; he was then vice-president of the Italian Council of Ministers, but I had no difficulty in recognizing the man who used to rise at meetings of the Second International in pre-Munich days to defend the uncompromising Socialist position against the revisionists; who during the Spanish war crossed the border time after time to go to the front with the *milicianos*. In Paris in August he was even carrying, stuffed in the pocket of his raincoat, the beret Basque he used to wear in 1938; when he had to go to see one of the big shots at the Peace Conference, he would exchange it for a stiff black sombrero which between times hung solemnly in the cloakroom of the embassy and which he never succeeded in putting on properly.

This was my first meeting with Nenni since January, 1940, when I left him struggling with the French bureaucrats to put across his plan of mobilizing the Italian anti-fascists in France for service on the Allied side. To make his situation even more difficult, he had just sent a bitter letter of resignation to the executive committee of the Second International because of its vacillating position on the Spanish issue. Yet he was at odds with the Communists as well, for he would not accept their position on World War II; from the outset he maintained that this was a struggle every Socialist must support.

When France fell, Nenni stood high on the list of those demanded by the Axis police. Indeed, he had three Gestapos on his trail—German, Italian, and Vichy French. I succeeded in establishing contact with him through mutual friends in New York, and we obtained the promise of an American visa for him. Nenni got word to us that he would not leave France. He wanted to keep in touch with the anti-Fascists there and in Italy and to be on hand when the final struggle began. Eventually he was delivered to the Italians and sent to prison. His journey through Italy turned into a triumphal progress. Even the Fascist guards who had him in charge treated him with sympathy and respect, and the railway workers made no attempt to hide their joy at his return.

Nenni's extraordinary courage is concealed by his simplicity and strong dislike of theatrical gestures. Three weeks ago, when an angry crowd of unemployed, in which it was easy to detect the presence of provocateurs, rioted in front of the Viminale Palace in Rome, the first official who went out to face the demonstrators was Nenni. I can sense as if I had been there the quick presence of mind with which he intervened to prevent a disastrous clash between the police and the people.

This will surely not be the last riot for Nenni. It takes courage, in this critical period for Italy, to assume the duties of Foreign Minister. There may come a moment when Nenni will find everyone against him, including his own Socialist Party, in which he must count upon the criticism of the rightist group around Saragat and of the perfectionists led by Ignazio Silone. He may also find himself in disagreement with the Italian Communists. Nenni considers the division into two blocs a permanent menace to peace; while he is friendly to the Soviet Union he is determined to maintain the best possible relations with the West, as his recent cable to Secretary Byrnes clearly indicates. On the other hand, his position has been strengthened by the political pact just concluded between the Socialists and Communists. The joint program calls for extirpation of Fascist remnants, nationalization of monopolistic industries and services, liquidation of big estates, and, in foreign affairs, collective security. This is a personal victory for Nenni. With the two Marxist parties working together on domestic problems and laying the groundwork for substantial gains in next spring's parliamentary elections, he can expect more solid support from the left for his foreign policy. Even on the Trieste issue he showed no sign of discouragement in Paris, no indication of allowing that trouble-spot to become another Danzig. Latest developments seem to justify his hopes. Although the Yugoslav delegate to the Peace Conference declared that his country would never sign a treaty depriving it of Trieste, Marshal Tito, in a recent interview with Philips Price, British Labor M. P., has said he does not object in principle to having Trieste become a free territory provided its constitution is satisfactory and the enclave fairly defined.

Nenni's big problem will be the Christian Democrats, who hold 211 of the 557 seats in the Constituent Assembly. After a two-day debate in the Chamber, they came out against acceptance of the peace treaty drafted in Paris. Nenni hates the treaty as much as they do, but he favors ratification combined with continued efforts to secure revisions as soon as the international situation eases. He knows he is in for the most unpleasant time of his life. But he asked for it; he insisted on being Foreign Minister. Nenni is used to plunging into the fight when things look darkest. Knowing him as I do, I am confident that, unlike some other radicals who have tasted power, he will not forget that he is a Socialist.

DEL VAYO

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THERE was a time when almost any radio man would admit, in the privacy of a bar or the secrecy of an inner sanctum, that CBS was the top network in the business. NBC might have more good programs, but CBS was smarter in its public service and its ability to come up with new programs.

Four or five years ago things began to change. Then, about three years ago, William S. Paley, the president of CBS, went to war, first with the OWI overseas, later with the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF. And from that day on no one in the business would bet a dime on the future of the once top web.

Today the situation has changed again. For last week Mr. Paley, now chairman of the board of CBS, served notice that he was back in the saddle and his network would once again be out in front.

On Tuesday, October 22, Bill Paley stood before the first big meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters' twenty-fourth annual convention, in Chicago, and said in effect, "A lot of people are saying a lot of bad things about us. Some of them are honest, others are not, but a good deal of what they are saying is true, and it's about time we admitted it and took steps to clean house."

To the assembled radio men—fresh from a shave, a shampoo, and a snifter after a night of carousing in the full Legion-convention sense of the word—it was an unexpected slap in the face. The president of CBS had faced up to a problem they were ducking—and they knew it.

Some of what Bill Paley said is arguable, at least to this critic. But everything he said was honest, frank, and important. If you would like to read the full seventeen pages of his talk, write to CBS at 485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, and they will send you a copy. I have space only for his most effective salvos:

"The most persistently repeated charge against broadcasters is that we permit advertising excess. It is my opinion that we are guilty. True, competition for economic survival has been very fierce in certain instances. But that does not excuse too high a percentage of commercial copy or material which is irritating, offensive, or in bad taste.

"A broadcaster may have felt impelled by economic considerations to take a few more announcements or another commercial here and there. Getting no immediate reaction from the listening public he may have repeated the process until he lost perspective on what was excessive or obnoxious.

"You do not need me to tell you that this is bad radio and bad advertising. Certainly, it's not the advertiser's fault, but the broadcaster's. Nor am I pointing the finger at stations only. Let me frankly admit that even network standards would be higher if one network or another had not yielded to the pressure of competition.

"Turning to the field of public-affairs programs, perhaps our real failure has been in not devoting to them the same high quality of showmanship, good writing, ingenuity, and imagination as we devote to entertainment shows.

"The growing volubility of our critics cannot be disposed of simply by our deciding in the privacy of our own offices that they don't know what they are talking about.

"We must admit in advance that not all our critics will be silenced no matter what we do, but that does not excuse a do-nothing attitude. I have no doubt that if we frankly face and recognize this as our collective responsibility, we are neither so shortsighted nor so incompetent that we cannot find a forward-looking and workable solution.

"When our accomplishments are given as much emphasis as our faults—we will find that the record of most broadcasters will be a matter of real pride. And I say most because the record of some is not a matter of pride.

"We have reached a point where it is incumbent upon the whole industry to be concerned with the good name of the whole industry, and if that means pointing directly to certain units in the industry, then let's not be afraid to do so.

"I should like to see people angry when they are angry at particular stations, particular programs, particular offenders, and not at all radio. That is intelligent discrimination, and that is what is often lacking in radio criticism."

These quotations are lifted out of context. They are not all in the sequence in which they occurred. And of course they are not nearly all that Mr. Paley had to say: he made some extremely pertinent remarks about radio critics, of which more next week.

Mr. Paley's speech was important because it marked the return to active participation in American radio of a strong force for good. It also set a gauge by which every intelligent radio listener can judge his station and by which radio can judge itself.

Even if nothing else happens before the N. A. B. convention comes to an end, this meeting of the radio trade association will have been a success. For by putting radio on the spot Bill Paley also put his network on the spot.

The current issue of *Variety* carries a headline, "Radio Must Reform—or Else." With this staring the broadcasters in the face, you can bet your mortgage that Paley will back his words with action. And anything that CBS does the rest of the industry will have to match on a competitive basis.

The Nation *has been receiving inquiries about the present status of television. Mr. Frankel plans to devote a future column to the subject. However, he would like to know how many* Nation *readers have television sets in operation and how general is the interest. If you have a set, will you please send us a postcard.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Great Precursor

THE DRAWINGS OF LEONARDO DA VINCI. With an Introduction by A. E. Popham. Reynal and Hitchcock. $10.

AS BOTH an artist and an event in history Leonardo da Vinci offers paradoxes. These are brought to view even in his drawings—which happen to be the most authentic evidence we have as to his genius, since the authorities tell us that almost every one of the paintings still attributed to him has been altered seriously by the hand either of another artist or of time. Thus the book at hand becomes doubly valuable, even to those more interested in Leonardo as a personality than as a painter.

Remarkable in these drawings is the amount of intellectual will manifested by a taut, deliberate line, by contours that describe a form as if asserting a final truth. Here, immediately, is the first paradox. Was not Leonardo among those who did most to deliver Italian painting from conceptualization and carry it farthest on the way toward explicit emotion and naturalism? Did it not go out of fashion after him for painters to be intellectual? Where are the Piero della Francescas, the Uccellos, and the Mantegnas of the Cinquecento? But like many of the paradoxes attaching to Leonardo, this one can be plausibly explained by his "uneven development." Born in 1452, he never quite succeeded in escaping from the intellectualist Quattrocento, although he was, essentially, not of it; and despite his instinctive naturalism he was unable to attain the uninhibited passivity that made it possible for the next generation of painters to render a pictorial world so "natural" that its space became continuous with that in which the spectator moved.

Leonardo's will was not only the will to know and to understand but also the will to power. Where for his predecessors, Piero and Uccello, graphic definition had been primarily a way of identifying nature's essence, its perfection and harmony, for Leonardo it was a form of control over his environment. In his drawings we see a struggle between the Quattrocentist ideal of harmony and his own instinct for immediate, physical control. Yet he seems to have been too impatient to make the unreserved, if temporary, surrender of the intellectual will without which the sensory truth cannot be assimilated. Although in his notebooks he upheld the primacy of the unmanipulated evidence of the senses, he continued to believe in geometry as the supreme and a priori key to visible reality. Hence the vestigial stylization in his drawings, the cramped, but rhythmic, faintly Sienese arabesque of Quattrocento painting, which, although a great excellence in its own time, represents a frustration for an artist whose temper and ambition no longer belong to the fifteenth century.

Some of Leonardo's frustrations, as well as his unresolved contradictions, arose from his own temperament no less than from his historical position. His preoccupation with knowledge and power goes hand in hand with a certain coldness or detached impersonality, of which evidence is to be found in both his drawings and his notebooks. Yet his revolutionary contributions to painting were an emotional naturalism that inaugurated the High Renaissance, and his *sfumato,* which by swathing forms in soft, voluminous shading not only moved them into "real" space but made the emotion they bore more explicit. And yet who but a cold nature can calculate best when it comes to a question of dramatizing and exploiting emotion? And is it not also characteristic of a cold nature that, when called on to display emotion, it should resort, as Leonardo did, to sentimentality and exaggeration?

There is, however, a kind of valid feeling in Leonardo's seemingly most objective drawings. But it appears as puzzling to us as it proved troublesome, no doubt, to the artist himself. It is the alienated and the unsympathetic, and is expressed in depictions of violent struggles, of catastrophes by fire and flood, of invented facial types and facial deformities, of war chariots with revolving scythes that litter the ground with human limbs, and in the directions in his notebooks on how to paint a battle scene—but most particularly in his anatomical studies, which convey, as modern anatomical plates do not, the idea of a callousness that does not come altogether from the fact that these studies were done from life by a consummate draftsman in a period in which hardly anyone as yet had acquired the habit of viewing the insides of a human body detachedly and with curiosity. The mirror-maker who denounced Leonardo to the Pope for his anatomical drawings may have had ulterior motives, but I believe I can understand why he felt he had a good case.

The most precise definition I can give of the feeling I detect in Leonardo's drawings and writings is that it is the result of self-withdrawal, of an unwillingness or inability to commit or reveal himself. His appetite for mystification would bear this out. (And by mystification I do not mean merely his practice of writing from right to left; after all, Leonardo was left-handed.) He was able to put emotion into his art more outwardly than anyone before him because it was not his own emotion but emotion that he chose for his not-self. He was able to write more copiously than any other artist of his time because he kept himself out of what he wrote. He willed because he assigned the performance of the acts of his will to his not-self.

Relatively few of the drawings reproduced in this book are finished works of art in the sense of being placed and executed in relation to the size and shape of the page. Many are preliminary sketches, notations, studies, and the like; others are sheer rumination, revery, wish-fulfilment, thinking. They amount to works of art only in the limited way that isolated passages of verse do—or even less, because their presumptive wholes never saw existence.

As I have said, most of these drawings are not quite free of the Quattrocento. The recurring types of the fierce, masculine, mature man and his contrast, the soft-chinned, effeminate youth; the flower-pieces, the landscapes, and especially the drawings of water in movement seem governed by no-

tions of ideal types, or of abstract, mathematical harmonies. (The Quattrocento, while it drew from nature, corrected its observations according to a set of ideal, generalized patterns, drawing *the* arm and *the* tree instead of *an* arm and *a* tree.) Leonardo does not seem to have been comfortable with the remnants of a style that by his time, and particularly for him, had become equivalent to stylization. Had he been comfortable, his drawing would have been more mannered—like Botticelli's—which it is not at all, and would have betrayed the unity, self-indulgence, and repose that go with mannerism. But Leonardo's draftsmanship is rarely at ease; its revery as well as its will is nervous, almost convulsive. Its invention transcends the Quattrocento by far, and only its execution relapses into it—in the tapering of a limb, the folds of a gown, or here and there in an ornamental, slightly abstract rhythm and compression. And yet even here the truth and emphasis are too strong to be decorative in the Quattrocentist manner.

Leonardo was endowed with the talent of a great draftsman, but we can appreciate that talent only as a potentiality. He left behind very few really great drawings, and most of those in the present book are but samples and demonstrations of talent, not its achievements. Those of them done most directly from life appear the most spontaneous and incisive: his male nudes, his female heads, and even his studies of drapery—which seem slightly stylized only because taken, as Vasari says, from clay figures draped with rags dipped in plaster. On the other hand—and here we meet another paradox—the best complete drawing in the book, in my opinion, is a more or less architectural sketch for the perspective of the unfinished "Adoration of the Magi"—notwithstanding its over-drawings, guiding lines, and erasures. And yet again, this drawing happens to be one of the most Quattrocentist of all, even though its conception, a wide, horizontal composition converging into depth, was to be taken up and repeated by Raphael and others in the sixteenth century.

The famous Burlington House cartoon of the Madonna, St. Anne, the Jesus child, and St. John, made as a sample sketch for an altar-piece never executed, is considered by many the greatest and most genuine surviving example of Leonardo's genius. About this drawing, magnificent in the pictorial and emotional unity of its rhythms, there is nothing whatsoever of the Quattrocento. Although its volumes round off deeply into the third dimension, they are perfectly controlled on the picture plane, with the Quattrocentist handling of volumes as protuberances to be organized frontally like a bas-relief left far behind. And yet I feel something impure, mannered, cloying in the elongated figures of this drawing, in the faces, and in the sugary *sfumato* that haloes them. The emotion is sent too exclusively and too far in one direction, becoming unbelievable for the purposes of art; the artist seems to be staking his effect on the spectator's weaknesses as well as on his own skill. In the end, this charcoal drawing, like Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes, constitutes one of those rapes of the medium that result in something splendid and extraordinary but that leave us admiring the scale and force of the artist's nerve more than his art. And since these works have such a deleterious effect upon artists who come afterward, they amount almost to acts of hostility toward art.

We know how much Michelangelo preferred sculpture to painting and how he complained at the task set him in the Sistine chapel, and so his hostility can be accounted as more than accidental. Leonardo's reluctance to commit himself fully to any of his pursuits—as indicated by such external evidence as his inconstant interests, his lack of perseverance, and his very neglect of the rudimentary physical aspects of his métier—may be interpreted as the sign of an unconscious hostility toward accomplishment in general, not only toward art. Whatever the personal facts concerned, it is as if Leonardo, once having embarked upon his revolutionary ventures, lost heart and became resentful when he saw that these were but beginnings that would have to be left to others for realization. And so for him the main question became that of proving and demonstrating his gifts rather than of creating works.

His faculty for divining the obsessions and challenges of the future led him into paths down which he could take only the initial steps. Just as his art, while reaching far ahead in conception, remained trapped between Quattrocento and Cinquecento in its embodiment, so in natural philosophy his genuine positivism, which anticipated so much to come, could of itself achieve little for lack of a scientific method; while his inventions and engineering projects, which manifested a very modern desire to exploit nature rather than propitiate it, came to nothing for lack of a source of power more generous than pulleys and cog-wheels. Leonardo arrived too early. "Tell me whether anything was ever finished?" he wrote more than once.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

The Witnesses

NOT SO WILD A DREAM. By Eric Sevareid. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THIS is the kind of book that most sincere journalists write or want to write—*have* to write in order to maintain their sincerity and their balance. On two levels, both the superficial and the profound, these books—which naturally enough take the autobiographical form—allow the journalist to try to tell what he *really* saw and felt, what was *actually* happening: in other words, to report what the censors cut out and what the writer himself was at the time unable to express. The model for these books is perhaps Vincent Sheean's "Personal History." Eric Sevareid presumes to speak for his generation, as Sheean did for his: he achieves a genuine success. The defects of his story can be related to the defects of his generation. It is entirely to the credit of his honesty that the contradictions in his attitudes are revealed as clearly as his positive beliefs are affirmed. As I recall Sheean's book, and compare it with "Not So Wild a Dream," the most striking difference seems to be in the personal tone. The former generation, feeling itself more in tune with history—and for other reasons as well—was more individually responsive and assertive. On the other hand, Sevareid reveals, for instance, a shocking disdain of bohemianism. Also, he is too polite to those he attacks. His analyses are often vitiated by an excessive moralism: the words "clean" and "obscene" occur frequently

H. G. WELLS
1866-1946

"This was a man whose word was light in a thousand dark places. When he was angry, it was because he knew, far better than we did that life need not be a sordid, greedy scramble."

J. B. PRIESTLEY

At the cremation, London, August 16, 1946

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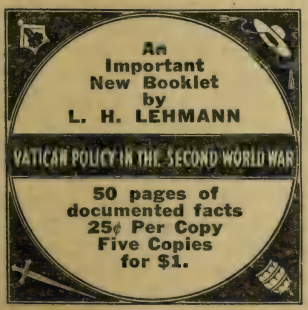

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in meaningless contexts. I think today we carry a greater load of guilt.

Why? Because the world is a more horrible and hopeless place to live in, and because the desire to escape from it has multiplied while the opportunities for doing so have dwindled. (And society is more and more incorporating escapes from itself within its own structure.) The feeling of guilt appears, of course, as a sense of responsibility, and so Sevareid remarks, "Mine is a time without choices"—meaning the choice has already been made. But in his particular reportorial role he also speaks of "my familiar niche as participating witness without the responsibility of decision." He is continually feeling inferior to militant leftists and to more conventional men of action like army officers. He is, for some reason, paralyzed: he cannot do what he says he wants to do, and he cannot fully want to do what he does.

Sevareid's long book is primarily an account of his relation to the war and of the experiences he had reporting it. He was in a good bit of it: the *Sitzkrieg;* the defeat of France; the London blitz of 1940; Africa, India, China; North Atlantic convoy; the Italian theater; the invasion of southern France; and so on—the account ends with the crossing of the Rhine. A long chapter chronicles his life in the Burmese jungle, where his plane crashed on the way from India to China. The best part of the book is that concerning the criminal Italian campaign. The reporter responded to the war in Italy deeply, almost as a G. I. His picture of the inept, pretentious generals—especially Clark—is excellent.

For Sevareid, as for most honest liberals, the war was what has been called a "negative" necessity. It became increasingly clear, after the Darlan affair, that this meant the sacrifice of all positive possibilities for the sake of the military destruction of German power. And in the end not even fascism was destroyed, but only its armies. *It was a war without self.* There was only an enemy, and the victors had nothing to be victorious about. (This lack of self is the blight of our civilization. "Not So Wild a Dream" is proof of this, but more by implication than otherwise.) Now, in the post-war world, the central problem, because of the atom bomb, is even more exclusively pure survival than it was during "the war for survival"—so the author is forced to conclude. And also with these words: "All that America truly meant, all that Americans had perished for, would be devoid of consequence or portent unless the image of society that America showed the world was that of the little Velvas as I had known, remembered, and cherished them." The reality is survival; the dream is the image of Velva.

Velva, North Dakota, is the town where Mr. Sevareid was born.

DAVID T. BAZELON

D E B A T E

"Does Stalinism Flow From Bolshevism?"

"YES!"	*"NO!"*
LISTON M. OAK	**MAX SHACHTMAN**
Managing Editor of "The New Leader"	*National Chairman Workers Party*

FRIDAY, NOV. 8—8 P.M.

HOTEL DIPLOMAT • 108 West 43rd Street

A Simple Story

AS HE SAW IT. By Elliot Roosevelt. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

THE thesis of this curious and lively little book is that Franklin Roosevelt, anticipating a mortal struggle between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, regarded Britain as much the greater menace to the world in which he believed. Elliott Roosevelt accompanied his father to the meetings at Argentia, Casablanca, Cairo, and Teheran. From each conference he reports—in direct quotes—the President's consistent and detailed suspicions of British perfidy. Churchill figures as combined buffoon and villain, endlessly scheming—generally to the detached amusement of the President and his son—to divert the United States from the war against Germany to the war against Russia. Hearing the British military and naval leaders on board the Augusta, Elliott found himself wondering—this was before Pearl Harbor—"whether it was the British Empire's purpose to see the Nazis and the Russians cancel each other out, while Britain grew strong." Stalin makes a reassuring entrance at Teheran, something like the wise old uncle from Australia in the Horatio Alger books. "Listening to Stalin's quiet words, watching his quick, flashing smile, I sensed the determination that is in his name: Steel."

We have not drifted away from Franklin Roosevelt's position in recent months, Elliott feels; "we are being *shoved* away from it, by men who should know better." Moscow gave Elliott the impression "that the Russians were almost childishly eager to get along with us." Joe Davies "demonstrated how simple the job of cooperation with the Russians is." Elliott believes we must get back on his father's track; his own specific recommendations resemble the general foreign-policy program at present advocated by such groups as the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and the Communist Party.

The problem of the exact truth of this representation of the late President will have to await further documents. Eleanor Roosevelt's noncommittal foreword comes closer to giving Elliott's thesis a brush-off than an indorsement. She describes the book as "one observer's first-hand account," which will furnish future historians with "some" of the material for a final evaluation. "I am quite sure that many of the people who heard many of the conversations recorded herein interpreted them differently, according to their own thoughts and beliefs."

The author's discussion of his sources will not satisfy historians. It is never clear where he is writing from notes, where from memory. Some of the language ascribed to Roosevelt, as Harold Laski and Henry Commager have pointed out, is inherently implausible. It is hard to believe that F. D. R. worried day and night over Britain but never expressed a single misgiving over the U. S. S. R.; and the broad picture of his views fits a political line in just a bit too pat a fashion. Yet such a detail as Roosevelt's strange admiration for Pat Hurley ("I wish I had more men like Pat. . . . If anybody can straighten out the mess of internal Chinese politics, he is the man") serves no current political purpose and is probably reported with full accuracy.

The question of the nature of Roosevelt's views is not,

of course, to be answered by spirit conversations, in Mr. Adamic's later manner, or by inner moral conviction, in the manner of those idolators of the late President who refuse to believe that he was the man his son makes him out to be. It is a matter of factual determination, and not all the returns are in. Elliott Roosevelt may be perfectly right. Jonathan Daniels, who was in the White House during this period, appears to back him 100 per cent. Eleanor Roosevelt, on the other hand, does not seem to be sure that it is all this simple; and Sumner Welles gives the same phenomenon of the collapse in United States-Russian relations after Roosevelt's death a somewhat different and very much more sophisticated explanation.

One answer is that Roosevelt was an intricate and many-faceted person—somewhat more complex than many of his observers, even maybe than some of his sons. If it turns out that the late President was not so systematically suspicious of the British and trustful of the Russians as this book suggests, then Elliott Roosevelt has written an infinitely mischievous book and has performed no service to his father's memory. But one must caution against an a priori acceptance or rejection of the thesis of "As He Saw It" simply because it coincides with or contradicts current political interests.

In any case Elliott is not burdened by doubt as to whether he is presenting the full truth. As F. D. R. observed—according to Elliott—of the son of Winston Churchill, "It must be wonderful to have so few misgivings."

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Lesson of Defeat

FOR ALL MANKIND. By Léon Blum. The Viking Press. $2.50.

THE prestige of Léon Blum can only be increased by his latest book, "A l'Echelle humaine," now excellently translated by W. Pickles under the title, "For All Mankind." In a Vichy jail soon after France's defeat, Blum had the courage and the vision to prepare for a Fourth Republic. His book was not written in self-justification but to point out to the rising generation "what can be learned from our mistakes, our illusions, and our misfortunes." In his analysis of the past he shows the balanced judgment of the philosopher and statesman, in his outlook for tomorrow the staunch optimism of the believer in democracy. "Fascism cannot last," he wrote in the darkest hour, "for two thousand years of history cannot be reduced to nothing in a decade."

He spares not even his own party, or the working class that was not ready to sacrifice its interests to those of the community; but the main responsibility for the general collapse of French society is put upon the bourgeoisie, a governing class that no longer knew how to govern, that was afraid of change, mediocre and selfish, jingoist yet willing to accept the policy of appeasement and later of collaboration. Blum foresees a second revolution that will displace a decayed class "unable to adjust its rigid temperament either to the necessities of industrial production or to the needs of democratic government." He saw clearly that the lack of cohesion among the bourgeois parties made for governmental instability, for irresponsibility, dishonesty, and bitter rivalry. Only stable parties can "respect in opposition the code of behavior from which they in turn will benefit when they become the government."

The people, wrote Léon Blum, will be the heirs of the Third Republic. They will assure the triumph of social democracy, a creed that insists on the free development of human personality as much as or more than on planned production and consumption. This political and social democracy is not possible in a state of international anarchy; indeed, "if war did not leave us at least with a determination never to accept it as inevitable, we should have to despair of the human race." A really effective international power, a superstate, must be created. This implies a concordat with Russia, perhaps the integration of that nation—as well as of Germany—in the European community.

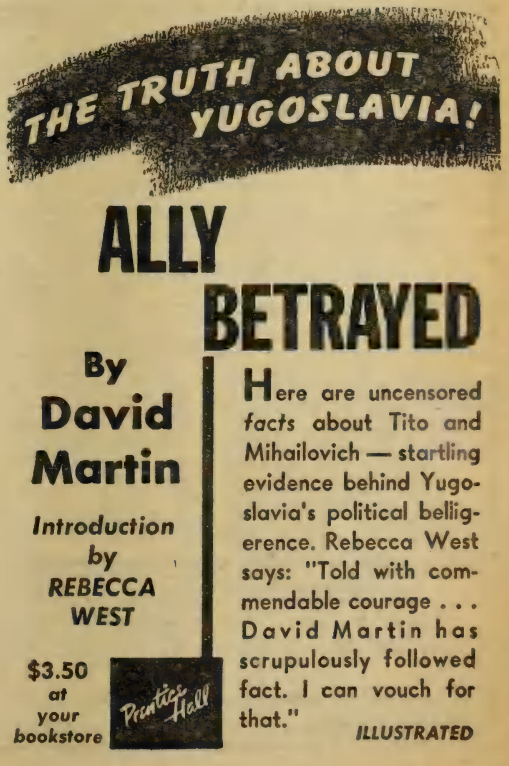
"For All Mankind" is further proof that the great idealists of today are the only true realists.

CHARLES A. MICAUD

BRIEFER COMMENT

. . . That's Fit to Print

LONG, LONG AGO, before reactionary rigor mortis had its way with Benjamin Stolberg and the *Atlantic Monthly*, Ben wrote a piece about Adolph Ochs for the *Atlantic* called The Man Behind the *Times*. The deft Stolbergian scalpel flashed brilliantly to lay bare the inner workings of middle-class mediocrity. Not only did the patient recover, but Mr.


THE TRUTH ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA!
ALLY BETRAYED
By David Martin
Introduction by REBECCA WEST
$3.50 at your bookstore
Prentice Hall
Here are uncensored facts about Tito and Mihailovich — startling evidence behind Yugoslavia's political belligerence. Rebecca West says: "Told with commendable courage . . . David Martin has scrupulously followed fact. I can vouch for that."
ILLUSTRATED

Ochs sent copies of the article to his numerous cousins and uncles and aunts. And had Ben to lunch in the sacred upper room.

Nothing of this delightful nature is to be looked for in the worshipful pages of the latest biography of Mr. Ochs ("An Honorable Titan, Biographical Study of Adolph Simon Ochs," by Gerald W. Johnson, Harper, $3.50). Mr. Johnson, professor of journalism—whatever that may be—at the University of North Carolina, once wrote a book called "American Heroes and Hero Worship," and in this last work he sets earnestly about to make of the most unlikely material a new entrant for the Horatio Alger Hall of Fame.

From the post-Civil War days when young Adolph started methodically making money as a printer and publisher in Chattanooga, Honorable Reader is conducted by Mr. Johnson to the Honorable Titan days on West Forty-third Street. For reasons best known to a professor of journalism, Mr. Johnson finds it necessary to apply such words as "strong," "democratic," even "great" to the shrewd little character who at the turn of the century discovered there was a fortune to be made in printing all the dreary stuff that was littering up the floor of the city rooms of his rival publishers. For this enterprise he gathered together a staff of infinitive-splitters and hanging-phrase addicts who developed what soon came to be recognized with horror as the *Times* style. This consisted of telling the entire story in the lead, repeating it ad infinitum in the body, and, after a turgid summation, documenting it on page 36, col. 2, by printing everything the speaker said and the delegates resolved. To this was added the small-town success formula of printing as many names as possible, even though the holders were merely paying guests at the annual dinner of the Advertising Space Buyers' Marching Club and Sunday Morning Breakfast Association. So that, like Rubin's "From a Sandwich to an Institution," the *Times* became an object of awe, and American newspaperdom had its first experience with the "millennium of the minnows."

Though toward the end of his career—honorable enough in all conscience, without Mr. Johnston's protestations—an occasional piece of good writing did shine out from the serried columns of his paper, Mr. Ochs was vigilant in preserving the formula; so that today, eleven years after his death, the *Times* continues its triumphant and titanic way in printing all the news that is fit to, in the opinion of graduates of the tame-cat schools of journalism and tired liberal editors, print.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

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The Planned City

I CAME TO CITY PLANNING through the historical and aesthetic approach: how to preserve the traditional charm of Paris, without any sacrifice of convenience. But I soon realized that art had a social aspect. Urban blight and disintegration are symptoms of a moral disease; they are ugly, because they denote meanness and confusion. I have not lost interest in noble or picturesque planning, *à la* L'Enfant or *à la* Sitte. But I think less in terms of imposing civic centers and grand vistas, more in terms of slum clearance, rehousing, and transportation.

So I read "New City Patterns," by S. E. Sanders and A. J. Rabuck (Reinhold Publishing Corporation, $8), with eagerness and delight. It analyzes the causes of urban blight and proposes definite remedies. The treatment is intelligent, functional, realistic in the true sense of the term. It makes us *realize* evils which we might prefer to ignore—shacks in the shadow of the nation's Capitol—and possibilities that were ours, if only we had the wit and the will.

Acceptable solutions are not utopian. They have been worked out in Germany, England, Switzerland, Holland, as well as in this country. What is needed is a planned economy, the bugbear of our rugged individualists. The profit motive, unlimited, is responsible for the excessive coverage which makes the core of Manhattan blocks hideous, even on Park Avenue. The mitigated profit motive yields mitigated results: let us say Purgatory. The authors note that if Stuyvesant Town were to house decently its proposed population, it would need three times its assigned area. So government must step in "by outright subsidy or by other methods."

Subsidy is a capitulation to the profiteers. It cannot go very far: you can hardly expect landowners to subsidize urban redevelopments which will compete with their own property. The single tax and straight socialism, which the authors do not discuss, provide solutions which are frankly "radical." The question is to be aware of the evil and of its causes: and this is done excellently in "New City Patterns." When a disease has been properly diagnosed, the most conservative doctors are not afraid of drastic methods.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IT IS a commonplace of the textbooks that "Lady Windermere's Fan" is a bad play. One usually adds, of course, that it is enlivened somewhat by a liberal sprinkling of Oscar Wilde's best epigrams, and the present reviewer has retailed these easy opinions on various occasions. He feels pretty sure, however, that a good many other people will be as surprised as he to discover from the current revival at the Cort Theater that this much-maligned old semi-classic is astonishingly viable on the contemporary stage. We were, it seems clear, precisely half wrong. "Lady Windermere's Fan" is hokum of the most abandoned sort. But it is good hokum, not bad.

The obvious machinery of the plot, which seems on the printed page to clank cumbersomely along, actually revolves with well-oiled precision, and the stagiest of its climaxes are quaintly effective. When, for example, Mrs. Erlynne, that most perfectly Victorian of shady ladies, destroys her reputation anew by coming out from hiding in the wicked lord's "rooms" and thus saves the honor of her long-lost daughter, who is hiding in another corner, it is all in the truly grand style of artificiality. The calculated effect is so perfectly achieved that one all but envies those audiences who saw it in the early nineties, when the so eminently usable mythology involving "pure" women and dazzling, "dangerous" men could still be taken as part of a living religion.

We ought, we know, to despise utterly such obvious claptrap and such shamelessly false moralizing. Despite the inappropriately perverse sparkle of the witty interludes, "Lady Windermere's Fan" is in general conception a perfect example of everything Ibsen and Shaw were born to destroy. If Wilde wrote it with his tongue in his cheek he ought to have been ashamed of himself. If, as seems more likely, his originality exhausted itself at the end of an epigram and he was simply unable to form a fable which would point in the same direction as his wit, then it was a confession of weakness to fall back as he did upon a plot which must have become stale a generation before his time. But to see this artistic monstrosity given a fair chance on the stage is somewhat to understand something which often puzzles the industrious student of now forgotten theatrical successes. Intelligent people could stomach such nonsense because it was theatrically usable nonsense. One long passage in "Lady Windermere's Fan," the conversation between the men just before Mrs. Erlynne's sensational entrance, is the most dazzling series of witticisms which any British playwright had achieved since the days of Sheridan at least. But neither in its own day nor in ours is the brilliance of such displays exclusively, or perhaps even chiefly, responsible for the effectiveness of the play. It "goes" quite as much because of what is intellectually contemptible as because of what is intellectually admirable.

I am not taking the excellence of the present production for granted, but the fact remains that it is, however skilful, something which has been conceived as an almost completely straight presentation of the play Wilde wrote, not as a new "interpretation" or as an ingenious, spoofing perversion. Possibly Cecil Beaton's romantically splendiferous costumes and settings are rather more an interior decorator's dream of what a Victorian interior ought to have been like than they are actual recreations of such an interior. Delightful as they are, they may carry a faint suggestion of admiring parody. But even so it is no more than a mere suggestion, and the production as a whole succeeds because it seems to take the play on its own terms and to give it a fair chance. When, for example, Wilde in all seriousness permits his erstwhile wicked lord to lapse into some such quintessential Victorianism as the wistful remark that "we are none of us good enough for the women we marry," the present production plays up the sentiment for all it is worth, and the same is true of the most theatrical of the climaxes. But the result is that the spectator finds himself taking it all in and enjoying the whole thing much more than any mere reader of the text is likely to suppose possible. On the program eight different performers are starred or featured, but acting honors should go, especially, to Penelope Ward as the charming prig Lady Windermere herself, to John Buckmaster as Lord Darlington, to Estelle Winwood for a very crisp comedy performance of the minor role of the Duchess of Berwick, and—in the last act though not, I think, in the earlier ones—to Cornelia Otis Skinner as Mrs. Erlynne.

Of the week's other revival, "The Duchess of Malfi" (Ethel Barrymore Theater), much less can be said. In addition to the fact that both plays are old favorites of the anthologists there are other remote parallels between them: the one is in some respects as typically late Elizabethan as the other is typically late Victorian, and Webster's highly theatrical use of such Elizabethan standbys as the wicked cardinal, the sinister malcontent philosopher, and the power-mad duke is somewhat analogous to Wilde's use of the woman-with-a-past, the pure-woman-who-almost-falls, and other figures dear to the stage of his time. One might even go farther and point out that just as Wilde's play is at least partially redeemed by wit, Webster's is redeemed by poetry. But the very fact that "The Duchess of Malfi" is so much farther removed from us in time makes it harder to acclimatize in our theater, and the present rather casual, rather perfunctory production hardly achieves the task. Elizabeth Bergner plays the title role as an ingenue, and her coyness is only occasionally effective; Canada Lee, as the malcontent, proves that a Negro can successfully make up in white face, but his performance is hardly electric. Two or three of the more sensational scenes do come off pretty well, but as I left the theater I heard one young man protesting defensively to his companion: "After all, it's no duller than a lot of Shakespeare."

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued a set (628; $3.85) of Mozart's Concerto K. 365 for two pianos, played by Vronsky and Babin with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra under Mitropoulos. It is a beautiful work; but performance and recording make its beauty difficult to perceive. The orchestral part gets heavy-handed treatment from Mitropoulos, and comes off the records as though through several thick cloths; the piano parts are played without sensitiveness or style or, occasionally, evenness in passage-work, and come off the records with a dull, percussive sound. Some of the surfaces of my copy are gritty, and there is some wavering of pitch.

On the other hand Columbia offers clear, bright, and sonorous recording of Milhaud's Suite Française, performed by Milhaud himself with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-268; $2.85)—though the sound is more brilliant on some sides than on others, and is badly balanced in the "Ile de France" section. I am aware of the expertness with which the unpleasantly acrid music is contrived, but I don't find it interesting. The orchestra plays well.

Another set (X-270; $2.25) offers a group of four popular Strauss songs—"Ständchen," "Allerseelen," "Zueignung," and the saccharine "Morgen"—sung by Lotte Lehmann. The voice is lovely (I suspect it is the voice of several years back, judging by the bloom and opulence that the voice of today no longer has), and is used with exquisite art; and Ulanowsky's accompaniments, when not too subdued, are good. The performances are well-reproduced; the surfaces of my copy are noisy.

Lily Pons's singing of *All' fors' è lui* from "La Traviata" in the set entitled "Paris" (638; $3.85) is tremolo-ridden, and the orchestral accompaniment provided by Kostelanetz is feeble. The other things in the set are "La Marseillaise," "Parlez-moi d'amour," the Vernon Duke "April in Paris," and so on.

Victor has issued Grieg's Symphonic Dances Opus 64, performed by Sevitzky with the Indianapolis Symphony (Set 1066; $3.85). The music is engaging; the performance good; the recorded sound heavily sumptuous.

I expected to enjoy the Victor Herbert songs that Dorothy Kirsten sings with Russ Case and his orchestra and chorus (Set 1069; $3.85), and was surprised to find them without appeal for me. There must be a lot of other people who do like them, or Victor would not be issuing the set; and so I will report that Miss Kirsten sings them well to the customary ornate accompaniments, and that the performances are well-recorded.

I have received the first of twelve recordings that will be issued by Concert Hall Society, Inc., in limited editions of 2,000 copies to subscribers who will pay $100 (plus tax) for the series. The company states that it is setting out to record worth-while music of the past and present that has not been recorded by the big companies; that unlike those companies—which contract with performing artists for the exclusive rights to their services—it will first plan a year's repertory and then engage the artist most suitable for each work; and that it will press only 2,000 copies of each recording on vinylite because no more can be pressed without loss of the high quality that it guarantees its subscribers.

The first work of this year's series is Prokofiev's Quartet Opus 92, which has surprised me—after his other recent products—with a second movement and a finale that are superb. But the remainder of the series includes Brahms's Piano Sonata Opus 1, which is a horror; Debussy's Sonata for cello and piano, which is a late work and not good; Copland's Piano Sonata, of which I have found two hearings more than enough; and a number of works by Stravinsky, Bartok, Bowles, William Schuman, and Barber, which one would want to hear in order to decide whether one cared to own them. The Prokofiev Quartet seems to be performed well by the Gordon Quartet, except for the harsh sound of Gordon's violin, which may be caused by the recording. But the Gordon Quartet is not the group most suitable for this work, any more than Garbousova is the cellist most suitable for the Debussy sonata, or Ray Lev the pianist most suitable for the Brahms sonata—the truth being that Concert Hall Society can use only performers who are not under contract to the big companies, and that from these it has made good choices and some poor ones (Zighera of the Boston Symphony or Maas of the Paganini Quartet would have been a discriminating choice for the Debussy sonata). As for recording, the sound of the Prokofiev is remarkably clear and brilliant to the point of harshness, which may be caused by Gordon; and the vinylite which permits this quality also provides the quiet in which

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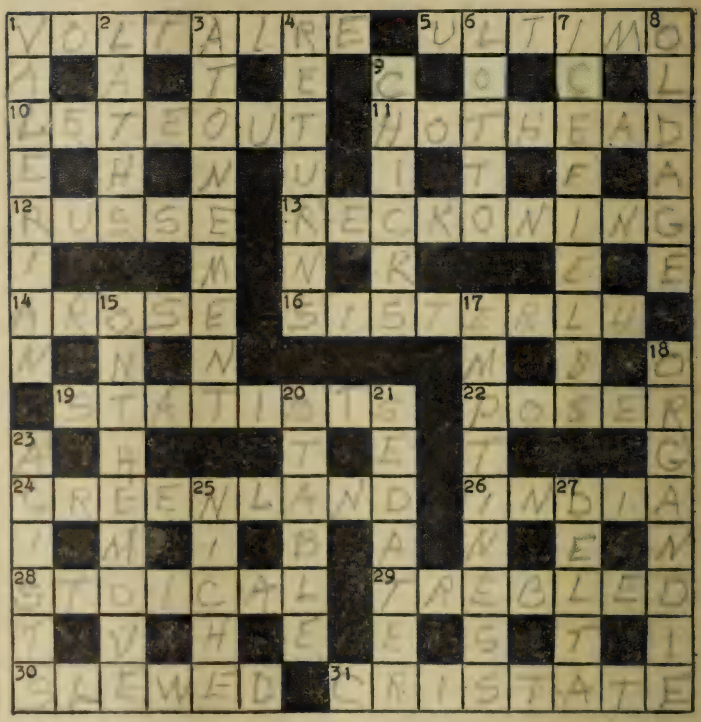

ACROSS

1 French writer who made his name largely by adding air to a small charge of electricity
5 When I moult
10 Emits (4 and 3)
11 He has not a cool brain
12 Charlotte makes a tasty dessert with this
13 You can't pay this by taking thought
14 Flowerily got up
16 Relatively affectionate
19 Politicians
22 Examiner's model question
24 The would-be immigrant farmer might be misled by its name
26 Not the land of the redskins
28 Indifferent to pain or pleasure
29 Backward Bert led!
30 Swung 'round so that we faced both ways at once in the vehicle!
31 Crested

DOWN

1 Flower that might bring rain to a valley
2 They get slated, or receive a plastering
3 Reconciliation at Mentone
4 Comes back or come backs
6 One of the older word games
7 Pasturage for Friesian cattle? (3 and 6)
8 Overtakes us all, if we live long enough (3 and 3)
9 Peckish infants
15 The best thing to be on when ordered off (2, 3, 4)
17 Suggests how to find out if there was a Loch Ness monster there
18 This material is not alternative to the Mahatma
20 Horse sense indicates this to be the best place in an air raid
21 How to make a red seat less loud
23 It's gas (anag.)
25 A fitting place
27 River Dee

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 184

ACROSS:—1 HOMEGROWN; 6 DRY UP; 9 MERMAID; 10 CASTLES; 11 DUD; 12 ERRANT; 13 WIRE; 15 PUNCTURE; 16 FUNGUS; 18 RECANT; 20 REFORMER; 23 COLE; 24 NAPOLI; 25 RUN; 28 UNMORAL; 29 ASTRIDE; 30 ENTRY; 31 WORMCASTS.

DOWN:—1 HUMID; 2 MERIDEN; 3 GRAVESTONE; 4 ORDERERS; 5 NICENE; 6 DUSK; 7 YELLING; 8 POSSESSOR; 14 EULOGISTIC; 15 PARACHUTE; 17 DEBONAIR; 19 CALUMET; 21 MARTINS; 22 CALLOW; 26 NEEDS; 27 TROY.

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE APPOINTMENT OF DAVID LILIENTHAL to head the American Atomic Energy Commission is the outstanding act of the Truman Administration. No post today has greater importance. Mr. Lilienthal's familiarity with the problems of atomic control is matched by his distinguished record as director of the TVA. The other four members represent a wide cross-section of American life. Robert Bacher, the only scientist in the group, was Dr. Oppenheimer's assistant on the Los Alamos project and carries the indorsement of the Federation of American Scientists. W. W. Waymack is well known as the liberal editor of the Des Moines *Register and Tribune*. Sumner T. Pike was an appointee of President Roosevelt to the Temporary National Economic Committee and the Securities Exchange Commission, where he showed courage and integrity. Lewis L. Strauss, a banker, served during the war as one of the chief advisers to Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. Perhaps the most significant feature of the new commission is its civilian make-up. For the problems of atomic control are neither primarily military nor scientific: they are related to the well-being of the whole American people and—at least until an international authority is constituted—to the well-being of the people of the world. The national development of atomic energy must be closely tied to international control, and it is highly important that Mr. Lilienthal was chairman of the committee that drew up the report on which the Baruch plan was based. It is to be hoped that those who have opposed the Baruch plan recognize in the head of the Atomic Energy Commission a man who is distinguished by his achievement in linking the development of vast natural power to the furtherance of high human objectives.

✶

GORDON CLAPP AS THE NEW DIRECTOR OF the TVA will carry on the traditions of his predecessor. It is greatly to Mr. Truman's credit that he chose for this key position a man who has already proved his competence over a period of thirteen years in the service of the Authority. Coming to the Tennessee Valley from Wisconsin, the home state of David Lilienthal, he entered the personnel department and was largely instrumental in working out the collective-bargaining system which has maintained labor relations at a high level. Since 1939, he has occupied the position of general manager. He commands the confidence of his associates in the TVA and is recognized by the people of the valley as one who has fought their battles in the past and can be counted on courageously to advance the purposes to which this great public enterprise has been dedicated.

✶

"LET THE PRESS LOOK AFTER ITS OWN affairs," a Conservative M. P. pleaded, opposing a House of Commons resolution calling for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the finance, control, management, and ownership of the British press. But one reason why such an inquiry is needed in Britain, and would be equally valuable here, is that the press as an institution has to a large extent abandoned the practice of self-criticism. In the days when newspapers were small and personal they seldom hesitated to call attention to one another's misdeeds. But now that publishing has become really big business, with huge investments at stake, there is a tacit understanding that dog does not eat dog, and any paper can slant or suppress news without much risk of exposure from its competitors. Freedom of the press, it seems, is freedom to discuss and investigate any matter of public interest except the press itself. This being the attitude, it is not surprising that proposals for a government-sponsored study of the newspaper industry evoked anguished cries in Fleet Street. Titled publishers charged that the Labor government, resenting criticism, was plotting to abolish freedom of the press. Working newspapermen, however, applauded; they knew how much their freedom to report the news accurately had been curtailed by the necessity of catering to the ambitions and whims of power-drunk newspaper proprietors; they knew the insecurity which concentration of newspaper ownership had brought to their profession. In the House of Commons, journalist members of Parliament moved and seconded the resolution calling for a Royal Commission. In a free vote, with the government whips called off, it was approved by 270 to 157. So at last some daylight is to be thrown on the dark recesses of Fleet Street.

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WELL, IT'S BEEN A FINE FREE ELECTION. American citizens—except in the South—have had every opportunity to vote Democratic or Republican. Each party has been solidly pledged to the free-enterprise system. In the majority of cases, the candidates have been picked by the party machine. The heretics in most instances have been retired to the pasture, the heretical parties shoved off the ballot. It should be a lesson to those other democracies which have lost faith in the capitalist way of life and have even permitted labor parties and socialist parties to come to power. Take New York State, for instance. Under radical pressure, independent parties have come into being, and at least three—American Labor, Liberal, and Communist—have got on the ballot. And in every case their members and adherents have had the inalienable right of voting for the chief Democratic Party candidates on their own party line. At the Congressional or State Assembly level they are occasionally urged to vote for a good Republican or for a candidate bearing their own label. Not so, however, other parties whose independence has gone beyond the limits of decent American political behavior. The Socialists, for example, who are known to distrust both the free-enterprise system and the two time-tried parties, have, through petition, the legal right of getting on the ballot. But the law is conveniently framed so that a technical mistake—the wrong color of ink, the wrong color of paper, a single mistake in an assembly district—can invalidate the petition. Naturally, Democratic judges and lawyers, well versed in the law and the American way of elections, discover those errors. So New York Socialists, in contrast with some millions of their British, Canadian, Australian, French, and Scandinavian cousins, who talk about building a new society, find Election Day a rather dull affair. What they don't realize, of course, is that in this country we've *had* our revolution —as any Tammany chief or daughter of the said revolution could tell them.

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THE PANIC ON THE COTTON EXCHANGES has subsided, but the sycophantic courtiers of "King Cotton" are still looking for a scapegoat instead of digesting the lessons which the incident provides. Thus, Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, asserts that "a drive by Washington" was responsible for the market break. "Speculators," he naively explains, "had nothing to do with the drop in prices; they were all bullish." That, of course, was just the trouble. Spurred on by the wild talk of Mr. Linder and others, who said cotton was worth 70 cents a pound, aided and abetted by Congress, which prevented an increase in trading margins, speculators bought futures recklessly. The turnover in future contracts during the month preceding the break was terrific, amounting to around 6,000,000 bales, which compares with visible stocks of 16,500,000 bales.

It was not only big-time gamblers like the now notorious Mr. Jordan who were plunging; reports from New Orleans say that farmers, doctors, merchants, and other non-professionals had caught the fever. In addition, textile manufacturers in many cases refrained from hedging their purchases of cotton in the hope of big inventory profits on a rising market. Under such circumstances even a small setback in prices is sufficient to launch a wave of profit-taking. That, in turn, drops quotations far enough to start involuntary liquidation, which in a top-heavy market rapidly becomes cumulative and continues until all the weak holders are eliminated. In the present instance, the situation seems to have been restored at a point that leaves cotton well above parity. And since current supplies are low in relation to demand, the short-term outlook is quite favorable. On the longer view, however, high-priced cotton must expect fierce competition both from foreign crops and synthetic fibers. Friends of the Southern farmers should help them to put their house in order instead of promising them the moon.

Doubled and Vulnerable

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE tone of Mr. Molotov's speech last week was hardly disarming. It was the speech of a man trying to pick a fight rather than reach an agreement. It seemed intended to offset any impression of good feeling that might have been created by Stalin's shrewd and balanced answers to the questions submitted by Hugh Baillie of the United Press. It was the speech of a man who lacks any sense of the minds of the people with whom he must deal. For surely if he had that invaluable sense, which Franklin D. Roosevelt possessed in such incomparable measure, he would know that his hostility and truculence are bound to build up resistance to his whole position. And this is doubly unfortunate, for many of Mr. Molotov's criticisms of Western policy were fully justified, and many of his proposals excellent, deserving honest consideration in an atmosphere of cooperation. If friends of the Soviet Union could persuade its spokesmen in the United Nations that a strategy of conciliation would advance Russia's legitimate ends and strengthen its bargaining power, they would be doing that country and the cause of peace a great service.

Luckily, Mr. Austin had the good sense to decline combat with his Russian colleague. He parried Molotov's attack in a very brief rebuttal and then dealt directly and without animus with the chief points raised by the Soviet delegate. He indorsed the proposal for a general reduction in armaments, insisting however on the necessity of "a system of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violence and evasion." Which leads, of course, to the impasse created by Russia's objections to the American plan for atomic control. He agreed that the veto power should not be abridged, although he looked forward to some future modification of its use in situations that "merely threaten peace and security." This limitation would have ruled out the veto as applied by Russia last summer in regard to the resolution on Franco Spain. He accepted Molotov's demand that the Allied powers report on the number and strength of their military forces in non-enemy countries, but wanted the plan widened to include all armed forces, "whether at home or abroad," a suggestion obviously designed to reveal the strength of Russia's forces in the occupied countries.

These are fair, if arguable, counter-proposals. They will undoubtedly produce sharp debate in the Assembly, but the issues involved should not be dodged. On the questions of trusteeship, also raised by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Austin's reply was necessarily far less satisfactory. He said the United States hopes that the U. N. Trusteeship Council can be organized immediately to take over mandates established by the League of Nations. This is a harmless necessary hope, but it so pointedly avoided the problem of the Japanese mandated islands and of the colonial and strategic areas taken from Japan and Italy that the American position was exposed in all its embarrassing nakedness. The world knows already that this country wants to hang on to the Japanese islands for security reasons, and that powerful influences in the War and Navy departments have so far been able to

Drawing from life by Oscar Berger

Senator Warren R. Austin

exercise a veto power over efforts of the State Department to go through the motions, at least, of operating through and under the United Nations.

It is nothing less than a catastrophe that this country, honestly opposed to territorial imperialism, ready at the slightest provocation to attack imperialistic tendencies in other nations, should be the chief obstacle in the U. N. to the creation of a system—and a most conservative, halting system at that—for subjecting the foreign possessions of the great powers to international supervision.

With several of the other specific questions raised by Mr. Molotov—notably Spain, Iran, Greece, and the World Federation of Trade Unions—Mr. Austin made no attempt to deal. Since his speech had been prepared in advance, the omissions can perhaps be excused, but the effect was to leave most of the good cards in the Russian hand. The great controversial issues before the Assembly, the issues which will test its power to hold the Allied world together, were laid before the delegates by the Soviet Foreign Minister. By contrast, Mr. Austin's careful discussion of the details of the United Nations constitution inevitably sounded somewhat legalistic and remote from the hard realities.

Particularly unfortunate was his failure to take up the question of Spain, for our delegation had plenty of forewarning that Spain could not be ignored. For once we could have taken the initiative in a matter which so profoundly concerns the interests, and the conscience, of the democratic world. Four times this nation has joined in pronouncements attacking the Franco regime as a fascist tyranny and an Axis creation. But when an effort is made to convert denunciation into action, we willingly let other powers assume leadership. This time, our timidity has driven us into an awkward position. Mr. Molotov supported the statement of Trygve Lie that previous "general declarations against Franco" were "absolutely insufficient" and criticized "certain great powers" for having taken upon themselves "the moral responsibility for the failure to take action in respect of a dangerous hotbed of fascism in Europe." That same day, without warning, Dr. Oscar Lange, the Polish Ambassador, with the support of Mr. Molotov, moved in the Council that the Spanish issue be dropped from the agenda so that it could be considered by the Assembly. This was followed next day with a proposal, submitted to the General Committee by the delegates of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, and Venezuela "that the relations between Spain and the United Nations be put on the agenda . . . as a separate item." The next move, less than twenty-four hours later, was again made by Poland. Wincenty Rzymowski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted two motions to the Assembly, the first calling for severance of relations with Franco Spain, the second barring Franco representatives from all agencies of the United Nations. The resolutions were passed to the Political and Security Committee where they will be discussed in open hearings.

What this adds up to is a broad agreement, in which East and West are equally represented, that the "accursed question of Spain," as Vishinsky described it, must be settled in the U. N. without further delay. Will this country continue to search for meaningless formulas of admonition or disapproval in order to stave off decisive action? Shall we force the smaller nations of Europe to look eastward for help? The events of the last few days should have convinced the most case-hardened appeasers in Washington that the time for stalling is definitely past and that the United States must either support the opposition to Franco in the Assembly or surrender its claim to democratic leadership.

Food and Trade

ALTHOUGH Soviet Russia's obstructionist tactics in the United Nations Assembly have been blazoned in the headlines, comparatively few Americans are aware that the United States has been the bad boy in the vital discussions of famine control in the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization. At the Copenhagen Conference of the FAO in September, thirty-three nations, including the United States, accepted in principle the plan for a world food board drawn up by Sir John Boyd Orr, director-general of the FAO. The primary purpose of this board would be to eliminate alternate glut and famine in world food supplies by establishing food reserves adequate for any emergency and by stabilizing prices on a worldwide basis. In a word, it would apply the principles of the ever-normal granary and the AAA to what is essentially a world problem.

At first the United States hesitated; then it accepted the plan at the Copenhagen conference. A sixteen-nation preparatory commission was named to draw up detailed recommendations. At the first meeting of this commission, held in Washington simultaneously with the U. N. Assembly meetings in New York, the United States exploded a bombshell by repudiating its indorsement of the Orr plan and advancing no alternative program of its own. The American objections to a world food board, as advanced by Under Secretary of Agriculture Norris E. Dodd, were negative and defeatist in character. While agreeing that some international action to fight famine is desirable, Dodd declared that the Orr plan was too complicated, too costly, and unworkable because of the ill effects of government intervention on agricultural supply and demand. These are the kinds of objections that are constantly being made to any proposal to ameliorate the ruthlessness of the economic cycle by people whose economic thinking became rigid in the nineteenth

century. But the objections come with ill grace from the representative of a government department which has successfully administered a similar program on a national scale for the past fourteen years.

British comment on the American reversal has been bitter. The *New Statesman and Nation* says that "in its mad rush back to selfish capitalism" the United States has apparently decided to walk out on economic cooperation just as it walked out on the League of Nations.

As far as motive is concerned, this judgment is probably too harsh. Behind America's change of front one can easily detect State Department fears that planned distribution of basic foodstuffs would conflict with efforts to promote freer trade through the projected International Trade Organization. We share the State Department's desire to see a worldwide relaxation of man-made barriers to commerce as one step toward improved living standards and the promotion of economic stability. Quota systems and other administrative devices for controlling trade will have to be cut down if the volume of international trade is to be substantially increased. But the department's objections to the world food board seem to be wholly doctrinaire, with no recognition of the significant difference between restrictive nationalistic controls and international controls which have as their aim the stimulation of production and trade. The International Monetary Fund and Bank, whose purpose is the stabilization of world currencies, also exercises a type of control over trade. Some laissez-faire economists have objected to the international monetary program on this ground. But most economists support the program as a means of combating economic nationalism. If interference with the harsh operation of the law of supply and demand can be justified in the interest of monetary stability, surely it is justified as a means of overcoming famine and its twin scourge, depression caused by undistributed surpluses.

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

The Opening Debate

Flushing Meadows, November 1

THE United Nations organization, still without a permanent home, has been forced by circumstances to start functioning before the rubble of war has been cleared away by Allied peacemakers. As a result, the U. N. from the start has had to deal with some of the unfinished business of war, while striving to elaborate long-term programs for the peace-time development of the international community. The General Assembly has thus become a sort of complementary peace conference, a forum for the exchange of grievances by the great powers and for the expression of complaints by small nations against the great.

While this situation gives the U. N. debates, both in plenary sessions at Flushing Meadows and in committee meetings at Lake Success, a character of bristling belligerency, it also endows them with a strong, indeed acrid, sense of reality. For the three main issues that have emerged in the course of the Assembly's discussions—the veto, trusteeship, and disarmament—all reflect the varying ideologies and political traditions of the member nations, and reveal the basic difficulties of effecting the necessary transition from untrammeled national sovereignty to genuine international cooperation.

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The fundamental problem about the veto is not its possession by the five permanent members of the Security Council but the use that has been made of it by Russia. To that extent, the attacks on the veto, voiced with particular vigor by Australia and New Zealand, may well appear to Mr. Molotov as attacks on the U. S. S. R. The truth of the matter is, as should by now be generally apparent, that the Charter's provision about the veto merely acknowledges the fact that the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the British Commonwealth of Nations (with France and China included by courtesy) have each sufficient power to block action by the United Nations if they decide to do so. This does not mean that the U. N. would thereby be prevented from acting against an aggressor nation; for, as is sometimes forgotten, Article 51 of the Charter states that "nothing" in that document "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

It is understandable that small nations with a long tradition of political democracy should regard the veto as a dictatorial device, and prefer a vote by majority. This view, however, confuses democratic representation within a nation, where all citizens have the equal right to vote, with equality of nations in the international community, irrespective of the fact that one nation may have a population of four hundred million, like China, another only two or three million, like some of the republics of Central America. If a change is to be made

in the method of voting in the Security Council, then some system of weighting national votes must be devised. What is needed, actually, is less casting of votes, which points up differences between nations, and more attempts by the great powers to arrive at agreement through compromise.

Agreement, however, will require the kind of give and take between nations which, as Alexandre Parodi of France rightly pointed out in discussing the veto, is at present still blocked by differences of ideology that generate mutual mistrust. The two greatest powers in the U. N., the United States and Russia, add to this mistrust by indicating, every time their good intentions are put to the test, that they think of international cooperation as primarily one-way traffic. Senator Austin, for example, was just as eloquent as Mr. Molotov in urging the formation of the Trusteeship Council. Yet American admonitions to countries holding League mandates are considerably weakened by Washington's failure to make the *beau geste* of placing former Japanese mandates in the Pacific islands now occupied by the United States under the supervision of the U. N. Nor should it be forgotten that Russia too is a "colonial" power—with the advantage that its colonial populations, of Central Asia, for example, are accorded the rights enjoyed by all citizens of the U. S. S. R. Consequently an inquiry into the often asked question whether or not these populations have the advantages advocated by Moscow for the inhabitants of colonial territories would constitute an inquiry into Russia's domestic affairs.

Similarly, there is no doubt that all the great powers would agree with Mr. Molotov on the advisability of reducing armaments and diverting expenditures for armed forces to the pursuits of peace. The real crux of Mr. Molotov's disarmament proposal, however, concerns atomic-bomb demobilization. It represents an attempt, by throwing open a general discussion of armaments in the Assembly, to circumvent the specialized discussion of the bomb carried on by the Atomic Energy Commission of the U. N. But by whatever method the United Nations proceed eventually to reduction of armaments, there must be, as Senator Austin pointed out, two conditions: agreement on placing adequate armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council, a matter on which Russia has hitherto been silent, and provision for effective international inspection.

Meanwhile, in the opening discussions of the budget committee, both the United States and Russia, which had not hesitated to expend billions of dollars and rubles in national resources on the waging of war, displayed marked reluctance to risk relatively insignificant sums on the insurance against war represented by the U. N.

The Roots of Discord

BY MARCEL HODEN

Paris, October 15

SOME eighteen months have elapsed since the San Francisco conference, and fifteen since the Potsdam meeting. During this period the Allied governments have striven unceasingly to establish the basis of peace and to create an international organization that will assure the maintenance of peace. The Council of Foreign Ministers met at London in September, 1945, and the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations in January, 1946; the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union conferred at Moscow in December, 1945; the Security Council has been sitting in permanent session in New York; during the spring and summer of 1946 the Big Four met again in Paris, and from July to October the Peace Conference was held there; now the United Nations Assembly is holding its second session in New York. One is forced to conclude that these efforts have not been very successful, for never since 1938 has there been more talk of war. Indeed, after the alarm was sounded by Henry Wallace, the situation seemed so critical that Marshal Stalin, Messrs. Bevin and Eden, President Truman, and Secretary Byrnes felt obliged to declare emphatically that the threat of war was imaginary, or that it had been whipped up by groups interested in spreading such fears, or that war was not inevitable. This war psychosis, whether or not it has been deliberately fostered, would not be so widespread in both Europe and America if the masses did not feel that the Allied statesmen had failed in their task. Since there can be no question of the good faith and the sincere desire to succeed of all concerned, one asks what errors of conception or method, what mistakes in tactics, what weakness and ineptitude have prevented all these meetings,

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discourses, and deliberations from accomplishing their end of liquidating the war and building the peace.

The United Nations organization was conceived for a peaceful, stable, orderly world. President Roosevelt thought of it not as a field of conflict for the great powers but as the focus of their cooperation. The men who wrote the Charter, remembering the experience of the League of Nations, had the foresight to exclude from it any reference to the preparation or the application of the peace treaties. Those matters, they felt, should be handled in conversations and negotiations among the powers involved. In the same spirit the authors of the Charter had taken care to write into the Dumbarton Oaks agreement the definite stipulation that the Security Council, unlike the old League Council, should not intervene in the early stages of a dispute but should be the court of last resort after all attempts at conciliation through bilateral negotiation or the mediation of a third party had failed. When the Charter was drawn up, Roosevelt and Stalin and probably Churchill assumed that no appeal would be addressed to the Security Council without preceding or immediately following discussions among the representatives of the permanent members of the Council, especially of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. That was the procedure at Geneva. No serious issue was presented to the League Council until after preliminary agreement—on the way the problem was to be presented and on the possible solutions—had been reached between France and Great Britain, the nations which were the driving force of the League.

It cannot be repeated too often that without preliminary understandings among the great powers, constant adjustment of their interests, and rigorous observance of the Charter's provisions, the Security Council is doomed to impotence. Hence its failure in the case of Iran and, as an inevitable consequence, in the cases of Greece and Indonesia. Whatever the cause of these disputes—and one can, for example, reproach the Soviet Union for not having respected the letter of a treaty—none of them should have been brought before the Council except for the purpose of having that body verify the existence of an accord already reached by the parties directly interested. The issues of Iran, Greece, and Indonesia, particularly the first two, are matters which a shrewd and prudent diplomacy would have known how to settle outside the U. N. They touch vital interests which no amount of public discussion can satisfy or make disappear; they can be resolved only if they are considered as part of the general situation, for which a basis of bargaining must eventually be found.

The whole course of events since the close of the war is the result of this error. And one can include, perhaps the atomic bomb, whose use Roosevelt, according to reliable witnesses, would not have authorized. In the minds of those responsible for its use, the bomb would not only end the war with Japan quickly but also serve as a warning to the Soviet Union and, above all, prevent it from getting its share, as agreed upon with Roosevelt, from the defeat of Japan. But—though certain people may think otherwise—the atomic bomb was not and is not a predominant factor in determining Soviet policy. Stalin's reply to the questions asked by Alexander Werth of the London *Sunday Times* proves that. Moscow's attitude toward the peace settlement seems to have been largely determined by a shift in American policy. Mr. Byrnes's speech of February 28, 1946, Churchill's address at Fulton a few days later, and the comments they drew from American and British papers were interpreted in Moscow and throughout the world as announcing the reestablishment of the Anglo-American dyarchy which had been supplanted at Teheran by the British-American-Soviet triumvirate.

Washington's sudden, decisive volte-face and the deployment of American naval and air forces which followed did not immediately affect Soviet policy. But at the end of May Molotov publicly denounced the "Anglo-American bloc." Apparently in the interim the deliberations of the four Foreign Ministers had convinced Moscow that the Anglo-Americans were planning to go farther than merely reject the claims which the Soviet government had believed to be legitimate after Washington and London accepted Moscow on an equal footing. In the attitude of the British and American diplomats toward the peace treaties for the countries of Eastern Europe Russia saw an indication that Washington and London intended to challenge its claim to the fruits of victory, to nullify with the aid of elements disposed to counter-revolution the political and social transformations effected in the border countries, and to restore regimes hostile to the Soviet Union in these regions. This time it was not simply a question of the Soviet Union's place in the post-war world but of its very security, as conceived by the Soviet leaders. From that moment suspicion and profound distrust were awakened in the Russians, making them more and more intransigent, more and more indisposed to a cooperation which in their eyes was tantamount to subordination. The British and Americans, for their part, relying on unverified reports from divers emigration and opposition circles, believed that the Soviet Union was so weakened that they had only to reject any compromise to force it to yield. One may even wonder whether the American and British delegations were not deliberately seeking a rupture. As one New York paper put it, "Rather an impasse than a compromise."

The utilization of the U. N. for purposes which that institution was never intended to serve, purposes contradictory to its charter, and the return to a system of Anglo-American dyarchy explain the deterioration in

Big Three relations and consequently in the world situation. Mr. Byrnes may have urged the calling of the Peace Conference in the hope that it would lend a "democratic" character to the preparation and adoption of the peace treaties, but certainly the impression was soon created, and not only among the Russians, that the American and British leaders intended to use the debates to mobilize world opinion against Soviet policy. One is tempted to believe that at one moment Mr. Byrnes thought of intrusting to the U. N.—which is utterly incompetent in such a matter—the task of drafting the treaties. In any case, the Peace Conference, conceived and conducted not as a diplomatic congress but as a parliamentary assembly, was unable to modify in any considerable measure the texts submitted by the Big Four, still less to find acceptable solutions for problems on which the Big Four had reached no agreement. Turning the weapon of publicity against his Anglo-American partners, Molotov went over the heads of the delegates and addressed himself to the world, presenting in the most precise, frank, and vigorous language heard in a long time an outline of Soviet policy as opposed to British and American policy. It would be a mistake to think that his words were completely lost on the world.

Let us hope that the proper conclusions will be drawn from the lessons of the Paris conference. To judge from his address to the American people on October 18, Mr. Byrnes has reflected on the results of his program. At the U. N. Assembly the American and British delegations may shortly have an opportunity to clarify their position on an important point. Several representatives of the small nations have already raised the question of the veto. In the present state of international relations, suppression of the veto power would be fatal to the functioning if not to the very existence of the U. N. Contrary to the general opinion, the use of the veto is not against the interest of the small or medium powers. One might say that the veto is the counterpart in the peace of the demand for unconditional surrender which Roosevelt and Churchill adopted as their line in the war. Through their adherence to the policy of unconditional surrender—Stalin was not present at Casablanca when it was formulated but subscribed to it later—the protagonists in the anti-Hitler, anti-fascist struggle agreed not to enter into any negotiations with the Axis to bring about a compromise peace. For the Allies the Casablanca formula was both a restraint and a guaranty. The same is true of the veto. This right which has been accorded to the "Big Five" imposes on each of them the obligation to do nothing against the others but always to seek formulas of agreement and compromise. Another of its purposes is to remove the temptation to build up artificial and ephemeral majorities. From this point of view, the veto right, far from jeopardizing the sovereignty of the nations which do not enjoy it, may be considered a safeguard of their independence and freedom of action. Someone has said that the small powers can disturb the peace but only the big ones can destroy it. Nothing could be more true. All wars between small nations have been settled by the big powers.

Moreover, contrary to another widely held opinion, the veto right does not make the Security Council impotent in critical cases. Unanimity—that is, a generalized veto—was required in the Council of the League of Nations, and when Fascist Italy, then a member of the Council, attacked Ethiopia, the unanimity rule prevented the Council from naming Italy as the aggressor and from applying the sanctions provided by the Charter. This difficulty, however, was circumvented: the members of the Council, not the Council itself, held a meeting which the Italian member did not attend, and each of them, as a representative of his country, declared that in his opinion the Italian government was guilty of an act of aggression which necessitated the application of sanctions. The Italian government did not fail to point out that these declarations were ineffective since one of the fundamental provisions of the Charter had been violated. But the important thing was that they registered the determination of the British government and, to a lesser degree, of the French government, then headed by Laval, to declare war on Italy, if necessary, in order to wrest from it the fruits of its aggression. London's attitude secured the adhesion of fifty-two other nations. Acting outside the rules of the Charter, they proclaimed Italy to be guilty of aggression and agreed to impose sanctions. The same procedure could be followed if one of the members of the Security Council were found guilty of an aggressive action. Then the question would be, not whether the veto applied in such a case, but whether the other powers were ready to use arms and whether they were capable of forming a coalition to prevent the act of aggression. In the final analysis aggression poses a problem of will and force, not of juridical rule.

The mistakes of a technical and political nature committed since the end of the war are not irreparable. But for the United Nations to survive and develop and to give the world peace, several conditions must be fulfilled. First, Big Three unity must be restored. Secondly, the Charter of the United Nations must be respected by all and not used for purposes that are alien to its intention; it would be dangerous to try to modify it at this time. Finally, there must be a courageous, frontal attack on the problem of liquidating the war. In his message of October 18 Mr. Byrnes said he did not consider the status quo sacrosanct. American diplomacy must give practical application to this statement by offering to serve as mediator between the British and Russians.

MacArthur in the Paddy Fields

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

GENERAL MacARTHUR'S land-reform program has backfired so badly that it may offset all his constructive achievements. Militarism has always drawn its real strength from the rural areas of Japan, where the mentality of the inhabitants is so backward and the conditions of their life so oppressive that they look upon an army career as a noble and desirable escape. Feudalism has not been conserved by despotic political control alone; it is deeply rooted in the thoughts, sentiments, and usages of the villagers. As an editorial in a leading Japanese magazine declared in an ominous but representative vein, "The hard labor and poverty of the farmers unwittingly fostered the tendency toward feudalism and strengthened the rapport between the farmer and the soldier which offered militarism its base. A recurrence might nurture hopes of revenge for our race, and so would be inimical to peaceful policies." But up to the present the villages, in democratic elections, still persist in returning the old officials to office.

The Supreme Commander and his staff (SCAP) recognized in a general sort of way before they set foot in Japan that they had to break the back of rural feudalism. But they made no advance preparations for doing this, either by developing plans or by procuring qualified personnel. Thus there developed one of those situations which, even though they are the rule rather than the exception in the army, always seem to be importations from Never-Never Land.

The Natural Resources Section, the logical agency, had a galaxy of production experts but none who would touch a socio-political problem such as land reform. It refused the job. The next choice, the large, vigorous, and influential Economic and Scientific Section, was geared to handle only financial, industrial, labor, and scientific problems, and it too begged off. The baby was finally deposited on the doorstep of that haven for orphan problems, the Civil Information and Education Section.

At that time C. I. and E. was staffed with young men quite capable of publicizing the programs of other SCAP agencies but not expected to develop programs themselves. Nevertheless, the writing of the land-reform directive became the responsibility of a C. I. and E. captain who had been a Chicago newspaperman and a lieutenant who had done some radio-script writing. It was not the fault of these gentlemen, and it is no slur upon them, to say that what they knew about the technical problem of land reform in Japan could have been balanced on the tip of a chopstick.

HAROLD STRAUSS, chief editor of Alfred A. Knopf, served a year in Tokyo in the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP. Two weeks ago he wrote on Big Business in Japan. A third article will appear in the near future.

Though they painstakingly interviewed all kinds of Japanese farm-association officials and agricultural experts, their approach remained primarily American. They envisioned turning the oppressed tenant farmers into freeholders who would acquire the sturdy, independent views of yeomen. To many of us this objective seemed unexceptionable at the time. The government was to be required to force the sale of large land holdings, and to facilitate the purchase of land by tenant farmers through cheap credit and easy payments. This, I said to myself, is something we could use in America, especially in the South. I too was thinking in terms of America, where a modicum of the spirit if not always the means of independence is to be found, and land is plentiful.

The original draft of the government bill which embodied in detail the requirements of the broad SCAP directive was prepared by an official of the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture who had once been imprisoned as a Communist. It was "radical" in the sense that it limited land ownership to a maximum of 7.5 acres. At a Cabinet meeting held later this figure was raised to 12.5 acres, which would have left more than a million tenant families without land.

The Japanese conservatives and most farmers were content with the bill. And the Japanese liberals also, whether influenced by their constant sycophancy or by the same fundamental misconceptions which plagued SCAP, at first accepted its basic principles. For instance, Rikizo Hirano, who had been expelled from Tokyo Imperial University some fifteen years ago for radicalism, announced that the bill would democratize rural life, ameliorate the food situation, and improve relations between landlords and tenants. True, he joined other progressives in attacking subordinate provisions: it was psychologically wrong to frame the bill merely as an amendment to the hated and regressive war-time Farm Land Adjustment Law; under the 12.5-acre limit the million families unable to purchase land would slip from tenancy to the lower status of farm hands; the persons best able to take advantage of the easy credit terms would be the small landowners now holding less than 12.5 acres; the agricultural associations, which were intrusted with supervision of the forced sales, were known as the tools of the war-time government and the landowners; worst of all, the spirit of the law could be

easily evaded by transferring excess acreage to relatives.

Serious as these criticisms were, SCAP believed that they did not touch the basic conception of the reform and that specific points of administration were better dealt with by Japanese political action than by a new directive. It was strengthened in this view by the editorials in supposedly progressive papers; one in a labor journal said, "By SCAP directive agricultural revolution has been made the foundation of the reconstruction of Japan. Past Japanese imperialism can be traced to the exploitation of poor peasants."

Perhaps the wide acceptance of the principle of the bill sprang from the general belief that the Potsdam Declaration required the de-industrialization of Japan. Teiji Katsuta wrote that "there is no alternative but for all the people to engage in farming," and similar extreme statements were common. At any rate, the bill was enacted and became effective on February 1. Shortly afterward SCAP had to recognize that the evasions foreseen by Hirano and others were actually occurring, and one of its spokesmen expressed discontent with the situation. This statement released a flood of denunciations of the whole program.

The first open attack on small-scale farming as an ideal —a criticism which cut to the core of the SCAP directive—came from the excellent left-wing magazine *Nippon Hyoron*. "If the intensification of small-scale farming is achieved," it growled, "then at best Japan will become a silk-producing colony of the United States. Such a program would wed agricultural areas to feudalism and reaction." A legal journal, *Horitsu Shimpo*, produced convincing evidence that the bill was a replica of others that had turned out to be fiascos, especially of the infamous measure in the early Meiji era which stilled popular clamor by selling land to tenants at high prices under mortgages and by permitting foreclosure when payments could not be met, as was soon the case. A relatively conservative contributor to *Horitsu Shimpo* predicted stuffily that "undesirable landholding may ensue," and that "the inevitable laws of supply and demand and the fundamentals of human nature will eventually cause tenants to revert to their old status again." In truth, the SCAP directive which had seemed so admirable on first reading had naively played into the hands of the Japanese reactionaries, who had had long experience in meeting demands for land reform.

Japanese liberals must share the blame with SCAP. It was typical of their blundering and vacillation that the same Hirano who in December had scratched SCAP's back was in March denouncing the principle of small landholdings: "Past reforms have always aimed at creating small holders. But to these small holders the land itself was as heavy a burden as rent to the tenants. The life of a small holder is nothing but a vain effort not to lose his land and a constant reduction of his standard of living." Another commentator said: "The act is the incarnation of the traditionally reactionary policy of the Ministry of Agriculture. Small-scale ownership is the citadel of jingoists who despise reform, admire the army, and clap their hands for a strong foreign policy." Like the other liberals who now attacked the act, this writer concluded that "only mechanization, which in turn is possible only after the organization of large collective farms, can make rural democracy possible. Although the farmers have always been anxious to own land, past reforms have been initiated to protect landowners and rich farmers in times of deflation. Tenants were raised to the status of small holders in periods of cheap money and were forced to surrender their land when depression set in. The present program is no exception."

Almost overnight scores of progressive writers joined in the attack. Many, like Hirano, had to eat their own earlier words. One of the leading economic experts, Kiyoshi Tsuchiya, had written in December that "the creation of landed farmers will destroy feudalism. Here is a solid basis for democratic development." But in May he was denouncing the reform as "a half-hearted compromise engineered by reactionary forces." A famous Socialist on the staff of Tokyo Imperial University concluded that "the government reform plan aims neither at enlarging the scale of management nor at socializing management; mere possession of land is, needless to say, not socialistic. The small-holder system has a connection with absolutism, and therefore the Japanese government has long sought to create small holders." Another prominent progressive said that "the government's program might be a step forward if these were the days of black reaction, but at a time when democracy is ascendant, it is only a breakwater against real agrarian revolution."

The conclusion of most progressive theorists was that the standards of living of the Japanese farmer could not be raised until farming was mechanized, and that mechanization was blocked by excessively small holdings. SCAP studies of the problem reached the same conclusion. But in spite of this, SCAP did not act. More surprisingly, neither the Social Democratic Party nor the Communist Party withdrew its support of the basic principles of the land-reform act; both contented themselves with attacks on its corrupt administration. They even maintained their initial insistence that 7.5 acres rather

than 12.5 acres should be the legal maximum. So anomalous was the situation that the same theorists who had rejected the principle of small holdings were forced, when speaking under party auspices, to demand the smaller maximum. At the very most, some of them were allowed to advocate *simultaneously* a guaranty of "the right of tillage," which would give tenants far greater legal protection without destroying the identity of large landholdings and potential mechanization. One said, "If the right of tillage is secured, and if effective tenants' unions are organized, it is not decisively important for tenants to own land."

As the general election approached, the Communists sought to underbid the Social Democrats by proposing the ridiculously uneconomic limit of 3.75 acres. In this sheer political opportunism they were joined by the Soviet member of the Allied Council for Japan, General Derevyanko, who certainly might have been expected to understand the retrogressive nature of small holdings. The mathematics of his proposal to make land available to all tenant families required, because of the sheer scarcity of tillable land and the ever-present population pressure, a maximum limit somewhat under 7.5 acres. The politics of his proposal required recognition that the Japanese peasants, like peasants all over the world, aspired to land ownership.

Of course it was short-term political expediency that underlay the confusion. The best estimates are that 60 per cent of the rural population supported the land-reform program, while most of the rest wanted to be more secure in their tenancy and to be permitted to pay their rent in cash, as the act stipulated. As for collectivization and mechanization, such ideas were far beyond their political horizons. Thus the Marxist parties, in making a bid for rural support, were forced into an equivocal position. Some of their spokesmen were so embarrassed that they attempted explanations. I remember Shin Takano produced one, couched in elephantine Communist phraseology, which referred to "social contradictions" that necessitated simultaneously appeasing the bourgeois inclinations of the peasants and driving for the socialization of the land system.

The behavior of Japanese left-wing politicians can be explained if not excused as opportunism. But the behavior of SCAP cannot be justified. While it is denouncing the old militarists, it is fertilizing the soil in which a new spirit of militarism will thrive. While it is setting up a fine-sounding new constitution, it is fostering in rural areas the spirit that will evade its provisions. "Forty acres and a mule" may have a grand sound to American ears, but the application of this slogan, born in a spacious land, can only bring disaster in narrow Japan. The only acceptable farm policy is one that will simultaneously raise both the standard of living of the Japanese peasants and their productivity. Lack of such a policy must have one of two results: either Japan will remain permanently an expensive ward of the United States, or it will be obliged to resume the drive for export markets, based on sweated labor and backed by rural militarism, which led to war.

Southern Boom, Cotton Bust

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Atlanta, October 29

COTTON prices have crashed. In a period of days market declines have swept away $425,000,000 of the South's most important economic stake. Nine million families are directly or indirectly dependent upon cotton for their livelihood, and all Southerners will feel the effect of the shadow spreading from the exchanges. Always the gateway to the South, Atlanta is today a vantage point from which one can see a depression around the corner. Watching a crisis in the making is a curious thing, made doubly so because the South is at present in the best financial condition it has known since the Civil War.

A. G. MEZERIK is the author of "Revolt of the South and West," which was recently reviewed in The Nation *by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. He is now traveling through the South and Middle West gathering material on economic and political conditions.*

The South has nibbled away, during the war years, a sizable chunk of its indebtedness to the North. Mortgages, bonds, notes, and other loans have been paid off, reduced, or refinanced. Interest rates have eased. The town of Winder, Georgia, initially paid 8 per cent on its bond issue of $20,000; recently this issue has been refinanced at 1¼ per cent. Athens, Georgia, has reduced, in similar fashion, its interest load from 6 per cent to 1¼ per cent on an issue of $100,000.

A steady stream of money has been pouring out of the South and into the coffers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia banks; into the New York and the Metropolitan insurance companies; into Hartford and the Prudential. But this time it is not the old, monotonous

colonial story of money going out of the South and nothing coming back. This outflow has been helpful, for as debts have been cleared, the interest load, always onerous for the South, has decreased. The debt-free collateral is capital, and together with cash now held by Southern capitalists it constitutes a tidy sum with which independent operators in the South can venture investments in Southern industry. These are the developments which have contributed to a novel and welcome feeling of optimism among Southern business men.

Yet it's all relative; the South, by Northern standards, is still very poor indeed, and though its debts have been reduced, the overwhelming bulk of Southern industry, transportation, and commerce is still controlled by Northern capital. The recent purchase by Northern interests of Southern-owned textile mills at a price of $19,000,000 indicates that absentee ownership is still very much in the picture. However, Southerners can afford to smile about this invasion, for at $19,000,000 the obsolete textile equipment involved in these sales is so terribly overpriced that the new owners can never hope to make money except at present short-lived inflationary sales prices. But this is an exception, not the rule. Monopoly during the war strengthened its hand everywhere, including the South. So the South will continue to ship out huge sums, in interest and profits.

Meanwhile the new prosperity, slight though it is, has been felt by both farmers and industrial workers. In Georgia the record of the three months ending June 30, 1946, bears out this trend. The total paid to wage-earners by businesses employing eight or more workers was two and a half times the amount paid in the similar quarters of 1939 and 1940. The wage bill, $205,000,000, was larger by $13,000,000 than the amount paid in the same period in 1945, when the war was still on. The total number of employees in 1946 was about 30 per cent above the pre-war average. Textiles, the largest Georgia industry, employed 106,000 persons in June compared with 90,000 in pre-war years.

New and wholesome efforts are being made by Southerners. Three young Southerners are putting together a slick, modern, *Time*-style weekly dedicated to Southern affairs. The three men are liberals, and a mass publication such as their projected *Pace*, designed as it is primarily to reach Southern business men, is a new field for liberals. Philip Hammer, William R. Davlin, and Charles G. Helfenstein are the men involved, and their interest and influence are typical of those of the new Southern progressive.

All this is due to the tiny release from driving poverty brought by the war years. Even the old-line conservatives have relapsed a bit. Their attitude toward the C. I. O. Southern organizing drive has been tempered. There have been no repetitions of Harlan County, of Bibb County, or of Mississippi, and I do not think there will be—although depression may temporarily sharpen the the conflict. The outcome of the Columbia trials in Tennessee dramatizes, more than anything else, the fact that the old venomous anti-Negro and its allied anti-labor attitude is losing its grip. Fifteen years ago it would have been difficult even to imagine the acquittal of twenty-three out of twenty-five Negroes standing trial.

Despite Talmadge's victory in Georgia, the political picture is not all dark. It is true that the liberal and progressive forces, ordinarily the most valiant of Southerners, have been badly shaken by the Talmadge victory, but the political facts do not justify their deep gloom. James V. Carmichael, Governor Talmadge's opponent, did win the largest popular vote. And this was more difficult than it sounds. The opposition to Talmadge was split between ex-Governor Ed Rivers, who had a fairly clean labor record, and Carmichael. Add to this that Carmichael was neither a good leader, a progressive figure, nor a popular spokesman. In fact, in some trade-union circles Carmichael was characterized as almost anti-labor. Obviously no one was able to work up a crusading zeal in his support; yet the progressive feeling throughout Georgia—intent on defeating Talmadge—was strong enough to give Carmichael the biggest vote.

Governor Arnall and some of his associates are not as clear as they might be about these reasons for Carmichael's defeat. They tend to place the blame on the Southern liberals instead of on the unit system which euchered Carmichael out of the victory he actually won. They also forget Carmichael's own weakness as a candidate—a human failing on their part, since they picked him. Finally they ignore the cost of making a series of alliances with old-line Democrats who were committed only to staying in public office and who deserted Arnall's ship for a cosier deal with Talmadge. Little is heard of these basic reasons for Talmadge's victory. Instead, the liberals are blamed for not working harder and for not being "hard-headed, practical" politicians.

The liberals momentarily feel that there is no hope under Talmadge. Some even talk of leaving the state. But they needn't leave and they shouldn't, for the truth is that there are more progressives than reactionaries in Georgia, and the Carmichael vote should have proved it to everyone. In fact, there are more progressives in the South than ever before. "Big Jim" Folsom rode into office in neighboring Alabama by promising an administration like that given Georgia by Arnall. And Governor Arnall is more popular in the South than any Southerner has been since Tom Watson. He is in demand for lectures in nearly every town. The farmers and workers want to hear what he has to say, and they welcome his progressive approach. However, in Georgia, Talmadge will be in office and not Arnall. And of course he will be reactionary. He will favor, as much as he dares, the

"hate" movements, and he will deliver to the big Northern corporations who were his supporters. Talmadge has already promised Thomas L. Camp, executive of the Georgia organization of railroads, the secretaryship of the state senate. In that job Camp will be in charge of all bills. But Arnall has really sparked a Southern populist movement, and if it seems to people in Atlanta, so close to the scene, to be in permanent eclipse, that feeling will pass.

Aside from the political, there are important economic and social liabilities in the Southern pattern today. More even than in the North the housing shortage has affected the urban areas. This is reasonable enough in the light of the much higher birth rate in the South. Whites and Negroes alike suffer from lack of housing, but with this explosive difference. In Atlanta Negroes constitute one-third of the population and are constricted into one-eighth of the land area—which makes the situation acute. Incidents have already occurred. In one block where Negroes succeeded in buying all the property except eight houses and a church, two of the new tenants have been threatened with death and one Negro has been manhandled. On another street shots were fired into one house and others were damaged. No arrests were made.

Yet these tensions too have been lessened by the increased prosperity. The South's economic pie is larger than it has ever been: more pieces are available and each is larger. The furious scrabble for a tiny part of the pie has in the past played into the hands of the political demagogues, racists, quislings, and industrial and agricultural barons who used the "divide and conquer" technique to perpetuate their rule. And this brings me back to my starting-point, for the economic pie is beginning to grow smaller again.

Cotton—still the base of the Southern economic pyramid—is way down. The effect of its dizzy fall will be profound. And the signs of inflation's withering touch are already plain. The number of persons who could afford to buy more than the barest necessities has only recently expanded, and on them the effect of rapidly rising prices is instantaneous. One can almost see the buyers driven out of the market. Of course the demand for all kinds of goods will continue to be great, but as prices mount, here where purchasing power is thinnest, the effective demand visibly diminishes. It is not just because folks need food and shelter and clothing that we have scarcities, but because people have money and can afford to buy the things they want. Each day the soaring prices leave fewer people in the circle of those able to buy, and each day the scarcity grows less. Soon it will no longer be scarcity but glut; people will still want things but have no money to buy them with. In the South, home of the poorest of American poor relations, that day is again just around the corner.

In the Wind

THE WIND DEVOTES ITSELF THIS WEEK TO a compendium of worthy utterances, both by men and by institutions. Heading the list is Court Asher, publisher of *X-Ray*, who recently referred to General Eisenhower as a "Swedish Jew."

MEANWHILE, editor Luka Palamarchuk of the Ukraine's *Radyanska Ukraina* told a New York *Times* reporter that "there is no criticism of Josef Stalin in Soviet newspapers, because Stalin never does anything that merits criticism."

A MAN was interviewed by the University of Denver's National Opinion Research Center the other day. He was asked: "Do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people?" He answered: "No." He explained: "Some Negroes you couldn't learn anything."

H. W. PRENTISS, JR., who seems to have earned his own regrets, said in a recent address: "Unfortunately, freedom and physical luxury seem to be congenitally incompatible." Mr. Prentiss, who ought to know, is president of Armstrong Cork and past president of the N. A. M.

A PROCLAMATION by Thomas E. Dewey of New York named the week before election as that state's "Apple Week."

THAT SAME PRE-ELECTION WEEK, the Wayne County (Michigan) Republican Finance Committee expressed its fear of a repudiation, by the county, of Senator Vandenberg. "This," quavered the committee, "could have awe-inspiring repercussions."

AND THE RESEARCH STAFFS of three California industrial-employment commissions have announced breathlessly to Governor Warren that unemployment in California dropped in September and that "the chief reason for this rapid decline in unemployment was the large expansion in employment."

"SO LITTLE," says the Pennsylvania Railroad in a pamphlet urging raises in freight rates, "has never before meant so much to so many."

A SMALL SQUIB in the New York *Herald Tribune* announcing the resignation of Victor Emanuel, director of General Aniline and Film Corporation, carried this headline: "Resigns Dictatorship."

CLASSIFIED AD in the Bridgeport (Connecticut) *Telegram*: "A Master Baker seeks a new position. Have good bread formula. . . . Can handle union and other un-American element. Pay-roll padding if desired."

SAM GOLDWYN, who ought to be used to this sort of thing, spreads two pages of blurb for his new movie, "The Best Years of Our Life," in a recent issue of *Time*, the infallible magazine. "In the beginning was the word," starts the advertisement, with an asterisk after "word." At the bottom of the page: "* Genesis."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

The People's Front

TO TALK about fascism today is, for many Americans, like talking about yellow fever. The disease is out of date, and, in any case, an extremely boring topic. Of course they show a certain tolerance toward the Spaniards: "Those poor people still have Franco to contend with; so it is understandable that they should be obsessed by the specter of fascism." On the whole, however, their attitude is one of distaste, as if the Spaniards, suffering from amoebic dysentery, had committed the faux pas of describing their intestinal irregularities more graphically than etiquette permits. But now an outstanding American, O. John Rogge, has come forward to tell his compatriots that the fascist amoeba is not confined exclusively to third-rate countries; that even a powerful democracy like the United States has its carriers of infection—a Montana Senator or the president of a powerful trade union. It is important that an American should have formulated this *J'accuse,* an American who until now was considered eminently qualified for a high post in the Department of Justice. The most important point in the whole story is Mr. Rogge's warning that "the fascist danger to the United States is not past." As a matter of fact, many Europeans believe that the threat has actually increased since the end of the war, both in this country and abroad.

Much has been written about the attempts of the old fascist parties to come back, but few Americans are aware that side by side with these political organizations are movements whose aim is to defend monopoly capitalism against the determined efforts of the left parties which are now pushing political democracy in the direction of an economic democracy opposed to the oppression of cartels and trusts. One of these movements is synarchism, not to be confused with the organization that has spread over Mexico and found its roots in local political rivalries and clerical-agrarian reaction. Synarchism as a worldwide conspiracy is attempting to take over the functions of the fascists in those countries where the latter cannot operate openly or to ally itself with existing fascist groups.

Michael Sordet, in a remarkably documented article, The Secret League of Monopoly Capitalism, published in the scholarly Swiss review, *Schweizer Annalen* (No. 2, 1946-47), gives us a full description of the synarchist movement in Europe. He describes the synarchists as "the representatives of international high finance," who not only helped to bring fascism to power in Germany and to provoke the war, from which they reaped enormous profits, but who contributed to the defeat of France and the rise of Pétain and his traitorous clique.

His account of the organization in France reads almost like a detective story. Le Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire (M. S. E.) was founded in Paris in 1922, a few weeks before—what a singular coincidence!—Mussolini's March on Rome. Its original promoters numbered seven, three of whom have since been identified as Baron Leo de Nervo, with connections in some fifty financial and heavy-industry enterprises, Maxime Renaudin, a financier known to represent international Catholic interests, and Jean Coutrot, a close friend of Marshal Pétain. The M. S. E. is rigidly aristocratic in structure: members are recruited in powerful big-business circles and are expected to enrol new adherents from among their friends. Every precaution is taken to insure secrecy: if a person seems desirable because of his position, he is subjected without his knowledge to a careful investigation that may last for several years before he is asked to join. The probe covers the most intimate details of his life—family relationships, love affairs, hobbies, opinions expressed in conversation, emotional stability, and so on. The candidate has no contact with the organization until the day he is invited to sign up; at that moment he makes the acquaintance of a single member, the person who solicits his application. Then he receives a copy of the "Pacte synarchiste révolutionnaire," a hundred-page booklet, bound with a sealed gold band which bears two identifying numbers—his own and that of his sponsor. About the organizational set-up and the policy-making bodies, he is told nothing.

Frenchmen in general learned of the existence of the M. S. E. in the summer of 1941 when Jean Coutrot died under mysterious circumstances which were never cleared up. A collaborationist newspaper, *l'Appel,* which carried the announcement of his death, revealed at the same time that most of the ministers and generals in the Vichy entourage belonged to this secret society. Coutrot had told an intimate friend that the directing body of the M. S. E. consisted of four people, but he mentioned no names.

What are the contents of the "Pacte synarchiste révolutionnaire," so vigilantly controlled? The most important section provides for the division of the world into five great *fédérations impériales,* or *sociétés mineures des nations.* Metropolitan Britain and its colonies and dominions make up one. The federation of pan-American nations comprises the United States and the other countries of the Western continent with the exception of Canada. The pan-Eurasian federation consists of the Soviet Union, including all its Asiatic republics but excluding Finland and the Baltic states. The pan-European-African federation takes in Western Europe, including Finland, the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, and the African continent excluding the British colonies. China and Japan head the pan-Asiatic federation.

The creation of five completely autarchic economic units would make trade agreements between nations superfluous. More important to the M. S. E., Russia would be politically dwarfed by the European bloc with its 450,000,000 inhabitants, its highly developed industries, and the rich resources of the African hinterland. As for the internal structure of the various countries, the synarchists intend to replace the parliamentary system in the present democracies with the corporate state.

DEL VAYO

[*Next week Mr. del Vayo will describe the international connections of the M. S. E. and its plans for America.*]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Starving the Customers

CONTROLS are falling like the autumn leaves; those beneficent monarchs of the market, supply and demand, are reclaiming the kingdom of prices from the tyrants of OPA; production is booming and profits are soaring; the seers tell us that the New Deal night is over and the Republican Party about to recapture its heritage. Why, oh why, then, is there so much melancholy in Wall Street? Why are the bears dancing triumphantly around the stricken bulls? What is the fly in the capitalist ointment now?

Well, that is not hard to guess; it's those rapacious trade unions that are spoiling everything by insisting that with the lid off prices their members are entitled to more wages. Workers in automobiles, steel, rubber, textiles, coal, and many other industries are preparing to ask for higher pay to offset the higher cost of living. Consequently many employers fear that they will either have to pay up, a painful prospect, or face a new and costly round of strikes.

Hoping to head off these awkward demands, or at least to prepare public opinion to resist them, the spokesmen of business have started a heavy barrage of propaganda. One favorite argument is that the rise in the cost of living during the past year is solely due to the increases in wages which labor, aided and abetted by the government, extorted from industry last winter. Actually the extent of those increases has been greatly exaggerated. It is frequently implied that the pattern was set by the 18¼-cent raise obtained by the automobile workers, but figures recently published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that only 25.6 per cent of the workers in all manufacturing industries received increases of 18½ cents or more per hour. The following table shows how others fared:

10 cents to less than 18½ cents	37.9 per cent
5 cents to less than 10 cents	13.5 " "
Less than 5 cents	1.7 " "
No increases	21.3 " "

A further breakdown of the BLS figures shows that there is no exact correlation between industries giving the largest wage increases and those which have advanced their prices most. For instance, 28.5 per cent of the workers in the paper industry, where prices have risen very steeply, have had no increases. It is also interesting to note that the industries with the largest percentages of workers receiving no increases are among those which have returned particularly favorable profits in the past year. They include food products, furniture and finished lumber, paper, and chemicals.

In the case of non-manufacturing employment, the experience of the workers has been even more unfavorable. No less than 48.4 per cent in wholesale trade, 63.6 per cent in retail trade, and 67.9 per cent in service trades have remained at their V-J Day pay levels. It is not surprising that the big retailers, enjoying something like double their pre-war turnover, are making profits on a stupendous scale. What is curious, though, is that they continually grumble about the shortage of labor; it doesn't seem to have occurred to them that those "immutable" laws of supply and demand may apply to labor as well as commodities.

The most important instances this year of a price increase definitely keyed to a wage increase was the additional $5 a ton granted to the steel industry by the OPA as part of the bargain by which the steel strike was settled. Because of the extent to which steel enters into the costs of other industries, the settlement of this dispute has been quoted as a prime example of the way in which rising wages exert an inflationary influence. It will be hard to sustain this contention, however, now that the third-quarter report of United States Steel has been published, for it shows that labor costs per ton of products shipped during the period were less than before the steel strike.

For the whole of 1945 Big Steel's labor cost per ton—this includes salaries, social-security tax, and pensions—was $45.4; in the third quarter of the current year it was $44.3. It follows that the $5 price boost was not required to cover increased labor costs; it was, in fact, largely added to profits. After deducting non-recurring items, the corporation's net earnings for the quarter amounted to $29,529,000, or $6.62 per ton shipped. This compares with a profit return of $3.15 a ton for the whole of 1945.

At first sight this may appear something like a miracle, but the explanation is fairly simple. During the three months ending September 30 Big Steel operated at 94.3 per cent of capacity, whereas during 1945 it attained only 82 per cent of capacity. That meant the spreading of fixed costs—a large item in an industry like steel—over a considerably bigger tonnage and an automatic improvement in profit margins. In addition, the fall in labor costs per ton, despite the increase in wage rates, indicates a very considerable improvement in labor productivity. This improvement is probably general throughout the industry; at least, sharp advances in third-quarter profits are common to practically all the steel concerns so far reporting.

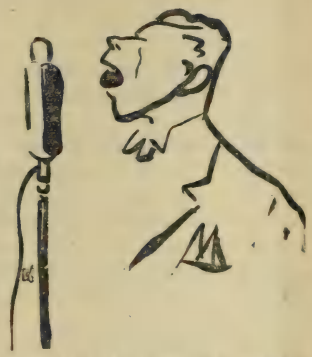
I have no doubt that Philip Murray and his colleagues of the United Steel Workers are studying these figures carefully, and that when they open their wage negotiations they will argue that profits are ample to provide for a wage increase even though prices remain unchanged. Countering this claim, steel magnates will undoubtedly contend that the profits flowing from near-capacity operations are transient; so that higher wages would in fact compel higher prices and lead to further curtailment of demand.

The fear that rising costs will "price their products out of the market" is common to many industries today. It may not be unjustified, but those using it as an argument against wage increases overlook the fact that the main force sustaining demand, and making possible the economies arising from full production, is the workers' purchasing power. Unless, therefore, the present erosion of real wages is checked, business is likely to discover that it has starved its best customers.

KEITH HUTCHISON

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL



THOSE who read the newspaper quotes from the recent speech of William S. Paley, chairman of the board of the Columbia Broadcasting System, at the N. A. B. convention, must admit that they packed a punch that rocked the broadcasters back on their heels. Paley concentrated his attention mainly on the industry—its sins and its virtues—but he had something to say about critics and about the more discriminating listeners who make their protests vocal. Though we may disagree with some of his conclusions, they are all worthy of the careful attention of radio critics, professional and amateur. So far as I know, his was the first attempt made by any of the leading figures in broadcasting to analyze the intellectual's reactions to radio.

Paley began by welcoming criticism, particularly the bylined critical reviews as distinct from the superficial carpings of people who, after listening to a couple of programs, style themselves experts. He concedes (the heretic!) that not all critics are cranks and that many are honest and objective in their intentions. Even those who are constantly sniping at the advertising aspects of radio do so not from malice or personal prejudice but from a lack of understanding of the complex nature of radio. For American radio faces a dilemma. Primarily, it is a mass medium and must serve the masses. Secondarily, radio must serve the specialized interests of various minority groups. The primary character of radio as a mass medium coincides with the advertiser's desire to sell his merchandise to the mass audience.

We should remember—even though Paley makes no mention of it—that in its diaper days radio was what the trade calls "highbrow." Not until radio developed mass-appeal programs did it show signs of healthy growth. With the airing of prize fights, Presidential election returns, Amos 'n' Andy, and Rudy Vallee, radio boomed, and simultaneously became bait for the advertiser and poison to the intellectual. Broadcasters showed an increasing tendency, therefore, to sell out to the advertisers and to cut to a minimum the brain-power and air time devoted to programs designed to please minority listeners.

For Paley this situation is highly unsatisfactory. Radio has a responsibility to this minority even if, as the industry is organized, their claim is classed as secondary. "We all recognize the simple truth," he says, "that you cannot have a healthy democracy without minorities. You can't even have democracy. The vigorous existence of minorities is not only inevitable; it is necessary to the democratic process. . . . As broadcasters, we must never lapse into the position of conspiring, even unintentionally, against minorities."

This may sound like a sop to the critics, but anybody who knows Paley knows that he means just what he says. Whether the majority of radio men understand it and believe it is another question. The degree to which radio has been convinced by Paley and the critics that it has been guilty of over-commercialization will become plain in the program schedules of the next six months. Back home the broadcasters will have to decide how much of the high principles discussed at the convention can be applied. Some will make a start at reform. Others will continue to duck the issue and try to put the blame on the advertisers.

There is another pertinent point that Columbia's president made: the discriminating listener makes little effort to inform himself of the availability of good programs. He takes great pains to select a newspaper, buy a book, or choose a play, but when it comes to radio, the dial becomes a substitute for a program guide.

Paley carries it a step farther: "The music lover who queues up to get a gallery seat for an opera is likely to be the first one who will attack radio because Toscanini or Rodzinski aren't standing by in the radio station to begin waving their batons the minute he flicks his radio on. If minority groups would take a tenth as much trouble as they willingly take in getting what they want from magazines, newspapers, books—as well as from concerts and lectures, I believe we would be applauded rather than abused. From many of these latter functions they return to their homes after midnight—yet they criticize radio if a program they particularly like is broadcast after 10:30 p.m."

To which a listener might well reply: "Perhaps I'd sooner sit home and listen to the concert or opera instead of going out and getting home after midnight. But why should I have to wait until 10:30 for a good program? And where are these programs you speak of? Where are they listed?"

This brings up a minor defect in radio publicity that should be remedied. The daily newspaper listings, with very few exceptions, are extremely sketchy. And even though a handful of stations sell program booklets to their listeners—for example, WQXR, WLIB, and WYNC in New York—nowhere is there anything to compare with the British Broadcasting Corporation's program booklets in the detailed information they provide. (By the same token American radio has nothing to compare with the BBC's "Third Program," which is especially designed for the discriminating listener, but that is a story that will be told in this column on another day.)

The sooner radio admits these weaknesses the sooner radio can move to correct them. Paley and people like him are doing their best to spread the word to others. Meanwhile it is also up to the intelligent listener to temper his demands with a reasonableness that takes into account some of the problems confronting radio. At the recent N. A. B. convention not only the Paley speech but the adult approach of both broadcasters and the Federal Communications Commission to the problems of regulation showed that a sizable percentage of radio's top men are growing up.

Meanwhile let's keep our eyes peeled, our tempers cool, and our ears cocked. The next move is the broadcasters'.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Working Day at the Splendide

HOTEL BEMELMANS. By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. $3.

AT THE Hotel Splendide, where all the waiters speak French, the basic relationship of our society is seen naked and pure. The man on the assembly line at General Motors is after all in a very complex position; in a sense he really is just as important as the president of the company—he too is "essential," he too can think of himself as a man who makes automobiles rather than a man who sells his labor to General Motors at so much an hour, and he is not absolutely compelled to admit that the difference between his rewards and the rewards of the president of the company is an accurate reflection of his value. There is no such complexity about the Hotel Splendide. The Splendide is an institution that ministers to the comforts and vanities of the rich, precisely so that the rich may enjoy the sensation of their own importance. It is exploitation idealized, without even the irrelevancy of a tangible product to cloud the image: the efficient operation of the Splendide produces not an automobile but a feeling of well-being in the breast of someone who has a lot of money. And if the receiver of comfort is to be distinguished by the fact that he has money, the giver of comfort is to be distinguished above all by the fact that he does *not* have money. For in the absence of an aristocracy—and nothing about the Splendide is clearer than the absence of an aristocracy—there is no good reason for anyone to work in such an institution, except to make money. No concealment is possible: one man serves another because he gets paid for it.

The waiters at the Splendide would talk to themselves as they went to and from the kitchen, formulating dreadful insults not to be spoken in the dining-room; at the limits of patience, they could spit in somebody's food before serving it; they could celebrate discreetly when a guest died. Their satisfactions were fugitive and peripheral; one waiter derived pleasure from brushing the back of his hand against the behinds of fat women. Server and served dwell in an atmosphere of hateful intimacy and mutual exploitation, and the feelings of the server are painful and confused: he hates the best people, but at the same time he feels that they *are* the best, and he looks down his nose at the second-best; after a while his only relief is to spend his vacation at some other hotel ordering somebody else around.

While Ludwig Bemelmans was assistant manager of the banquet department at the Splendide, one of his subordinates, a man who had been a waiter all his life, began to crack up. At a magnificent dinner, when the guests included Otto Kahn, Bernard Baruch, Secretary Lansing, and other giants, this old waiter stood on the balcony biting his nails, and when the assistant manager came up, he said, "Give me two machine-guns, one on this side and the other over on the other side. I'll cover the doors and get them as they try to get out, just like with a hose up and down—brrrrrr—and the other gun can spray the speakers' table—brrrrrr—brrrrrr—brrrrrr, Table No. 1—brrrrrr, Table No. 2—aim for the plates, shoot through the table, hit them in the stomach so they suffer a while. Here are our enemies. *Ecrasez l'infâme! Liberté, égalité, fraternité!*" The assistant manager sent the man home to take it easy.

Now Mr. Bemelmans never really entertained the idea that two machine-guns might be an appropriate response to a banquet. He has no real passion about the Splendide, and therefore no real vision of its meaning. He breaks his experience up into segments, one thing after another, and there is never the power of feeling and imagination to make the segment embrace the whole. (Think of Chaplin.) If the picture of the whole does emerge, it is only by a process of inference from the particulars; so far as Mr. Bemelmans is concerned, you are free to think of the Splendide as an accidental and queer institution on the margin of society. He himself is *in* the picture; he has still the snobbery of one who knows how food should be served: in his mind the abomination of the Splendide gets overshadowed by the greater abomination of somebody bringing in a service of cheap red dishes for a Jewish wedding, and when the management takes the red dishes over and calls them the "ruby service" (with an extra charge), it is to him as if the Splendide had allowed itself to be corrupted.

Mr. Bemelmans has a special and individual talent; it is very easy to be charmed by him. But one feels in the end that his humor is always a technique for taking lightly what is serious, that he is concerned less with understanding the object before him than with feeling that he has seen through it, that his humor is a personal way out. He is therefore neither as funny nor as profound as his material requires him to be. True humor is least of all a way of taking things lightly; on the contrary, it is a way of taking things particularly hard, for it looks always at our saddest humiliations and it does not compromise. The Splendide is a terrible place, and terribly funny; Mr. Bemelmans has had to reduce it, because he is not capable of dealing with the terrible. In this he is like his fellow-humorists of the *New Yorker*, who have had to turn self-consciously solemn now that their universe can no longer be seen through but demands to be understood; the true humorist is not so embarrassed in the face of death and suffering—death and suffering are his subjects.

ROBERT WARSHOW

A Parody

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife:
Reason I loved, and next to Reason, Doubt;
I warmed both hands before the fire of life
And put it out.

[*This parody is attributed to E. M. Foster; and it must be his.*]

A Southern History

THE EPIC OF LATIN AMERICA. By John A. Crow. Doubleday and Company. $5.

THERE is a long-standing argument as to whether it is not insulting to lump all the other American republics as *Latin America,* in the course of which a patriotic Latin American will usually point out that we have not yet thought of writing a history of Anglo-Saxon America in which the modern history of Canada and the United States would be treated as if there were no boundary line. That might be a very good thing; in fact, eventually we may have a history of *America,* emphasizing the parallel movement of our national histories in this hemisphere, pointing out our similarities rather than our diversities. What is principally good about this new survey of Latin American history is that it does deal with that history in a general way, so that the average North American reader—who usually needs to learn everything—can see the whole picture before he drowns in detail.

There could hardly be a story more fascinating than that of the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World. The way Spain built up the first modern empire, initiating all the errors of the theory of empire, and organized the first modern missionary movement, the clash between European and indigenous cultures, the various racial and economic and intellectual and political problems and attitudes which resulted, are but the more interesting for our long ignorance of them. And the history of the Latin countries, though it goes back a century farther than ours, is somehow closer to the surface there. Why have they been backward in industry? Because Spain allowed no industry to develop in its colonies. Why has united effort been so difficult among them? Because all contacts, and especially trade, were forbidden between the colonies in order to maintain their dependence on the mother-country. Why did Latin America so long remain out of touch with the times, politically and intellectually, when they had printing-presses, bookstores, and universities long before North America? Mainly because they had at the same time an active Inquisition. The church's temporal power and control of education, the survival of a feudal land system, the immensity and the character of the indigenous population—such elements of Latin American history are the problems of modern Latin America. Every American, of whatever country, ought to know the whole story of the American revolutions against European absolutism and against inequality and injustice—a story fortifying in its inevitability.

Any expert reading this volume will find in his own field curious lapses and lacks; but one must admit that the author is dealing with a very large subject, in both territory and time, and that many of its aspects have not yet been adequately treated by the experts. It is unfortunate that his survey depends entirely on secondary sources, for the original source material is extraordinarily rich, and even for the general reader a seventeenth-century traveler's eyewitness account is a good deal more interesting than the report of another modern historian.

Readers of a book like this ought to be encouraged by a well-arranged bibliography to follow through what it offers; for the same reason there ought to be more maps, and more detailed maps. On the other hand, the book is easy to read, and broad in its conception of the subject matter of history. If the author is weakest in cultural matters, where his dependence on published opinion leaves him occasionally ambiguous and arbitrary, he is strong in his sympathy. Furthermore, the general attitude toward the differences and the parallels between our history and theirs is usually just, and it is particularly on this score that one recommends the book to the common reader.

ELIZABETH WILDER

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FICTION IN REVIEW

ALTHOUGH all of Arthur Koestler's books are tied together by their common concern with the large moral-political problems of our time, especially those on the intellectual left, there is an unusually close connection between his last novel, "Arrival and Departure," and his new novel, "Thieves in the Night" (Macmillan, $2.75). "Arrival and Departure" was about a young man so torn between his desire to act upon his political convictions and his desire to retreat into a life of private satisfactions that he suffered a functional paralysis and had to be psychoanalyzed. In the course of his treatment Mr. Koestler's hero discovered that an important part of his political impulse had a neurotic source. His story ended, however, not with the assertion of his ability to pursue his political course on an unneurotic basis, but with something quite else again—with his refusal to be deterred from political action by any ques-

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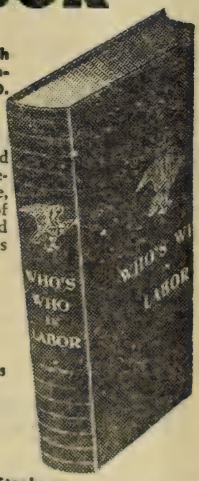
Edited by Marion Dickman and Ruth Taylor and a Board of Advisors representing A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.



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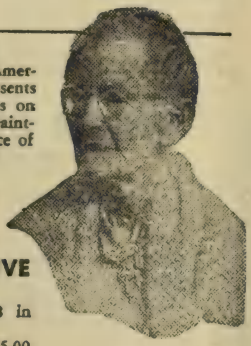

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tion of motive. "Arrival and Departure," in other words, was an up-to-date version of the old reason-versus-religion opposition, with psychoanalysis proxying for reason and with the free radical impulse proxying for religion. Its conclusions could be summed up as follows: that the therapy for indecision is not to seek further clarification but to seek further blindness; that the definition of free will is the freedom to ignore the uncomfortable logic of determinism; that the cure for doubt is not knowledge but—as in the classical theological instance—more faith.

"Thieves in the Night" takes up where "Arrival and Departure" left off. I do not mean that it has the same setting and characters. Mr. Koestler's new book is set in Palestine, and its central character and authorial advocate is a young Englishman living in a Jewish commune. But despite the fact that "Thieves in the Night" is very informative about the complex Jewish national situation, I think that to read it as only a study of this immediate problem is to read it in far too limited a context. "Arrival and Departure" ended with Mr. Koestler's protestation of his faith in the life of action. "Thieves in the Night" is a statement of the articles of this faith: it tells us how Mr. Koestler thinks we ought to act. Its program is applicable not merely to Palestine but to the whole world.

The period of Mr. Koestler's story is 1937-39; its hero is a half-Jew who has removed to Palestine after an unpleasant sexual episode with an anti-Semitic Englishwoman. Being not entirely Jewish by birth, Joseph is enough of an emotional and intellectual outsider in Palestine to be able to view what goes on around him with a range and objectivity of which his wholly Jewish comrades are incapable. While he takes full happy share in the life of his commune, he becomes increasingly aware that it will require more than dedication to insure its survival and growth. Little by little he becomes convinced, on the sound evidence which is public record, that the British are selling out the Jewish homeland to appease the Arabs, that Palestine is another Czechoslovakia. When the German refugee girl whom he loves is raped and killed by the Arabs, and the deed, instead of being allowed to disappear in the government files, is avenged by the Jewish terrorist organization, Joseph finally formulates what has long been germinating in him—his sympathy with the people who are in favor of direct political action. He joins the terrorist underground, the Stern group that has broken off from Haganah, the old moderate Jewish defense organization.

This is of course a very bare sketch of "Thieves in the Night." Anyone acquainted with Mr. Koestler's work will know with what skill and daring the outline is filled in, the circumstantiality with which Mr. Koestler's novel suggests the multitudinousness of the Palestinian scene, the philosophical ingenuity with which it traces Joseph's intellectual development. In a day when all reporters are political philosophers, Mr. Koestler is really distinguished for his grasp of political complexities, his dialectical power, his journalistic flair. Leaving out of account its moral point, "Thieves in the Night" is an extraordinary weaving together of the many tangled threads—Jewish, Arab, and British—that make up the Palestinian pattern and a remarkable docu-

CHRISTIAN AND JEW!

(A Call To Arms)

I have assumed the duties of Administrative Chairman of the Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc. The Committee, which bears no relation whatsoever to any other Political Action Committee in this country, is a vigorous, young, militant group of Jews and non-Jews in all walks of American life. This group has devoted itself to the task of the immediate repatriation of European Jews to Palestine and the recognition of the Jewish National State by the United Nations.

I am a Christian and because of this I do not conceive my position as merely an honorary post. On the contrary, I intend to devote most of my time toward achieving the purposes of the Committee.

Let me give you the reasons for my decision to join the Political Action Committee for Palestine in an active capacity, and what led me to it. It is not a strange decision from one who visited the concentration camps in Europe and has seen the lethal houses which consumed six million Jews.

FOOLISH OSTRICH

How long can we bury our heads in the sands like a foolish ostrich and still remain men? How long can we accept with a shrug of our shoulders the horrible torture and murder of six million men, women and children and still remain Christians? How long can we allow the pitiful remnant of a tragic people to rot in concentration camps and still be Americans? How long can we procrastinate with injustice and still believe that justice will prevail? How long can we look upon the machinations of other nations and watch them invade, enslave, torment and destroy a tiny nation, whose citizens have given us so much of our religion, our morals and countless other priceless gifts, and still remain a democracy, dedicated to the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter?

THE BLOOD OF MY ANCESTORS

I, for one, believe that justice, freedom and peace are indivisible in the international organism, and a spot, however small, where we allow injustice, slavery and war to continue, will develop into a malignant cancer which will devour us all.

I, for one, can no longer witness the tragedy of the Jews and the world's shameful unconcern for their fate. The blood of my ancestors who came to this country when the greatest metropolis in the world was a village, who helped build our nation, who helped free it from the tyrant's yoke, who helped unite it again, calls to my conscience and will not give me rest. It urges me to fight in a cause made holy by a river of innocent blood.

AWAKEN MY NATION'S CONSCIENCE

I shall henceforth devote my time and my energy to awaken my nation's conscience, even as mine has been awakened. I shall not weaken or tire until I see our brethren, the Jews, allowed to enter their Homeland, Palestine, and become a nation, free and independent, as our Government and the Governments of fifty-one nations, including Great Britain and the Arab States, have vowed it shall become.

In order that my efforts be more effective, I have assumed the Administrative Chairmanship of the Political Action Committee for Palestine, whose compelling program is the following:

SEVEN KEYS TO POSTERITY

1. To promote and foster by political and educational means, the recognition by the United Nations, of European and Palestinian Jewry as an ethno-political entity.

2. To advocate and effect the United Nations' recognition of Palestine as the national territory of this ethno-political entity.

3. To promote, urge and advocate the immediate repatriation to Palestine of the Jews in Europe.

4. To render aid, understanding and sympathy to those Jews in Palestine oppressed and persecuted by the Mandatory power because of their political views.

5. To urge withdrawal of British forces and civil officials from Palestine.

6. To demand elimination of Arab interference in Palestine's political situation.

7. To insist that no forces other than the Security Force of the United Nations should set foot on Palestine soil.

GIVE ME THE TOOLS AND I WILL DO THE JOB

This is a program which speaks for itself—in righteousness, justice, honor and freedom. It is a program which requires untiring labor and devotion. It is a program which requires funds and more funds to do the job and so *I appeal to you as an American to join me in this struggle and contribute whatever your conscience dictates.*

It is my intention to leave shortly for England where I plan to confer with members of the British Government. I will also fly to Palestine for the purpose of investigating conditions there and in the concentration camps outside of Palestine, including Cyprus and Eritrea.

As a member of Congress, I plan on my return, to report to our Government and to the Committee and the American people.

WHY NOW?

We are asking help now—instead of making an annual appeal—because the solution we believe in, is a political solution. WE WANT TO DO MORE THAN GIVE TEMPORARY RELIEF. We want to remedy the evils that exist today. When we remember that the six million Jews who perished received relief, charity and pity and that we are NOW no longer "burdened" with their care, we realize that their plight called for, not palliative action, but a basic remedial solution. We know that only effective political action will eliminate the need for yearly appeals for relief funds. Help us achieve that action by your support today. **Fill out the coupon below and enclose your contribution.** *We do not employ paid officials or executives. All services are rendered on a voluntary basis. EVERY DOLLAR, EVERY CENT, GOES TOWARD THE EFFECTUATION OF OUR PROGRAM.*

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ment of bold social observation, being the only novel I know which consistently refuses the common fictional myth about Jews.

But unfortunately its moral point must be very much taken into account, and it must also be examined in a larger focus than that of the Palestinian situation. Appearing just now, when feelings about the Jewish homeland are running especially high, "Thieves in the Night" is bound to arouse a very intense response. I think this excitation of a particularly Jewish response is regrettable. For implicitly and at times even explicitly, Mr. Koestler's novel defends not merely the use of terror in Palestine; it also defends the principle of terror. And the fact that it weights its case for direct action with the emotions which most of us feel about the immediate Jewish tragedy obscures these wider meanings. It blinds us to what I should have thought would be the main concern of a philosophical novelist—the vital difference between passionately meeting the demands of a particular time and place and the promulgation of a "rational" program of passion.

As I understand it, the present situation in Palestine is so critical that even the most modern factions have been forced to capitulate, if not subscribe, to the use of extreme methods of self-defense. But surely this does not justify the formulation of a philosophy of extreme action, at the comfortable distance of literature and political theorizing. It is not at all the same moral thing to be a Jew confronted by an Arab with a gun in his hand, or an anti-Nazi confronted by a Nazi with a gun in his hand, or a Negro confronted by a white lyncher, and to be a writer with a pen in one's hand. We have all of us learned in recent years if we did not know it before that there are certain situations in which extreme action is demanded, when to stop to scruple is to be destroyed; this bitter knowledge does not sanction us to forget that moral reflection is still our everlasting duty so long as we have even the illusion of safety. Certainly it is the duty of the novelist not only to remind us of the difference between the emotions of exigency and the emotions of premeditation, but also to remind us of the moral consequences of exigent conduct upon the individual who is forced to it. In the sense that "Thieves in the Night" ignores the fact that morality is relative to distance, it is as much an unpleasant emotional indulgence and an offense against moral taste as all the this-is-the-way-to-kill-Nazis novels produced at a several-thousand-miles remove from the Nazi horror. And in the degree that it fails to concern itself with the *tragedy* of violence it is morally irresponsible.

Far from undertaking its tragic business, the last section of Mr. Koestler's book plays only with the standard melodrama of terrorism. In "Thieves in the Night," as always in the novel, it is finally the atmosphere surrounding its principles, rather than the principles themselves, that influences our judgment. The members of Mr. Koestler's underground take a wry amusement in referring to themselves as "Jewish Fascists." (This is of course the name by which they are called by Zionists of other complexion.) But if the reader experiences any sympathetic wryness at this designation, it must certainly disappear as the novel goes into its detailed description of the organization of the terrorist movement—its military hierarchies and discipline, its schoolboy oaths, its face-slapping ("That will teach you to hold fast to your gun"), its general smell of Nazi *Blutbruderschaft*. "The Hebrew underground began as a purely political movement," Joseph writes in his journal, "and has developed more and more mystic accents. Simeon showed me yesterday some of Yair-Stern's poetry. It has a strange archaic fervor—quite untranslatable:

> My teacher carried his praying-scarf in a velvet bag to the synagogue:
> Even so carry I my sacred gun to the Temple
> That its voice may pray for us.

. . . Though he tries to hide it, Simeon has an almost religious admiration for Yair-Stern. He seems to regard him as a kind of gunman-messiah." Well, Mr. Koestler's Joseph may find it difficult to translate the poetry of terrorism from Hebrew into English. I find it disconcertingly easy to translate it into its essential meaning in any language.

Here, then, in actual practice, is the faith that triumphed over reason in "Arrival and Departure"—and a curious form of religious dedication it is. But it is not peculiar to Mr. Koestler; on the contrary, it represents a growing tendency among what we could once call liberal intellectuals. The assimilation of violence to salvation is perhaps not a new idea. The conjunction is new, however, for thinkers of the left political persuasion. Necessity may make soldiers of us all, but only the profound moral confusion of our times could suggest calling a fighter in the cause of freedom a gunman-messiah.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THERE was a long period in the history of the English theater when the repertory was almost as standardized as that of the opera house or the concert hall today. New plays were somewhat more frequently offered than new musical compositions are now, but the leading theaters took their reliance upon Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, and a number of now lesser-known writers as much for granted as your orchestras now take for granted their reliance upon Beethoven, Brahms, Tschaikovsky, and the rest. Most of the plays offered could not be called revivals because they had not for years been at any time long off the stage. While there does not seem any immediate likelihood that we shall return to quite that state of affairs, the number of old plays produced or announced for production on Broadway this season does suggest a harmless speculation. How many written during the last sixty years could be not merely successfully revived but incorporated into a standard repertory? How many, that is to say, would one not only "like to see again" but possibly like to see a dozen times or more—even on the assumption that new companies and new productions would give them from time to time at least as much novelty as a new conductor's interpretation of the Pastoral Symphony? Some of the big successes now current—"Life with Father," "Harvey," and "Born Yesterday"—may look more possible now than they will five years hence. How about Shaw, or O'Neill, or Sidney Howard, or Maxwell Anderson? How many of their plays—and my question is not merely rhetorical—could one see as often as your operagoer hears "Aïda" or as the eighteenth-century theatergoer saw not only some of Shakespeare but also "The Orphan" and even, God save the mark, "The London Merchant"?

One modern play which seems a more likely candidate than most for a place in a real repertory is Synge's "Playboy of the Western World." The revival now current at the Booth Theater is not, to be sure, really first-rate. Burgess Meredith is acceptable enough in the leading role, Mildred Natwick confirms again the impression that she can never fail to give an amusing performance, and Eithne Dunn, a newcomer from Ireland, has a good deal of charm. Nevertheless, one somehow gets the impression of a rather miscellaneous assortment of styles; and the joyous lilt of the speech, which the mere reader of the text cannot fail to catch and which the Abbey company translated into sound, is only occasionally caught. Yet for all that, it furnishes a delightful evening, and it makes one realize that one might happily see it again and again, not merely because it is better than most modern plays but also because its excellence is of a special and now uncommon, if not unique, kind.

Synge wrote it, of course, both in accordance with a theory and as a sort of protest against what he regarded as the essential wrongness of the modern drama. Egged on by Yeats and Lady Gregory, he proclaimed his conviction that neither drawing-room comedy nor sociological drama could have the universal appeal which great plays should have, and that only the myths of a folk or the daily life of a simple society could furnish subjects having the requisite universality. He added that the speech of the peasant was the only speech of the modern world which had escaped the deadening influence of too much abstract thinking; and thus, by a sort of Q. E. D., he was led to leave Paris for the Aran Islands. For once an abstract theory seemed to work. "The Playboy of the Western World" really is one of the few modern plays capable of interesting a cultivated and intellectual audience while at the same time remaining comprehensible at almost any level of sophistication. To enjoy it one does not need to know any one of the hundreds of things which Shaw or Ibsen or Wilde or Garson Kanin demands. There is nothing timely about it and, for all its local color, nothing which demands any exclusively local knowledge for its understanding.

One is tempted to believe that an audience from the Homeric Age would find it entirely comprehensible; and one is quite sure that such an audience would find nothing essentially unfamiliar in the story of the revolt of a son against a father. Neither is there any doubt that the exuberant picturesqueness of speech which runs riot throughout the play is poetically joyous in some fashion which no modern "poetic" drama ever approaches, or that the language itself affords a delight wholly different from that which the best and driest wit of Shaw or Wilde can give.

Perhaps Synge did not accomplish all this because of a theory. Lady Gregory, with the same convictions, never got beyond the somewhat self-conscious folksiness which we associate also with the American "regional" play. Yeats, deliberately or in spite of himself, turned to a different kind of poetry, which, whatever its virtues, is certainly far less accessible; and even Synge himself never produced during his short life another play nearly so good. But if the theories did not produce they do define the unique qualities of this particular comedy. It achieves a universality which seemed to have become impossible in the modern theater, and it makes more comprehensible the fact that Shakespeare was able to be the darling of the groundling as well as of the courtier.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE DARK MIRROR" is a smooth and agreeable melodrama about twin sisters (Olivia de Havilland, sweet and dry), and a psychiatrist (Lew Ayres) and a detective (Thomas Mitchell) who find out which one is an insane murderess. The detective work involves ink-blot and word-association tests and an amusingly sinister tandem of oscillating pens which register concealed emotions as one of the sisters talks. The picture could have been more exciting if Nunnally Johnson and his colleagues had risked more subtlety and puzzlement in the psychologizing, the situations, and the everyday performance of the sisters, but it is fairly clear that they were worried about just such risks and decided to eat-and-have only bits of the frosting instead of the whole cake. As far as they go with it, they do it very intelligently. I like the illusion of relaxation Mr. Johnson can create in dialogue which is actually very tightly designed, and I very much like Olivia de Havilland's performance. She has for a long time been one of the prettiest women in movies; lately she has not only become prettier than ever but has started to act, as well. I don't see evidence of any remarkable talent, but her playing is thoughtful, quiet, detailed, and well sustained, and since it is founded, as some more talented playing is not, in an unusually healthful-seeming and likable temperament, it is an undivided pleasure to see. I wish I could speak as respectfully of Mr. Ayres's performance, in his first film since the war, as I feel toward his performance during the war, but it seemed to me to be done wholly from the outside. Although I can remember

very good work of his, perhaps he was never vocationally an actor; now, in any case, he seems no longer to be doing work he can care for: a predicament in which I and probably most of two billion other people can sympathize with him profoundly, without being eager to watch a sight so unhappy and so familiar.

I can't understand the excitement over "The Jolson Story." Without for a moment thinking they had anything to do with jazz, I have always liked Jolson and his style and most of his songs, and I still like hearing them on the soundtrack; and I suppose Larry Parks does about as well, as the visual Jolson, as anyone except the original would be likely to. Evelyn Keyes has always seemed to me one of the more attractive and capable girls in Hollywood, and one of the most neglected, and it is good to see her again, even in a role which can use so little of what she has, and which misuses most of that. I would probably enjoy William Demarest as Little Eyolf; so I had no great trouble liking him here. In fact, I have nothing in the world against this picture except that at least half of it seemed to me enormously tiresome. The other half is pleasant enough, but no more. The trouble is, it is here nearly as hard to separate the pleasant from the boring as to get the cream out of homogenized milk.

The Museum of Modern Art is screening a gigantic historical anthology of movies; the program started the middle of last September and will finish a year from next December. I could, and in the course of time may, regret and criticize quite a few omissions and inclusions, and some of the ways of classifying the films—for instance, the bewildering inclusion of "Der Dreigroschenoper" under the rubric "Pabst and Realism." And I feel that when the historians get to work on anything, arteries begin to harden, in the subject and in the people interested. Yet there is hardly a program in the bunch that doesn't offer some film I have seen and would highly recommended for re-seeing, or to anyone who missed it; or some film I want to see because through incarceration in one school or another, or inability to milk or steal the price of admission, I had to miss it myself. During the next two weeks I particularly recommend the following, to those within radius: Von Stroheim's "Foolish Wives," Flaherty's "Nanook of the North," "Wild Bill Hickok" with William S. Hart, Thomas Ince's "The Last Card," James Cruze's "The Covered Wagon," "Grandma's Boy" (Harold Lloyd), and "Sherlock, Jr." (Buster Keaton). "Foolish Wives" is fiercely trashy, but along with the trash there is some brutally shrewd atmosphere and sexual realism and comedy. "Nanook" has a beautiful simplicity, cheer, and hardiness which no subsequent documentary has improved on and which most have lost or perverted. I missed "Wild Bill," but I didn't miss the late William S. Hart, and I think that at his best he was in his face and his way of handling himself almost as mythically and finely racial—or I suppose I have to say national—as Lincoln. Hart is in "The Last Card," too, which I also missed, and that is the only film by Ince, who was as great in his way as Griffith, that the museum is able to show. Some of "The Covered Wagon" looks pretty embarrassing now, though I still think the frontier-comic work of Ernest Torrence and Tully Marshall has grandeur, for all that it is corny; but all that is massive and detached from characters and character-plot is tremendously strong, moving, and beautiful. The chase and fight in "Grandma's Boy," as I remember them, are a high point in melodramatic slapstick, thanks importantly to the terrifying face of Dick Sutherland

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as the villain; and Grandma's Civil War flashback is achingly funny. "Sherlock, Jr." is not one of Buster Keaton's funniest—none of his full-length films were—but it is about a hundred times as funny as anything made today. Some of the houses, yards, and streets are even more beautifully photographed than was usual in the old comedies. And one chase gag, involving a motor cycle and a long line of ditch-diggers, is hair-raising both in its mechanical perfection and as a piece of better-than-conscious surrealism. I am sorry the museum isn't showing Lloyd's finest comedy, his paralyzing first version of "Safety Last," a piece about a human fly which is as staggeringly fast as machine-gun fire. I'm even sorrier that the museum, or some dime theater, isn't showing every short film Keaton ever made, night and day, over and over. Barring only the best of Chaplin, they seem to me the most wonderful comedies ever made.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE years since I heard Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos" in Vienna there have been occasions when one or another of the German musicians and music-lovers now in this country, cross-examining me on my tastes, has exclaimed, "You don't like 'Ariadne'! But have you looked at the score?" and has proceeded to describe to me some of the marvelous examples of Strauss's craftsmanship. The expertness and assurance of that craftsmanship were something I was immediately aware of as I listened to the performance of "Ariadne" at New York's City Center recently; and they were even a pleasure to hear—for a while; but presently I was cursing that ability to go through all those elaborate motions of music-making endlessly with nothing to say and with nothing said. It pains me to think of the time and effort and conscientiousness that went into the production of this sterile work, and that might have given us a production of, say, Mussorgsky's original "Boris Godunov."

The work was competently staged, and the orchestral framework provided by Halasz was excellent; but much of the singing was poor. Virginia McWatters, the Zerbinetta, stopped the show with her spectacular agility and accuracy in the florid and high passages of *Grossmächtige Prinzessin;* but the middle range of her voice was unpleasantly harsh. Ella Flesch, the Ariadne, sang flat and with excessive tremolo—a combination that was torture. And the closing scene brought the absurdity of Ariadne listening with ecstasy to the constricted bleating of Vasso Argyris, the Bacchus. The only good singing by a principal was that of Polyna Stoska in the role of the composer: she has a fresh, powerful voice which does not yet show the effects it may show later of the way she drives it. And I should mention the lovely voices of two of Ariadne's three attendants—the contralto and one of the sopranos. (I have just read Olin Downes's statement, in a Sunday article, that Flesch sang at the first performance "under a slight indisposition which made vocalism difficult at moments," and Argyris was suffering from severe laryngitis.)

Wagner's "Meistersinger" has its dull stretches, and it may exhaust one with its diffuse and repetitious long-windedness; but it contains much of the loveliest and best music he ever composed; and of this music Columbia gives us Sachs's two monologues, the second-act *Was duftet doch der Flieder* and the third-act *Wahn! Wahn!,* sung by Janssen with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Breisach (Set X-269; $2.85). The bloom is off Janssen's voice, but it is in better condition on these records than it was in the broadcast performance I heard two years ago: it can produce a sustained tone that is steady, agreeable, and sonorous; and it lends itself to Janssen's sensitive phrasing. Breisach provides no more than a routine accompaniment; and the sound of the performances on the records is rich, spacious, and clear, with good balance of voice and orchestra.

Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 2 for clarinet or viola and piano is one of the many works of his that I find mechanically contrived and dull. Columbia offers a performance of it by Benny Goodman and Nadia Reisenberg (Set 629; $3.85); and what musical life there is in the proceedings is created by the piano-playing of Miss Reisenberg; for Goodman merely produces successions of clarinet notes without phraseological inflection or even sensuous beauty—though I am aware that the lack of sensuous beauty may be the fault of recording which deprives the sound of the piano of its rich resonance. Aside from this the recorded sound is good: spacious and clear, with excellent balance of the two instruments. Some of the surfaces of my review set are gritty.

In another set (649; $4.85) Oscar Levant plays a number of pieces by Chopin: the Etudes Opus 10 Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 10; the Nocturnes Opus 9 No. 2 and Opus 15 No. 2; the Berceuse; the Polonaise Opus 40 No. 1; and the Valses Opus 64 No. 2 and Opus 70 No. 1. Levant handles his instrument less brutally in these performances than in others I have heard; but rapid passage-work is often blurred—whether by his fingers or by faulty recording I cannot say. Far worse than this, however, is the lack of any feeling for continuity and coherence in the progression of sound in time, and of any artistic discipline—in performances that are full of erratic, wilful, senseless changes of pace and sonority. The sound of the piano on the records is bright but cold with a wide-range Brush pickup; with the limited-range Astatic Tru-Tan the treble is weak and the sound dull. Some surfaces of my review set are noisy.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has sent me a volume entitled "Israel Sings" ($15 plus express charges), which contains liturgical music arranged from manuscripts in the Birnbaum Collection by Dr. Eric Werner of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and sung by Cantors Frederick Lechner, Abraham Shapiro, and Emil Rosen, and by Pearl Besuner, Roberta Segal, and the 70th Anniversary Choir, with instrumental accompaniments. Having heard very little of

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this type of music I can hazard only one musical judgment of the set—that I find an incongruity between the old melodies and the modern and occasionally operatic style of the accompaniments provided by Dr. Werner. I asked someone who knows a great deal about the music how the melodies would be sung in an orthodox synagogue, and he answered, "Without accompaniments"; but then he added that a modern singer finds it difficult to sing without harmony, and there is no objection to accompaniments written by composers with a feeling for the styles of the melodies, like Achron. The performances seem good to me; and they are well recorded on black vinylite—which means that they should be played with a pickup weighing no more than one ounce. And considering the price of the records I would criticize the use of the whole first side and parts of the other sides for the narration of material that is printed in the accompanying booklet.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

"Suicidal Idea"

Dear Sirs: Reading in the papers about the latest fantastic weapons of war, I often wonder how responsible statesmen can even talk of discontinuing the occupation of Germany. Knowing the gift for technology of the Germans and knowing the desperate fanaticism of the Nazis, we should squarely face the fact that the occupation of Germany will be necessary until the nebulous day when nationalism has no further grip on the German people.

I don't believe that the Western powers or Russia would let loose such terrible weapons (perhaps only out of fear of retaliation), but I can imagine the Nazis doing so in desperate hatred and thirst for revenge.

It is about time that Russia and the Western powers stopped playing with the suicidal idea of using a rearmed Germany as an ally in the conflict between East and West.

OTTO G. WINTERNITZ

New York, October 6

From the Spanish Border

Dear Sirs: A five weeks' stay in Andorra, recently ended, has given me evidence of the great present fact about Spain—namely, that events there are moving so fast that crisis can hardly be far away. . . . The gears are in mesh and the machine is turning faster and faster. Crisis is developing in part through an intolerable crescendo in living costs, coupled with growing corruption and persecution.

The Spanish rationing system is quite inadequate and must be supplemented. The only source for such supplementation is the black market. . . . The contrast of prices with wages is the crux of the situation. Women workers in the Catalan textile mills are paid 12 pesetas a day (about 90 cents). Last winter, neither men nor women in the industry worked more than three days a week because of the lack of electric current. In one of the textile mills, when they are paid at the end of the week, the employer almost forces the women workers to buy certain foodstuffs from him, principally beans and fish. Both are half rotten. Thus, while paying out with one hand, he cashes in with the other.

Hunger, semi-starvation, and malnutrition are general among the workers and are on the increase. Very many people are sick in Spain today because of sheer hunger. Tuberculosis is rife, especially among the children. . . .

Corruption, extortion on a large and a petty scale, persecution—all are practiced by state functionaries high and low, flamboyantly and brutally. The main offenders are the execrated Guardia Civil, the Secret Police, the tax inspectors, and other minor agents. It is a common practice for a civil guardsman to buy articles in a shop and sell them outside on the black market.

In the midst of local conditions approximating famine, it is known to Catalonians that both olive oil and rice—food staples in Spain—are being exported. I learned in Andorra that Barcelona dockers had discovered that large quantities of olive oil for export were being camouflaged in tins labeled "Nestlé." Rice, they found out, was packed in ten-kilo sacks labeled "chemical products."

I had a demonstration of the cynical falsity which any national "referendum" as to Franco's popularity within Spain would involve. A token "referendum" was taken in Catalonia in preparation for Franco's appearance there in connection with military maneuvers. Special agents went from house to house in every town and village, exacting the signatures of every person of either sex above the age of fifteen on a document stating that the signers were glad of the Caudillo's visit.

The insolent outrages and injustices, petty and great, now increasing in Spain suggest that Franco is deliberately seeking to bring about a general uprising in order to quell it thoroughly. Spain is a nightmare. A fierce awakening cannot long be delayed.

NANCY CUNARD

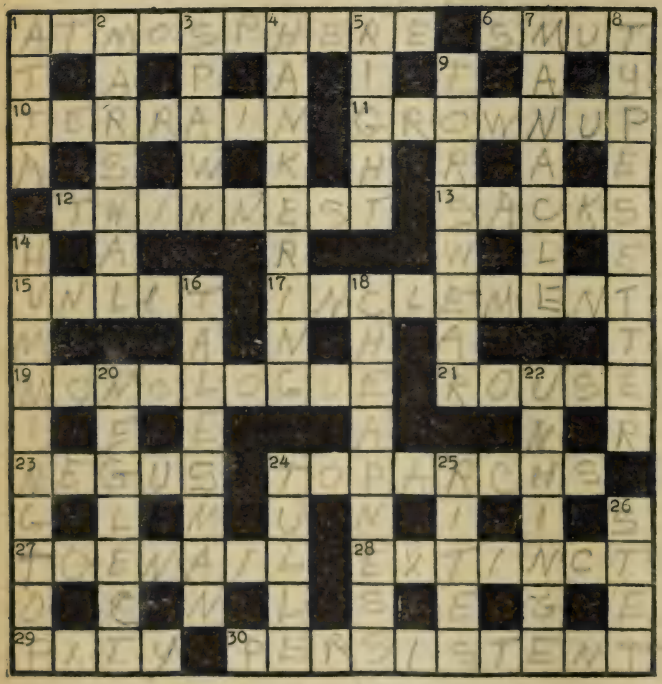
Bourg Madame, France, September 20

Ask Christmas Amnesty

Dear Sirs: Now that the army has declared a draft holiday and it is virtually certain that the Selective Service Act will be suspended until it expires on March 31, 1947, it would seem that no excuse remains for keeping conscientious objectors charged with violation of the act in prison. Yet at the moment of writing about a thousand still remain

Crossword Puzzle No. 186

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Moral environment of pater's home after it was broken up
6 Sooty speck
10 Geological rocks yielding rare tin
11 Alice found herself very quickly this as a result of eating a cake (5 - 2)
12 Most transparent
13 They have mouths but no appetite, though often distended with food
15 In France a bed has no illumination
17 Fifty in a hard fix are unfavorable
19 By no means a conversation piece
21 Even roues may, late in the day
23 Drunk as a loyal toast by Ethiopians?
24 Principal men unconnected with stage or screen
27 Elation (anag.)
28 Died out
29 Compassion
30 Ten stripes (anag.)

DOWN

1 Indian flour — oh, boy!
2 He certainly sounds warlike
3 Chessmen into frogs perhaps
4 Longing for little more than a ring of yarn and another ring
5 "A fool must now and then be ----- by chance"
7 Handcuff
8 He composes copy rather like a kind dog
9 Deny upon oath
14 The head of a prizefighter when he's sent spinning? (7 and 3)
16 A juror
18 Jack trades on it
20 Slight
22 Unsettle
24 Veiling that is not very veiling
25 Religious usages
26 Proofreader's direction

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 185

ACROSS:—1 VOLTAIRE; 5 ULTIMO; 10 LET'S OUT; 11 HOTHEAD; 12 RUSSE; 13 RECKONING; 14 AROSE; 16 SISTERLY; 19 STATISTS; 22 POSER; 24 GREENLAND; 26 INDIA; 28 STOICAL; 29 TREBLED; 30 SLEWED; 31 CRISTATE.

DOWN:—1 VALERIAN; 2 LATHS; 3 ATONEMENT; 4 RETURNS; 6 LOTTO; 7 ICE FIELDS; 8 OLD AGE; 9 CHICKS; 15 ON THE MOVE; 17 EMPTINESS; 18 ORGANDIE; 20 STABLE; 21 SEDATER; 23 AGISTS; 25 NICHE; 27 DELTA.

in the federal jails, the great majority of them Jehovah's Witnesses.

Furthermore, the five thousand or more who have been released are still branded as felons and consequently deprived of important civil rights in many states and barred from the professions. A Presidential amnesty to all objectors to war and conscription is the one way promptly and comprehensively to remedy this situation.

The Committee for Amnesty, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, New York, calls on all who believe in democracy and religious freedom to wire or write the President and Attorney General Tom Clark *during Thanksgiving week* asking them to proclaim a Christmas amnesty.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
A. J. MUSTE

New York, October 22

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

SINCE OPA WAS CLEARLY DYING FROM THE multiple wounds inflicted on it in the past four months, the President was well advised to put it out of its agony. Once controls had been abandoned over a wide area of the economy, it was not possible to maintain them in other sections. That could only lead to the diversion of materials and labor from the production of articles subject to ceilings to those enjoying a free market. Moreover, once it was certain that controls were on the way out, it was natural for producers still under ceilings to hold goods off the market until they would be free to charge higher prices. With both production and inventories at new post-war peaks, the effects of the President's move on the general price level may be less serious than many people fear. In some lines, where shortages remain serious, prices will rise sharply, but since it is probable that over-all production pretty nearly balances total available purchasing power, such increases will reduce the capacity of consumers to absorb other goods. Hence, prices of articles which are relatively plentiful, or the consumption of which is postponable, may tend to decline: that is to say, there is reason to expect a period of sharp price fluctuations in both directions rather than a sharp jump in the cost of living.

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THE GRAVEST DANGER ARISING FROM THE abandonment of controls is its probable effect on the housing situation. Although rent ceilings are to remain, Mr. Truman indicated that they would probably have to be raised, and the real-estate interests will certainly now redouble their efforts to boost revenues. Yet a rise in rents would give a justified impetus to demands for higher wages and prove the surest way of setting off an inflationary explosion. OPA investigations have shown that, thanks to 100 per cent occupancy rates and to reductions in service, most landlords are in a better position than before the war. Only if and when prices as a whole move to a substantially higher level, should they be permitted to raise rents. Meanwhile, it is all too probable that veterans will be forced to pay more for new houses, even though the $10,000 ceiling is to be maintained for the present, together with the system of priorities and allocations designed to channel building materials into low-cost housing. Thanks partly to measures taken in the past year by Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt, production of some building materials has been greatly expanded. But adequate supplies of many essentials are still lacking, and a free market may well increase the difficulty of their procurement. For instance, although the steel industry is operating practically at capacity, demand is far from satisfied. Manufacturers of the many building components made of steel may therefore be forced to pay more for it in order to outbid the hundred and one other steel-using industries. That kind of thing is going to add to housing costs and so is the shortage of skilled workmen, to secure whom many contractors have been paying illegal premiums above union scales. In these circumstances, it is going to be hard to avoid an increase in maximum prices for houses; it will be impossible unless restrictions on non-essential building are rigidly maintained.

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THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY HAS LED TO A good deal of despondency and alarm in Europe. Of course, it is understood that foreign policy in many important aspects has bi-partisan support in this country and was not an issue in the election. However, as James Reston has pointed out in the New York *Times*, the Republicans have underwritten the political phases of the Administration's international program but are not committed to its economic phases. The British loan, for instance, was opposed by a majority of Republicans in both houses, and there is no reason to suppose that the G. O. P. has lost its faith in high tariffs. It is extremely doubtful whether the new Congress would be willing to ratify an International Trade Organization charter framed in accordance with the State Department's draft now under discussion in London. Of course, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, against which a majority of Republicans voted, remains in effect until 1948 unless repealed—an unlikely contingency since not enough votes could be mustered to overcome a Presidential veto. But knowledge that there is no guaranty of permanence in the lower-tariff trend which began in 1933, may make

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the eighteen foreign countries with which multiple negotiations are to begin next April chary of granting concessions. Moreover, a Republican Congress is going to hamper American economic foreign policy in another way. In Britain, the Dominions, and many European countries it is a firmly held conviction that the greatest obstacle to economic cooperation with the United States is not the tariff but the fundamental instability of America's economy. The rush to abandon controls which we may now expect and the hostility of the Republicans to economic planning are likely to induce efforts by foreign countries to insulate themselves from the next American depression. Nothing could be less reassuring to the world at large than Mr. Hoover's pronouncement that America is "again moving to the goal of free men" in which he so successfully imprisoned us during his Presidency.

*

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE ONLY white men enjoy the rights of citizenship, wishes to annex the territory of Southwest Africa (which it has held under a League of Nations mandate since the last war) and so obtain a new supply of native helots to work in its fields and mines. Supporting this proposal in a committee of the U. N. Assembly, Marshal Smuts, South African Premier, declared that the native population of the territory had been consulted by special commissioners and that a large majority had indicated approval. What he did not explain was that only tribal chiefs and headmen, who are subject to removal by government officials, were consulted, which gave the proceedings about the same value as a Hitlerian plebiscite. Marshal Smuts sought to bolster his case by favorably comparing his country's procedure with that of Russia when it annexed the Baltic states without consulting "the comity of nations." While two wrongs do not make a right, it is worth noting that the inhabitants of the Baltic states enjoy full Russian citizenship. But with what rights and privileges will the 300,000 natives of Southwest Africa be endowed after annexation? E. S. Sachs, prominent South African labor leader, answers that question on page 554. They will enjoy the right to be indentured for work in the mines at a cash wage of 35 to 45 cents a day, the right to live in segregated areas, the right to go to church provided employers consent to sign a pass, the right to be represented in Parliament by a white man. How Marshal Smuts, a godly man, reconciles racial dictatorship in South Africa with the U. N. Charter is a secret known only to him and his maker. But whatever arguments he may offer in defense of his proposals, the U. N. should flatly refuse to extend South African rule until present conditions of discrimination are ended. The United States ought to be leading this fight: unfortunately it has forfeited the opportunity by its own cynical proposals for the Pacific mandates.

WITH WORLD FOOD OUTPUT UP SEVEN PER cent from 1945, most Americans apparently believe that the need for belt-tightening on our part has passed. But recent reports from the International Emergency Food Council and the Department of Agriculture indicate that a new crisis, nearly as severe as last year's, may be expected in the spring. The situation in Austria is particularly grim. Domestic supplies are far below the pre-war level and are sufficient to sustain a daily ration of only 800 calories. Even with UNRRA aid, half of the population has been getting no more than 1,200 calories of rationed food, and the announcement that the amount will be temporarily raised to 1,550, as in Germany, caused great public rejoicing. In the British zone of Germany, substantial imports from the United States have been necessary in order to bring the level of nutrition up to this minimum figure. Elsewhere in Europe, conditions are reported to have improved somewhat over last year, but there are forecasts of possible famine in Rumania because of drought and continued shortages in Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Famine reports have been received from three provinces in South and Central China. For the world as a whole, the current supply of food grains remains 12 to 14 per cent below demand. International shipments of fats and oils are only half of the world demand, and sugar production is still 15 per cent below the pre-war average. Plans to meet next year's crisis are even less adequate than last year's bungled efforts. UNRRA is scheduled to terminate its activities in Europe on December 31, and the proposals for continuing its functions under the U. N. have become hopelessly snarled in politics. If international action proves impossible, the United States, singularly blessed with bumper crops, must be prepared to finance substantial relief shipments for yet another year.

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ASPIRANTS TO WORLD CITIZENSHIP WILL find useful a newly issued, paper-bound, charted, indexed guide to the U. N. This is "The United Nations: A Handbook on the New World Organization," by Louis Dolivet, with a preface by Trygve Lie. The book is a complete yet concise description of the structure of the whole U. N. edifice and the nature of each part. It is published by Farrar, Strauss and Company, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and sold for $1.75.

Coming in The Nation *for November: a fortnightly report from Russia by Alexander Werth, who interviewed Stalin; a look at the resurging Ku Klux Klan by Carey McWilliams; a biting portrait of the "complete AMG officer" by John Pauker, who served with the AMG in Germany.*

Picking Up the Pieces

IT WAS exceedingly shrewd of the Republicans to focus last week's election on the question "Had Enough?" The returns indicate beyond doubt that the voters *have* had enough—but because of the magnificently calculated vagueness of the question nobody can say just what it is that has sated them. Have they had enough jobs, enough protection against the ups and downs of the business cycle, enough security for their bank savings, enough cheap electric power and land reclamation, enough freedom to organize in labor unions, enough cooperation with other nations in the promotion of world peace? Or have they only had enough of weariness after a long and bitter war, of vexations that are an inevitable part of the transition to peace, of that sagging of the spirit in high places and in low that marks the end of a monumental national effort?

The Republicans are in power now and free to interpret the results as they choose. But in spite of the magnitude of their victory, they will be taking a long chance if they ignore the emotional reaction of a tired people in favor of a strictly political interpretation; if, in short, they flatly assume that they have a mandate to destroy the achievements of the Roosevelt era. They won control of Congress not because the country longed for Republicanism—whatever that might be— but because in almost every state in the country a vote for the G. O. P. was the only way in which a hazy discontent could be expressed. Where this was not the case, as in New York, the minority parties of the left ran up impressive totals. The American Labor Party had one of its best years, the Liberal Party won a place on the ballot with a substantial vote of 181,000, and even the Communists enjoyed a boost to almost twice their usual modest return. It is worth noting, too, that in a number of cases victorious Republicans had campaigned, some genuinely and some strategically, on more or less liberal platforms. Typical of this group are Senators-elect Thye of Minnesota, Ives of New York, and Flanders of Vermont; and Representatives-elect Bender of Ohio, Javits of New York, and Fulton of Pennsylvania.

Whatever the motivations of the voters, the returns are admittedly devastating in their effects on Congressional personnel. On the thin credit side of the ledger are the victories of McGrath, elected to the Senate from Rhode Island, and the return to that body, all by narrow margins, of Kilgore, O'Mahoney, and Chavez—the triumph of the Senator from New Mexico being welcome primarily because it spares us the spectacle of Pat Hurley in action on Capitol Hill. We are grateful, too, for the return of a quartet of California liberals—Havenner, Holifield, King, and Helen Gahagan Douglas —though such other good Californians as Tolan, Outland, Voorhis, Healy, Doyle, and Izak will be missed.

Melvin Price (Ill.) and Mike Monroney (Okla.) narrowly escaped defeat, and Denver succeeded in bucking the tide by replacing a Republican with John Carroll, a progressive Democrat. So did Worcester, Massachusetts, which dropped a conservative isolationist in favor of H. D. Donahue, a Democrat indorsed by the P. A. C.

That about completes the good news of November 5. Connecticut's four liberal Democrats are out—a particularly sad loss in the cases of Herman Kopplemann and Mrs. Chase Woodhouse. Emily Taft Douglas, of Illinois, is to be replaced by William G. Stratton, an extremist of the McCormick school. And Martha Sharp in Massachusetts took a bad trimming at the hands of Joe Martin, who will now ascend to the Speaker's chair. Other important casualties in the House are Hook and Rabaut of Michigan, James Delaney of New York, Flood of Pennsylvania, Neely of West Virginia, Biemiller of Wisconsin, and Coffee and Savage of Washington.

In the Senate, such stalwarts as Tunnell, Murdock, Mitchell, and Guffey are gone, as well as such milder New Dealers as Huffman and Briggs. Potential Senate liberals like Rogers, Donart, Lehman, Erickson, McMurray, and Bunker were swamped in the Republican tide and will have to try again. Meanwhile, the Taft-Wherry-Butler nucleus of diehard Republicans in the Senate will expand to take in such luminaries of the right as Martin, Baldwin, and Lodge from the Atlantic states; Kem, Jenner, Bricker, and McCarthy from the Middle West; Ecton and Dworshak from the Mountain States; and Watkins and Cain from the Far West.

Without attempting to minimize the gravity of the shift in Congress, it is still possible to see in the Republican sweep a paradoxical ray of hope: the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats which so bedeviled both Roosevelt and Truman is not likely to survive for long. The Southerners could indulge in this device as long as their own party was in power. With committee chairmanships and patronage safely at their disposal, they could afford to play fast and loose with party regularity. The picture is very different now. They have already lost their chairmanships, and if their party is defeated in 1948 they will lose much of their patronage, too. But that result is precisely the objective of the Republicans, who no longer need their Bourbon allies now that they have a working majority of their own. For a few months, the Coxes, Rankins, and Georges may be expected to help the Republicans frustrate the President. But as we move into the shadow of the 1948 election, they will once more see the advantages of party loyalty.

The point is important not because such solidarity has any ideological advantage for liberals—if anything, the contrary is the case—but because the development could greatly strengthen the hand of a hard-pressed President. The coalition was strong enough to override a veto; the Republican majority alone is not. In this *technical* fact may lie the salvation of Harry Truman. If he uses the veto, and the threat of the veto, with shrewdness and courage, he may get better results from an opposition Congress than from an undisciplined mob of legislators only theoretically controlled by his own party. He has the choice of taking a strong lead, with the hope of preserving the prestige of his office and his party, or of allowing the government to wallow for two years in uncertainty—with sure defeat at the end of the road and something like national paralysis en route.

Toward a New Beginning

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE election put a seal on what had happened long before. The era of Roosevelt had declined prior to his death; it had ended when he died. Last week the nation only summarized the accomplished fact, in totals of votes cast, in men elected and men defeated. The unreality of an interlude which deceived no one in spite of pious appeals to the Roosevelt name and tradition was exploded, and the particles came to earth in their natural political shape.

Now, looking back from the vantage point of defeat, we can scrutinize more sharply the era we have lost. We shall be able to see how much of the New Deal was solid gain and is fixed by law and custom beyond possibility of destruction by Roosevelt's successors, how much was vitiated from the start by the inner conflicts of what Henry Wallace still hopefully extolls as "democratic capitalism," and by the necessity of working through a machine so cynically concerned with power and perquisites as the Democratic Party. We can mark the disintegration of many of the Roosevelt reforms under the impact of war, an inevitable process, hastened by the need of appeasing the dominant business interests in the country and by the capture of the chief policy-making jobs in government agencies by Republicans and anti-New Deal industrialists. We can begin to calculate the effect of the immensely increased power over national policy of the military, a normal concomitant of war but no less a danger in any democracy. And, finally, we can trace as if on a military map the retreat of the machine Democrats from advance positions which had become politically exposed into comfortable rearguard posts, sheltered behind the euphemistic camouflage of "bi-partisanship." The Roosevelt era died bit by bit. Now that it has been officially interred, despite the nominal survival of Mr. Truman, progressives are free to abandon both pretense and illusions and get to work laying the foundation for a new beginning.

For they cannot go on living in the shadow of their

great leader or try merely to resurrect and refurbish the New Deal. During the campaign, it was natural that they should have invoked the name, and even the voice, of Roosevelt. It was all they had left to cling to. For the future, it will not be enough. The progressive movement will never be rebuilt on the basis of a program improvised piecemeal to meet the successive crises of a worldwide economic breakdown. Today's problems are different. The New Deal is old and largely out of date. One doesn't prime a pump that is overflowing; one devises means of controlling the surplus—directing it into dry furrows or empty cisterns. One doesn't rest on a system of legislation to protect labor's right to organize and bargain collectively at a time when anti-labor feeling is riding high on a tidal wave of strikes. Instead, one takes a running start and tackles the whole system of wages, prices, and productivity in terms of labor's firmly established power and its right to a voice in the control of industrial production.

These are items. They only illustrate the inadequacy of the old New Deal to cope with the problems created by our incredible post-war productive capacity and our obsolete methods of distributing the things we produce —problems which will be multiplied to incalculable totals when atomic energy begins, sooner perhaps than we think, to be plugged in to the industrial machine. New thinking is needed, new planning for the organization of America's economic life and our relationship with a world in revolution. The Republicans, busy consolidating their new-won gains, busy reducing the few remaining New Deal strong-points, will offer little competition in constructive political ideas; nor will the old-line Democrats, struggling to hold on to a power already lost. The next two years are likely to be a period of futile truce or inter-party bargaining. Nothing better can be expected while, at worst, the country may be plunged into an interlude of reaction expressed in all the ugly forms that marked the years of Harding. Only the progressives, inside or outside the two old parties, will be free to face the necessities of the situation.

Let us not fool ourselves in this hour of appraisal. The routed progressive forces in America are not equipped with a program or even prepared to unite on any program. They have emerged from the election reduced in strength, splintered and dispersed. The old struggle with the Communists in the unions and in the political groups is gathering fresh impetus. Strong leaders are lacking. The most effective men on the liberal wing are themselves so much the children of the pre-war era that they may not be able to provide the ideas and dynamics for a new start. The groups that fought for the election of progressives in this last campaign—the two Political Action Committees, the Independent Citizens' Committee, the Liberals and the Labor Party in New York, various unions and independent voters' groups throughout the country—had only two things to hold them together: the heritage of the New Deal and their fear of Republican rule. No common program; no organizational unity; no effective leadership. Defeated, they must start from scratch, for the fight they have just lost was only the start of a much tougher one ahead.

In some ways it would be a comfort to believe the prediction of the omniscient Alsops, printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* two days after the election, that a left-wing third party was about to emerge from the débâcle. They even reported that the coming organization was already named—the "People's Party." If we could believe all this, at least the present political scene would have more coherence. But it is hard to credit. The only third-party proposal I have heard about is definitely anti-Communist, related to the Liberal Party in New York.

As for the progressive leaders who gathered in Washington last week under the chairmanship of Henry Morgenthau, their tentative proposals for broader coalition definitely excluded the possibility of a third party. A later meeting will be called to develop a plan of co-ordinated action, in and out of Congress. But nothing in the history of the groups involved, or in their leadership, suggests that any systematic social-political program, much less a new party, is in the making.

This was to be expected. Neither the reorientation of ideas demanded by the period we face nor the integration of forces on the left can be hastily improvised. Both will mean hard work by individuals and groups all over the country. In this effort, *The Nation* intends to take an active share. Even before the election, a conference of liberals on the West Coast called by the Nation Associates produced an immense amount of creative thinking on the issues that last week's vote crystallized in such concrete form. We hope to conduct similar discussions in other places. And in the pages of *The Nation* we shall analyze the practical as well as the theoretical problems that confront democratic Americans. Harold Laski's series, beginning in this number, will be a significant contribution to our analysis. Attached to no man or party, we can comment without constraint upon issues and leaders, programs, parties, and strategies. Out of such discussions, in which we warmly invite our readers to join, we shall formulate as the weeks pass *The Nation's* program for a new American progressive movement.

[*Can the progressives regain effective control of the Democratic Party or are they faced with the difficult alternative of attempting to organize a third party? What is the probable future role of Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper? Miss Kirchwey will discuss these questions in next week's issue.*]

The Past Recaptured

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 9

FOR sixteen long and hungry years Republican national headquarters have looked out forlornly over a changing Washington. Housed in a prim, red-brick mansion wedged incongruously between a row of fashionable women's dress shops and a cafe, the Republicans have marked time in an atmosphere as decorous and nostalgic as an old lady's home. Tuesday night the famine was over. By nine o'clock sleek limousines were gliding down Connecticut Avenue and stopping before the mansion. Well-dressed elderly men and women stepped gaily into the hall, giggled at the sign, "Had Enough? Vote Republican," and hurried into the long room where the posted returns showed a clear sweep.

A special train was rushing through the Midwest on its way to Washington. President Truman and a few friends were listening to the returns. By ten o'clock they knew the worst. The President had lost both the House and Senate. The little world that Harry Truman had inherited on an April afternoon had fallen apart. But if the news undermined the President's stubborn good humor, he gave no hint of it the next morning and waved gaily to people in the Washington station. Since then he has clothed himself in a curious silence.

During the last few days his friends have been trying to draw a new picture of Harry Truman. They are picturing a ruggedly independent man with no strings attached to him, a man who will act clearly and boldly for the good of the nation, let the chips fall where they may. With or without a new Truman there will certainly be changes in downtown Washington. The exodus of men and women who worked under Roosevelt will be accelerated. None of them want to stay for the investigations by Republican-dominated Congressional committees and the lean budgets they must work with.

Only the desperate pleading of Mr. Truman will be able to keep Secretary of War Patterson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, or Postmaster General Hannegan in the Cabinet. Whether Byrnes remains depends upon Vandenberg, who may think it convenient to let Byrnes take the rap for any unpopular decision the Senator pushes on him. More than ever, the Secretary of State will be a creature of Vandenberg.

Patterson and Forrestal have no desire to preside over the inevitable reduction of the army and navy under the Republican budget-cutting program; currently, the top bet for running the War Department is another Missourian, Assistant Secretary for Air Symington. Mournful Lew Schwellenbach knows he would have an almost impossible task to get unions to cool down in the face of restrictive labor legislation. The Agriculture Department will be run by the House and Senate agriculture committees, and even Clinton Anderson, for all his good humor, does not look forward to that; Under Secretary Dodd is a possibility for his position. Bob Hannegan was tired of Washington long before the elections.

On the Hill Vandenberg will be the honorary G. O. P. leader as president pro tem of the Senate. He does not care for the more active and trying role of floor leader. A big scrap is already developing over this job, with the dyed-in-the-wool conservative Kenneth Wherry and the liberal Wayne Morse both out to chop down Bob Taft. Wherry has never forgiven Taft for approving the compromise OPA bill after getting his formula for manufacturers included, while farm products were left to the discretion of a decontrol board. Morse considers Taft an old-line reactionary. Actually, Taft will be something of a divided personality in the Eightieth Congress. Conservative as he is, he has a coldly logical mind to which liberals can appeal. And he is a candidate for President. The great test of whether the Republican Party can enfold liberals will come with the selection of the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. The ranking man, Arthur Capper, is too old—he will soon be eighty-one. The next in line is George Aiken of Vermont, who has never sought to hide his admiration for many New Deal programs and personalities.

In the House it is a cinch that Joe Martin, loyal member of the Old Guard, will be Speaker, but the real power will be down on the floor in the majority leader. Two men are after the job—the big and noisy Clarence Brown of Ohio and Charles Halleck of Indiana, a keen strategist. Brown is the more popular of the two, but it is generally acknowledged that Halleck is the smartest G. O. P. back-room operator in Washington. John Taber, who hates to see a Democrat spend a dollar of public money, will be chairman of the Appropriations Committee. This means that every bureau downtown will have to kneel and grovel for funds. Jesse Wolcott who directed the attack on the OPA, will run the Banking and Currency Committee. If there are any controls left by January, Wolcott will get rid of them in short order Charles Eaton, the white-haired and gentlemanly doctor, will head the Foreign Affairs Committee and will follow the line laid down by Senator Vandenberg. J. Parnell Thomas, red-faced friend of John Rankin, will be in a seventh heaven all his own, running the Un-American Activities Committee. Harold Knutson, the grumpy conservative and isolationist from Minnesota, will sit on the

tax policy. There will be one good effect of the elections. Edith Nourse Rogers, a great champion of the disabled veteran, will head the Veterans' Committee.

The Republican program is no mystery. Taxes will be cut, perhaps 20 per cent. The federal budget will be cut as much, if not more, with particular emphasis on army, navy, and occupation costs. Whether the United States will be able to have any occupation program in Germany or Japan is doubtful. The Republicans are already working on restrictive labor legislation. Senator Joe Ball has a handful of bills which would outlaw the closed shop and emasculate the Wagner act.

The only positive suggestion for a way out of the dilemma of the next two years has been advanced by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas. He wants Mr. Truman to appoint a Republican Secretary of State and then resign. He believes the G. O. P. should have full responsibility for government. Otherwise, said Fulbright, "each party will try to blacken the other. . . . The long-term effect will be to create the impression that democratic processes are bad and all its officials are blackguards. This will not do the democratic system any good."

Both the White House and the Republicans are wildly unenthusiastic about the Fulbright proposal. The President's friends think it is insulting to him, and the Republicans say Fulbright is trying to put them on the spot.

This morning one of the reporters gathered in the White House lobby waiting for the Cabinet meeting to break up gave a good description of the atmosphere since Tuesday. He called it, "an air of desperate futility."

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Trusteeship: Military Model

Lake Success, November 9

THE draft trusteeship and agreement for the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific which the United States government transmitted on November 6 for the information of the ten other members of the Security Council, as well as of New Zealand and the Philippines, is hardly the *beau geste* which friends of both this country and the U. N. had been hoping for. Under the draft agreement the United States would become sole trustee for the three groups of islands—Marshalls, Carolinas, and Marianas—and would have administrative, legislative, and jurisdictional authority over the territory "as an integral part of the United States."

The mandated islands, however, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, would be designated a strategic area, which means that the area would be subject to the supervision of the Security Council, except for political, social, and educational matters, with respect to which the Security Council shall "avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council."

The U. N. Charter (Article 82) provides that "there may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies." The United States was thus acting within the terms of the Charter in requesting designation of the Japanese-mandated islands, which played an important part in the strategy of the Pacific war, as a strategic area. The phrase in Article 3 of the draft agreement about administration of the islands as "an integral part of the United States," however, opens the way for the charge by other nations that this constitutes a disguised form of annexation. Also open to criticism is Article 13 of the draft trusteeship agreement, which states that the islands can "from time to time" be specified by the administering authority "as closed for security reasons." By Article 14, however, the United States undertakes to apply in the trust territory the provisions of appropriate international conventions. This can be interpreted to mean that if an agreement is reached by the Atomic Energy Commission for international inspection, such an agreement would be applicable to the islands.

The draft trusteeship agreement, with its emphasis on national security, obviously represents an attempt to effect a compromise between the views of the State Department, which favored trusteeship by the U. N., and those of the War and Navy departments, which demanded outright annexation. The State Department deserves credit for its unremitting efforts to have this country fulfil the spirit and not merely the letter of the Charter concerning trusteeship. Praise, too, should be given to John Foster Dulles, American spokesman on the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly, who pressed the Administration to break the silence it had maintained on the subject—a silence that made it highly embarrassing for Mr. Dulles to urge other nations holding mandated territories (Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) to submit draft agreements concerning their territories, and thus clear the way for the creation of the Trusteeship Council. Addressing the Trusteeship Committee on November 7, however, Mr. Dulles made it clear that if the U. N. did not accept the draft agreement submitted by the United States, this country would continue de facto con-

trol of the mandated islands. As the French say, *"C'est le ton qui fait la chanson."* The United States would in any case have retained control over the islands. But by making its claim in a different tone, it could have displayed the kind of moral leadership that is sorely lacking in the General Assembly.

Of far-reaching political significance was another statement made by Mr. Dulles in connection with trusteeship, when he defined a phrase in the Charter that has given headaches to international experts. This is the phrase in Article 79 which states that "the terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the *states directly concerned.*" Previous discussions had indicated that Russia considered itself in the category of "states directly concerned" and might invoke its veto power in the Security Council to prevent acceptance of draft agreements covering former League mandates or other non-self-governing territories that might be placed in trust with the U. N.

Mr. Dulles made it plain that this country, while regarding itself as "directly concerned" in the disposal of mandated territories, notably in the Near East and Africa, would waive the right to veto proposed agreements provided other states—and that meant Russia—did likewise. The American proposal as outlined by Mr. Dulles is that the Trusteeship Committee should establish a small subcommittee to hear the views of all interested countries on proposed trusteeship agreements, and that after asking the views of the mandatory power on proposed amendments it should report to the General Assembly on whether or not a given agreement ought to be accepted. This procedure would avoid the ticklish decisions as to what states are "directly concerned" but would permit all interested parties to be heard. Opposition to this proposal is expected not only from Russia, which would stand to lose another forum for the expression of its views on colonial questions, but also from the Arab nations, which consider themselves "directly concerned" in the British mandate over Palestine.

The American Political Scene

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

I. The Case of Harry Truman

London, October 30

TO THE foreign observer of the American scene, the outstanding characteristic of the landscape is the absence of effective leadership. There is nowhere any clear sense of direction. There is a confused babel of noises from which emerges no decisive note. The White House may have the best of intentions, but Americans watch it rather to see the mistakes it will make than to hope for the guidance it might offer. In any serious sense the Cabinet has ceased to exist. If it meets from time to time, there is no evidence to suggest either that it is asked for or that it attempts the formulation of coherent policy. The Congress may have taken the bit between its teeth, but no one can say where it is going except that it will not follow, if it can help it, any road down which the President is going. Little seems left of that deep national interest in the activities of Washington which, in the era of Franklin Roosevelt, made the White House the inescapable center round which the effort of the nation was built.

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It can never be repeated too often that without Presidential leadership the American political system intensifies every centrifugal possibility a society can seize. The separation of powers in the American Constitution has always offered the Congress an interest divided from, if not antagonistic to, that of the President. After twelve years in which the legislative has been very obviously subordinate to the executive power it is perhaps natural enough for Congress to seek some redress of the balance. But it is no serious part of the inherent genius of Congress to offer a coherent lead. It is too little a really unified body, too much a divided empire within which there are separate provinces almost incapable of systematic articulation, to work out a plan of action which seeks to cover the whole realm of policy. The Congress, to put it briefly, is hardly organized to be a body with one predominant mind. It knows how to be against something; even more, it knows how to be against someone. It has learned with considerable effectiveness how to be an organ of critical investigation. But the very fact that it is separated in a final way from the executive process is fatal to any effort on its part to formulate policy as a coherent whole.

It was not to be expected that President Truman would possess the authority of his predecessor. He lacked both his overwhelming prestige and his unique experience; even his years in the Senate had given him no intimate sense of the range of Presidential activity or of the

speed with which decisions are required. He inherited a body of massive problems, both international and domestic, with but few of which he had any serious acquaintance. His obvious good-will was no substitute for his equally obvious lack of experience. He showed fairly soon that he did not know how to build a team of advisers whose collective counsel would be an efficient substitute for his own inner uncertainties. He was too easily tempted to believe that the men whom he knew well would be able out of their friendship to compensate for inadequate knowledge of the complex issues he had to face. He had never been trained to lead. He had never been accustomed to mobilize public opinion against a Congress which had taken the bit between its teeth. He did not know how to continue the Roosevelt tradition of insisting that no vested interest could exert an independent authority against the determined will of a President who knew both what he wanted to do and how he wanted to do it. There were always uppermost in his mind, first, the knowledge that he was not the direct choice of the American people for the Presidency, and, second, the inner doubt whether he was fitted for a place he had never sought for himself. In the result, he has not been able to utilize the élan which is inherent in the office itself when, as Theodore Roosevelt showed, it falls unexpectedly to a man who is anxious for its responsibilities.

President Truman is a weak President because he has not the special kind of resolution which makes a strong President. He would like to be on good terms with everyone; he cannot make up his mind that a strong President must begin by realizing that much of his strength consists in his choice of enemies. This irresolution has been made evident most clearly and most painfully in two episodes. It has emerged in his handling of the problem of Palestine. Once he agreed to set up the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, he had obviously acquired a right to share in the decisions to be made about its recommendations. That was even more the case since he was aware that the British Foreign Secretary had given the members of the commission an undertaking to implement its recommendations. His right, moreover, was reinforced by a strong resolution of support for him from both houses of Congress and by the fact that British policy in Palestine was a grim and obvious failure. Yet he allowed himself to throw all his cards away by an irresolute unwillingness to step into the center of the picture and demand that attention for his proposals which would have been commensurate with the influence he might have exerted. He assumed the posture of a dissatisfied complainant when it was open to him to insist upon his right to share in the making of direct decisions. And the weakness of this attitude was the greater because it increased the victimization of the very people he was anxious to assist.

His irresolution over the episode of Mr. Wallace's resignation was even more striking. It is no doubt true that Mr. Wallace, through sheer bad strategy, made both the President's position and his own about as difficult as possible. It is not easy to defend a speech which flagrantly contradicted the policy pursued at Paris by Mr. Byrnes under the obvious authority of the President. It is still less easy to see why the speech was made many weeks after it was likely to alter a direction behind which, for good or ill, was not only the reputation of the Secretary of State but also the support of those Senatorial representatives upon whom President Truman would later have to rely for the approval of the Paris treaties by the Senate.

It ought to have been obvious to Mr. Wallace that his letter and speech alike were mistimed: their relevance was to a period before June 15, when Mr. Byrnes began his negotiations in Paris. But whatever the weakness of Mr. Wallace's timing, he was entitled to say that he delivered the speech only after he had obtained the permission of the President to do so. Neither the speech nor the letter which preceded it was in any sense an act of disloyalty to the Administration. Their implications were crystal clear. They meant a root-and-branch rejection of the major principles of Mr. Byrnes's foreign policy. But that foreign policy was not only that of the President himself; it was also, at least by inference, supported by Senators Connally and Vandenberg and thus the policy which later both parties in the Senate would ratify. It therefore followed that Mr. Wallace's speech not only revealed a deep rift within the Cabinet but also, in so far as it had Presidential approval, was a direct censure upon the official Administration policy in Paris.

President Truman could not have it both ways, though for a few days after Mr. Wallace's speech it seemed as if he was very anxious to have it both ways. To the outsider he appeared to want to retain Mr. Wallace, in part as the main remaining symbol of the Roosevelt tradition and in part as his chief link with the labor support so vital to the strength of his Administration. But that would have had three important consequences. It would have cast doubt upon the authority of Mr. Byrnes as the chief American negotiator at Paris; it would have been tantamount to a Presidential repudiation, especially after their protest, of Senators Connally and Vandenberg; and it would have left the world in grave doubt about the substance of American foreign policy. If, in short, there

are two announced and conflicting tendencies in the President's Cabinet, where decisions have to be taken, he must choose between them. President Truman did not need to ask for Mr. Wallace's resignation, but his only practical alternative was to invite the resignation of Mr. Byrnes, with the high probability that this would be followed at least by that of Senator Vandenberg.

No one can have watched the curious maneuvers of the few days between Mr. Wallace's speech and the President's request for his resignation without seeing that Mr. Truman was striving hard to avoid the choice to which he was driven. But no one can fail, either, to see that the President himself, by permitting Mr. Wallace to make the speech, had created the position in which the choice was inescapable. And the observer was left in the difficulty of not knowing whether the President's choice was made because he approved of Mr. Byrnes's policy or because he thought its rejection would lead later to difficulties—with a Senate of unknown composition—which he might not be able to overcome. The unmistakable outcome of this curious episode was to create doubt as to whether the President had any clear mind of his own in the vital realm of international affairs.

He followed events; he did not lead them. That was shown in dramatic fashion in matters of major domestic importance. His handling of the threatened railroad strike showed that he had no clear sense of direction in the field of labor; he trusted to the chance that some improvised compromise would emerge. His handling of the maritime strike was lamentable since it jeopardized, through the hold-up of supplies, the whole process of world economic recovery and the safety of those stricken countries which are dependent upon UNRRA for maintaining something like a decent standard of living. His abject surrender of price control over the issue of the meat shortage carried with it the clear implication that the forces of big business had now been given their head. His plaintive denunciation of their selfish neglect of the common well-being did nothing to remedy the fact that he did not know how to control a situation in which prices would obviously rise and the workers fight desperately for increased wages to keep as close as might be to rising prices. The President did not seem to know, as his predecessor had known, how to organize the support he could have obtained for the continuance of price control if only he had offered evidence that he proposed to fight. The truth literally was that he did not enter the battle until he had already lost it. What was worse, he did not even lose it in such a way that the responsibility for the results of his defeat would be placed where it belonged. The main public emotion which followed the abrogation of the controls was not the sense that he had been fighting men who were plainly in the wrong but that he had never really entered the battle with a serious will to victory.

If the President of the United States is unwilling to lead, there is no one who can take his place as leader: that is a clear corollary of the American system of government. The Cabinet cannot lead because it has no coherent existence unless it serves a President who makes his purposes plain. The Congress cannot lead because both its constitutional position and its traditional habits make it essentially an instrument of negative control rather than of positive direction. The political parties cannot lead, partly because they are incomplete alliances of divergent interests, and partly because the enforced unity of a Presidential campaign is required to make their direction clear to the electorate. Nor is there any power in any private citizen or organization, however important, to do more than compete for a public attention the interest of which is centered, not upon those who seek for influence, but upon those who have the power to decide. If the President does not know what to do, the American system leaves a vacuum which his hesitation allows to be filled by pressure groups lacking, perhaps, any regard for the public need; and these groups may seek to prevent his later recovery of the initiative, of which he should never lose hold.

We are only now beginning to see the price that not merely the United States but the whole world has to pay for Mr. Roosevelt's death. In a period of continuing crisis no voice speaks for the American people with unchallengeable authority. It may be true that President Truman is anxious to preserve the heritage of his predecessor and to carry on his policies; no one need doubt the benevolence of his purposes or his appreciation that the times are serious. What is lacking is the sense that the President has, in any realm of policy, clear objectives he is seeking to reach. In the absence of such defined objectives the political scene has become a bewildering chaos of competing voices which prevents the United States from acting with a directness and intelligibility proportionate to its strength. Where, under Mr. Roosevelt, the ship of state was bound for a recognizable destination, under Mr. Truman no one quite knows whose hands have grasped the helm or for what port they propose to steer. Everyone waits for signals which do not come.

It is not clear what America proposes to do in Germany or the Far East; it is not clear how far its responsibilities will be engaged in the Middle East and Southeastern Europe; it is not even clear how genuinely it is seeking for a *modus vivendi* with Russia. If America's proposals for the control of atomic energy are reasonably plain and, at least in essence, an admirable basis for discussion, the meaning of its demand for bases, its experiments at Bikini, and the use of its navy and its air force raise complicated questions. So, too, do its decision to withhold help not merely from states like Poland, where it doubts the validity of proposals for free elections, but

from Czechoslovakia, whose friendliness to Russia has in no wise impaired the reality of its democratic institutions. On the international plane at least it is difficult to argue that there is any single principle of action round which American policy is built. Rather does that policy emerge as a patchwork quilt the bits and pieces of which are put together without any attempt at a uniform pattern. Yet it is a uniform pattern in American policy that the world most needs if it is to settle down with the speed that is urgent for recovery from the impact of war.

The absence of a single principle of action is not less noticeable in the American domestic scene than in the international. The President has lost the initiative in Congress and with it the moral ascendancy he requires over his own party. He compels the attention of public opinion, but he has lost the certainty that he can mobilize it. If he has not broken with labor, he has at least subjected their relations to an acute strain. When the Congressional elections are over, he will still have to make up his mind whether he will seek to be the Democratic candidate in 1948 and, if so, whether he will run on a platform which would entitle him to stand as Mr. Roosevelt's legitimate heir. If he decides not to run, he must at least seek a way through the present confusion which will enable his party to enter the campaign of 1948 with enough inner unity to have some prospect of success. At the moment, certainly, it looks as if his failure to give a lead had prepared that atmosphere of disillusion and inertia in which a fatigued electorate expresses its dissatisfaction in the choice of a wholly negative candidate like the late President Harding.

It would be a disastrous choice both for America and for the world. But it is pretty certainly an inevitable one unless Americans, in the next two years, are offered a recognizable choice between liberalism and reaction. For if there are to be two more years in which the direction is uncertain, the principles blurred, the leadership hesitating, the party machines will fall back on that vicious principle of "availability" which turns a Presidential election into a gamble with an unpredictable outcome. That would be a major misfortune, the consequences of which might well be disastrous.

The one thing the world now needs is that powerful states should adequately assess their responsibilities and take proportionate action about them. That requires the kind of leadership which is not afraid either of great purposes or of great experiments made in their name. It is the doubt whether President Truman has grasped this necessity that is giving the initiative in American politics to the very influences over whom Mr. Roosevelt was four times victorious. It is urgent for President Truman to realize that nothing less than this is at stake in the next two years. Somehow, that is the battle for which his forces must be prepared.

The Mufti's New Army

BY ANDREW ROTH

Jerusalem, October 25

A NEW factor is increasing the danger of explosion in Palestine's supercharged atmosphere. As you skirt the barbed wire and dodge the armored cars that fill the Holy City you see a profusion of uniforms—the olive drab of the famous Sixth Air-Borne, the kilts of a Highland outfit, the red shoulder patches of General Anders's Poles, and the tall, Turkish-style hats of the Palestine police. But the most menacing is the plain khaki of two newly organized Arab para-military bodies —the Nejada (Rescuers) and the Futuwa (Power). They pretend to be nothing more than older Boy Scouts, but obviously they hope to be the Arab answer to the Irgun and the Haganah.

ANDREW ROTH, author of "Dilemma in Japan," is on his way to the Far East and sending regular reports to The Nation *from his stops along the way. His last article was on Egypt. His next will be a study of Jewish and Arab leftist movements.*

The Futuwa and the Nejada together, with their fewer than 10,000 young men, are much smaller than the Jewish groups and are inferior in organization and training. Some persons therefore minimize their importance and the "anti-Zionist boycott" which they have been supporting. A favorite story in Palestine today is about three Arabs who entered a Jewish musical-instruments shop in Haifa. After the usual bargaining they bought a trumpet and then asked if they could leave by a rear door which opened on a little-used alley. The manager refused this request but made no objection when one man went around to the alley and received the trumpet from his friend through a back window. Some hours later an Arab parade passed by, complete with brass band. Among the leaders was our friend the trumpeter, marching under a banner which proclaimed, much to the amusement of the Jewish shopkeeper: "Boycott all Zionist goods!"

Any amusement over the Nejada and the Futuwa should have ceased at the end of September when it became known that the two groups were being fused and were holding secret meetings in a walled villa in Alex-

andria under the tutelage of Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. In the hands of the Mufti, who is probably the most dangerous firebrand in the Arab world, even a few thousand men can be extremely powerful. He is reported to have had only 1,500 regulars at his disposal in the Arab rebellion of 1936-39.

Any activities directed by the Mufti are bound to arouse Palestine's Jewish population to a high pitch of fury. They know of his anti-Semitic utterances over the Axis radio during the war, including the 1944 broadcast in which he shrilled: "Arabs! Rise as one and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history, and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you." The Hebrew press here has reported very extensively the discovery by the American army in Germany of conclusive documentary evidence that the Mufti constantly goaded the leading Nazis to speed up the extermination of Jews in gas-chambers in order to reduce the number who might want to emigrate to Palestine.

Jews and Arabs alike are more than suspicious about how the Nejada and Futuwa came into being. Neither body makes any secret of the fact that they have arms and are practicing their use. Members are given their uniforms free and wear them openly. This is strange, for according to the *Official Gazette* of November 15, 1945, it is a crime punishable by life inprisonment to wear "any article of clothing or other article likely to be mistaken for any [foreign] uniform," and the Nejada-Futuwa uniforms are American army surplus. Furthermore, in the *Official Gazette* of February 21, 1946, the High Commissioner published the decree that "no person shall, except under the authority of a written permit granted by the Inspector General of Police, wear in public any distinctive dress or article of clothing or emblem . . . which indicates or purports to indicate that the wearer thereof belongs to any social or political organization." These groups are definitely political organizations since they pledge allegiance to the Arab Higher Executive Committee.

At a recent press conference in Tel Aviv, Richard Stubbs, the British spokesman here, announced that the High Commissioner had decided not to apply at present the clause in the Defense Regulations concerning the wearing of uniforms, and that only uniforms "likely to be confused with those worn by members of His Majesty's forces" would be considered illegal. When I repeated this to a well-known Arab lawyer in Jerusalem he smiled wrily and told me there were men still in prison who had been jailed in 1936 merely for possessing Boy Scout uniforms. I asked him why he thought the authorities were permitting the formation of the Nejada and the Futuwa, and he replied emphatically: "There are three reasons: first, to provoke Arab-Jewish conflict; second, to act as a check on leftward developments among the Arabs; and third, to prepare Arab forces for an eventual war with Russia." He told me that as an old friend of the Mufti he was asked to join the Futuwa but had refused, saying, "If you really wanted to fight for Palestine's liberation you would be organizing an underground army."

The suspicion that these organizations are being formed with the agreement, if not at the instigation, of the British authorities is based not only on British willingess to waive the ban on uniforms and to ignore the possession of arms but also on the type of Arabs sponsoring them. The Futuwa is headed by Kamil Arekat, who is the son of an Arab police official and was himself an inspector in the C. I. D.—which everyone here refers to as "the Gestapo." Its political sponsor is Jamal Husseini, the Mufti's nephew. When he was returned to Palestine by the British from his detention in Rhodesia he had hardly alighted from his plane before he began bitter attacks on the Zionists. Arab leaders noted that he was not attacking the British policy as he used to and tried to discover just what was his new line. Most of them concluded that he was only a slightly disguised salesman for an Anglo-Arab alliance, and as a result his prestige is badly damaged. The younger generation of Arab nationalists feel that British domination is a much more important enemy than Zionism.

The suspicion of a British connection extends to the Mufti himself, and a number of responsible Arabs subscribe to the belief that the authorities are preparing his return to Palestine as a safely anti-Soviet Arab leader when the time is ripe. They point out that as long ago as January British political intelligence officers in this area were urging the Mufti's "escape" from Paris to Egypt or the Lebanon. It is also noteworthy that during his stay in Alexandria the Mufti has allowed himself to be interviewed in person for publication only by the London *Times* Middle Eastern correspondent, Brigadier Cyril D. Quilliam, who happens to have been Britain's chief intelligence officer in the Middle East during the war.

The Mufti is much more clever than Jamal Husseini and has not yet given any open sign that he has come to an agreement with Britain. He still has tens of thousands of fervent supporters in Palestine who will flock into the Nejada and the Futuwa if he gives the word. What is encouraging, however, is the degree of skepticism about the Mufti which exists among the younger, better-educated Arab nationalists. I spent an afternoon discussing the Mufti with young Arabs of varying shades of opinion, and they all supported one of their number who said: "We Arabs have learned in the last few years that our older, wealthier leaders are not dependable fighters for our freedom. They weaken and come to terms if their interests are threatened. We intend to fight the British for our freedom. If the Mufti wants to lead the fight, we are with him. If he doesn't, we'll fight him as well."

What to Do with Neurotics

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

NEVER have I taken a worse beating than after the appearance of my article against placebos in *The Nation* of September 14. Friends stopped me on the street to reproach me, and I was almost overwhelmed by angry, scolding, or insulting letters. There were a few approving ones, to be sure, but—honesty compels the admission—very few. The protests came, with scattered exceptions, from the defendants in the case—that is, from physicians who prescribe placebos; approval was expressed by the victims of such treatment, the patients who had been deceived by placebos.

Most of my colleagues seemed horrified that in this age of psychosomatic medicine I had apparently never heard of neurotic and functional ailments and the need for psychotherapy in medical practice. But I object to this objection. And I refer to a statement by Dr. R. F. Mackey which I quoted in a previous article: "There can be no doubt that the misdiagnosis and mismanagement of the so-called functionally ill patient is the medical scandal of the day."

It is true that the majority of ailments for which medical help is required are caused by or connected with emotional or mental disturbances. My colleagues believe that the use of placebos—suggestion by deceit—is legitimate psychotherapy. I insist that it is cheap and unscientific psychotherapy and that though some immediate good results may be accomplished, there is a possibility of greater harm when the victim perceives the fraud. Who would not lose confidence in a physician after discovering that his prescription was only sugar? And does anybody seriously believe that a neurotic or psychosomatic condition can be as efficiently treated by suggestion as by honest methods of psychotherapy—that is, by thorough investigation of the cause and efforts to correct it?

The emotionally maladjusted citizen is the greatest social calamity of our time and, since citizens are patients, the most vital problem of medical practice. The invasion of neurotic patients into every field of medicine and the tremendous need for psychotherapy cannot be met by placebos. Efficient methods for treating the emotional impact of sickness without the use of fallacious suggestion can be taught, though it must be admitted that the facilities for teaching are sadly lacking. At this moment of crisis, psychotherapy is in a state of complete disorganization.

Dr. G. Brock Chisholm has said that this country needs 20,000 psychiatrists.* Of this number 3,000 are available, and as many as 200 more a year may be produced by existing training facilities. "If the population could remain constant both in numbers and in needs, and if it could be arranged that no psychiatrist would retire or die, there could be enough psychiatrists to meet the treatment needs in about eighty years." This psychotherapeutic reality is, indeed, grotesque. Millions of people need treatment, and only a few thousands can get it—at an exorbitant price and a tremendous sacrifice of time. The hours devoted to psychotherapeutic instruction in our medical schools are appallingly inadequate. Postgraduate training in the field is limited by bureaucratic, financial, and dogmatic restrictions. If psychiatry is to fulfil its urgent social duties, it must develop methods which can be applied to poor and rich, which require a minimum of time, and which can be used by an intelligent and cooperative general practitioner. Preventive psychiatry must be developed into a living science, and social conditions which today are responsible for a mass epidemic of neuroses must be investigated and "treated" by expert psychiatrists.

In the present upheaval of physical and mental unhappiness, we should not forget that the human mind has a miraculous power of balance and survival. Many neurotic symptoms are limited to short periods of personal or social catastrophe and are improved or cured by the patient's own effort as soon as the "emergency" is over. The tendency to start a psychotherapeutic treatment of many years in the presence of such symptoms is full of dangers. Though improvement often cannot be denied, psychotherapy can develop into a lifelong occupation for the patient and finally bankrupt him.

Psychiatrists are of course skeptical about the psychotherapeutic ability of common practitioners, but the results the latter have obtained, even now when so few of them have had special training, speak loudly in their favor. Dr. Peter G. Denker, of the Department of Neuropsychiatry, Bellevue Hospital, New York, has just published an account of 500 cases of severe psychoneurosis, leading to complete disability, that were treated by general practitioners. His investigation showed that there was *no significant difference in the therapeutic success obtained by practitioners, psychiatrists, and psycho-*

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* The National Mental Health Advisory Council recently estimated that 40,000 psychiatrists are needed.

analysts. The result was even slightly in favor of the general practitioners—71 per cent of their cases "apparently cured" within two years of onset against 63 per cent of 1,000 analytical cases. This is most reassuring. It would seem to prove that, up to now, no certain or superior method of psychotherapeutic treatment has been developed. The efficiency of psychotherapy seems to depend on the individual physician's personality and effort rather than on his adherence to a specific school of psychiatric thought.

Psychoanalysts are today scarcer than bacon. There is hardly a chance for a poor neurotic fellow to buy himself a good analyst or to devote as much time to his treatment as would be required by psychoanalytic doctrine. If we recognize the public importance of psychotherapy for our social structure, we must educate more and better psychotherapists in our medical schools and integrate psychotherapy into the general practice of medicine and into our institutions of public health. We shall then have a better chance of overcoming the present wave of mass neurosis—without the harmful help of placebos.

The U. N. and the People of Africa

BY E. S. SACHS

ONE of the declared aims of the Charter of the United Nations is: "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

In 1944 the International Labor Organization, which is now a section of the U. N., held a conference at Philadelphia. Nearly all the nations of the world with the exception of the fascist states were represented, and a document known as the Philadelphia Charter was adopted with great enthusiasm. The charter states as one of its fundamental principles that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity," and that "the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy."

Recent events clearly indicate that the destiny of mankind, and especially of colonial peoples, is being determined not in accordance with the noble principles enunciated at San Francisco and Philadelphia but rather in accordance with more mundane considerations, such as military strategy and "life lines."

The vast African continent has always been a forgotten region. Shamefully divided up among a number of colonial powers, black Africa remains entirely neglected, inarticulate, and friendless. References to Africa in recent months have been almost entirely limited to the strategic importance of Cape Town and Cairo or to the development of air bases on the west coast, huge military centers in the east, and naval bases in North and South Africa. Little thought is given to the terrible fact that between Cairo and Cape Town, Dakar and Mombasa, a hundred million people exist in a state of social misery, political oppression, and economic exploitation.

These hundred million black-skinned members of the human race enjoy no human rights and no fundamental freedoms. They are permitted no voice in determining their own fate. They are compelled to live in primitive tribal backwardness, serving as vast reservoirs of cheap labor for rapacious mine owners and big farmers. Apparently the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity and the ideals of human freedom enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence have only a narrow geographical significance.

For decades the black people of Africa have been "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their foreign overlords. But what is most sinister is the fact that economic development and increased prosperity for investors seem only to bring more misery for the Africans. This is clearly illustrated in the Union of South Africa, by far the most important and, economically and industrially, the most highly developed part of Africa. During the war the Union experienced unprecedented prosperity. Gold mining, the basic industry of the country, makes an annual profit of more than fifty million pounds sterling. Its shares rose in value by several hundred millions in the last two years. Many shares rose 1,000 per cent. The discovery of new gold fields has still further increased the wealth of the industry.

But what about the position of the 400,000 native workers in the mines? This vast conscript army is composed almost entirely of indentured laborers recruited from the native reserves within the Union and in

E. S. Sachs is one of the outstanding trade-union leaders of South Africa. He has been attending the conference of the International Labor Organization at Montreal as a delegate of the South African workers.

adjoining territories. They are forced to live in compounds hundreds and thousands of miles away from their families. They receive rations to keep them fit for work. Even cattle are usually supplied with straw beds, but these workers have to buy their own sacks of straw to lay on their cement beds. Their cash wage ranges from 35 cents to 45 cents a day; it is less today than it was fifty years ago, though the cost of living is up probably 100 per cent.

To keep wages depressed, the Chamber of Mines introduced years ago a pernicious system known as the "maximum average"; this fixes an average daily wage for laborers in all mines which may not be exceeded without penalty. The African Mine Workers' Union tried by peaceful means for several years to obtain a wage increase, but its representations were completely ignored. The right of collective bargaining being denied them, about 50,000 miners went out on strike some months ago. In dealing with this emergency, the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts, who has an international reputation as a liberal, completely forgot the principles of the United Nations Charter which he helped to draft and acted with the ruthlessness that is customary with him in industrial disputes. All available police were mobilized and the strike was speedily settled. About twenty native workers were killed, scores of others were injured, and the leaders of the union were arrested. The workers were forced back into the mines with batons and sjamboks. The Nazis, when they killed their prisoners, often used the term *"auf dem Flucht erschossen"* (shot while trying to escape). The Union government spokesmen are more original and say ingeniously that the Africans were killed "in the course of a stampede."

The situation of the rest of the natives, who number 8,000,000 and constitute four-fifths of the entire population, is shamefully bad. The basic factor in the social and economic policy of that part of Africa south of the Equator is the insatiable demand of mine owners and farmers for cheap labor. In the Union alone more than one million native workers are employed in mining and agriculture. The most inhuman methods have been adopted to deprive the natives of land and to disrupt their means of subsistence, simply to force them to sell their labor to mining magnates and landlords at the lowest price. This policy is having a disastrous effect on the European population, hundreds of thousands of whom have become "poor whites," living in extreme poverty.

The Union government is seeking to incorporate Southwest Africa, over which it has a mandate, within the Union. The question has already been introduced into the discussions of the U. N. There will follow a further request on the part of the Union government for the incorporation of the High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, which are at present ruled by the British Colonial Office.

Southwest Africa was first annexed by Germany in 1884. German colonial policy in that territory was characterized by brutal repression and extermination. The colony was surrendered by the Germans to the Union government in 1915, and on December 17, 1920, the Union obtained a mandate from the League of Nations. The Union of South Africa governs the territory through an administrator, and subject to certain modifications the laws of the Union apply there. The 300,000 natives of Southwest Africa have no voice whatever in the government of the country, and little or nothing has been done to raise their living standards. In 1922 a revolt was put down with the utmost ruthlessness. Just before World War II the territory became a center of feverish Nazi activity.

For the U. N. to sanction annexation now by the Union of South Africa would not only violate the interests of the indigenous population but would clearly indicate the U. N.'s approval of unbridled exploitation of the native peoples of Africa. Southwest Africa cannot be properly considered apart from the whole of southern Africa, and it is high time that the position of all the people of Africa was given consideration by those who are about to try to mold the future of mankind. The tens of millions of downtrodden people of Africa are entitled to know whether they are human beings with a right to continue their material and spiritual development in conditions of "freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity," or whether there is a "color bar" in the Charter of the U. N. and black-skinned people are excluded from its benefits.

Drawings by Nan Ronsheim
Johannesburg

If the basic principles of the U. N. Charter are not to become a mockery, it is imperative that before more millions of Africans are placed under the jurisdiction of the Union government, the condition of these unfortunate peo-

ple be thoroughly investigated and the policy of the Union government clarified. In the course of such an investigation it is to be hoped that more attention will be given to the actual situation than to the lofty liberal statements of Field Marshal Smuts. There is a vast difference between the two.

Black Africa is crying out for justice. Civilized humanity must intervene, for the indigenous peoples of Africa are helpless and have no voice.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THIS is the week our readers get their chance at the typewriter, while the editor sits on the other side of the desk and answers questions.

Dear Sir: One thing that makes me mad is when a good sustaining program is not carried by a local station because it has a program of its own, of inferior quality but sponsored. And while I'm on that subject, why doesn't Station WHCU carry the Saturday afternoon concerts of the Philadelphia Orchestra?
Ithaca, N. Y. ROBERT MARSH

It is true that many stations substitute local commercials for network sustainers, but please be honest about what you call good. Your query about WHCU and the Saturday afternoon Philadelphia concerts has selfish overtones. After all, Cornell University is in Ithaca, and now, during the football season, the students and citizens prefer hearing the play-by-play descriptions of the Cornell games. There are never enough seats at the games to satisfy the demand, and the next best thing is the radio.

Moreover, WHCU goes off the air at sundown. If it were to carry the Philadelphia music after the games, only thirty to forty-five minutes would be left for the program services that usually go through the afternoon; and these services include such essentials as news of the world, what is playing at the local film theaters, and late sports news. When the majority of listeners to WHCU want music instead of the Cornell games they'll get it. Right now they are apparently satisfied with the Philharmonic on Sunday afternoon.

Dear Sir: Can you explain why I must listen to the programs I don't like? B. K. SACHS
Baltimore

Too many of us refuse to listen to programs we think we shall not enjoy. Unlike plays, films, and books, which are generally reviewed by competent critics, radio has few reviewers. So most listeners keep to a few selected programs and don't experiment with others. If we agree that radio is too important to let go its own way without benefit of criticism, then it is worth the effort of lending an ear to the mass-appeal programs. If, having heard the program three times, you still think it is not worth listening to, you can document your distaste and so help radio to raise its standards.

Dear Sir: One of my pet peeves concerning radio is based on the use of accents and "racial" jokes. "Can You Top This?" and Fred Allen's "Alley" bother me most. Immigration has practically ceased. Soon everyone will be American born. Will the accent still be on the air fifty years from now? D. F.
Amherst College

The use of character comics complete with putty nose, baggy pants, and pot belly is as old as the theatrical profession. I wasn't around in the days of Aristophanes, but the butt of all jokes in those days was probably some long-bearded Persian. I do remember the Dutch comic artistry of Weber and Fields, the Scotch comedy of Harry Lauder and Will Fyffe, the Yiddish overtones of Willie Howard, and the pungent "Vass You Dere, Sharlie?" of Jack Pearl.

All of them were popular in the music halls, burlesque, vaudeville, and musical comedy before hitting radio. Today these broad comedy characters are practically passé, even though Ed Gardner has done well with a "dopy Irisher" and Fred Allen has been playing around with Irish brogue.

"Can You Top This?" is staffed by three ex and expert vaudevillians. They could no more do without their Jewish stories than without their cigars. No offense is intended.

The pleasure depends on the expertness of the performer. Fred Allen's "Senator Claghorn" is just as broad comedy as his "Mrs. Nussbaum." They are both well done, and Allen's program is among the first fifteen in the Hooperatings. "Can You Top This?" is often not so well done and ranks forty-fifth in the Hooperating popularity lists.

Dear Sir: At a meeting on Better Radio the fact was deplored that there weren't more good evaluations of radio such as there are for books and drama. . . . The attention of the group was called to what *The Nation* is now doing. The "Worth Hearing" postscript will appeal to many. Personally I wish the time of these programs might be given, as well as the day and network.
LaCrosse, Wis. GERTRUDE R. THUROW

So many network stations put programs on the air at a different time from the network itself—that is, they record the show and play it later—that any attempt to give the time of the network broadcast would, I am afraid, only irritate would-be listeners.

WORTH HEARING

HENRY MORGAN (ABC, Wednesdays). The problem child of radio comes of age with a full-fledged network commercial. Two notches below Fred Allen when it comes to spoofing and debunking sponsors but well worth hearing.

BOB TROUT (CBS, Monday through Friday). One of the best news shows on the air today. Accurate, impartial, and interesting.

MEET THE PRESS (MBS, Fridays). Four top newsmen gang up on a national figure in a weekly press conference that is often more revealing than was anticipated.

BURL IVES (transcribed). Philco is sponsoring the guitar strumming and earthy ballad singing of Burl Ives on most stations. Too much commercial and not enough Burl Ives.

The People's Front

THE French Synarchists founded several other secret organizations, of which the most important was the "Cagoule" (C. S. A. R.—Comité secret d'action révolutionnaire), an extreme rightist military outfit whose members held commanding positions in the army. Pétain and his adviser, Loustaneau-Lacau, joined the C. S. A. R.; General Giraud and Lemaigre-Dubreuil, who pleaded the General's cause before the Americans in North Africa, were at least in contact with the "hooded men."

The Paris uprising of February 6, 1934, represented the first attempt of French synarchism to seize power; although the putschists were forced to retreat somewhat by popular reaction, which swept a people's front government into office in June of that year, they continued to build a fifth column which infiltrated the new administration. Jean Coutrot, whose mysterious death I mentioned in my last article, succeeded in having himself named adviser in the Ministry of Economy headed by Charles Spinasse (who later, during the Vichy regime, turned collaborator and was expelled from the Socialist Party). There Coutrot acted as a veritable provocateur, suggesting to Spinasse a series of ultra-radical and unrealistic measures which could not but discredit the Blum government. At the same time he used his influence to obtain key administrative posts for important Synarchists, notably Branger and Hekking. Coutrot also took advantage of his official position to create a number of research groups which were in fact synarchist cells—the "Ecole d'organization scientifique" of which he became president, the "Centre polytechnicien d'études économiques," and the Centre d'études humaines." Among the members of the last-named organization was the famous Dr. Alexis Carrel, who spent some time in the United States lecturing to university students on subjects which included, incidentally, the evils of democracy and the merits of totalitarianism. When the Third Republic was overthrown in June, 1940, Pétain as Chief of State promptly distributed leading government jobs to the Synarchists.

Like their counterparts in pre-Hitler Germany, French heavy industry, big business, and banking groups financed the synarchist movement from its inception. The *inspecteurs de finances,* who exercised wide powers and enjoyed special prerogatives under the Third Republic, played an important part in this operation. Together with the old Senate and the Quai d'Orsay, they formed the three pillars of French reaction. In 1928 Louis Fourmery, who is believed to have been one of the founders of the M. S. E. and was in any case a ranking member, took a leave of absence from his post as a general finance inspector to negotiate a private deal between the Kuhlman interests in France and the I. G. Farbenindustrie. He returned to his department in 1930 and from that time on promoted collaboration between the various industrialists in Germany who were working to make Hitler Reich Chancellor and those in France who were trying to instal a government headed by Marshal Pétain; if successful, they planned to create a strong Continental bloc aimed at halting the advance of the progressive forces in Europe. The banking firm of Hippolyte Worms put through an agreement, similar to the one concluded by Fourmery, between the Klöckner-Werken A. G. and the French combine of Humboldt-Deutz. Along with the Banque Worms, the Banque d'Indo-Chine went all out to tighten the ties between the German and French cartels and facilitate their joint endeavors to steer National Socialism and synarchism along a parallel course.

Despite the highly secret character of the M. S. E., the following men have been identified as members: Paul Baudoin, director of the Banque d'Indo-Chine and a friend of Mussolini, who with the help of the attractive Hélène de Portès became right-hand adviser to Premier Paul Reynaud in the last months before France's capitulation; Jacques Guérard, a banker who held the post of Ambassador to Lisbon under the Vichy regime; Jacques Barnaud of the Banque Worms, a great favorite with Göring, who was responsible for handing over to the Germans the major French chemical industries headed by the Francolor trust; Jacques Benoît-Méchin, author of a book on the Reichswehr, who was rewarded for his services to the German army by being named a director of the Banque Worms after the 1940 armistice; Pierre Pucheu, Vichy Minister of the Interior and organizer of the Franco-German steel cartel.

Today the M. S. E. is attempting to restore those intimate ties between French and German industrialists which it had so painstakingly built up before the war. It is significant that a former collaborator and Synarchist, M. Filippi, who held the post of Chief of the Financial Department under Pétain, is now General Director for Economic Questions in the French Military Government at Baden-Baden. Perhaps it seems ridiculous to worry about German industrialists at the present time, but it is certain that international big business is already trying to stage a comeback in Germany with the help of American capital.

In his article in the *Schweizer Annalen,* Sordet hints that the main base of operations of the Synarchists is shifting from Europe to the United States, and he names Admiral Leahy, Robert Murphy, and du Pont de Nemours not as members but as individuals they hope to use to make contact with influential Catholic and industrial groups here. The catastrophic defeat suffered by the American progressive forces on November 5 will undoubtedly strengthen the M. S. E.'s conviction that the new center of opposition to every form of collectivism is to be found in this country. The Republican victory will also have a big effect in Latin America; although Mexican sinarquism has until now had no links with the Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire, eventual amalgamation of these para-fascist organizations in the Western Hemisphere is not inconceivable.

DEL VAYO

[*Mr. del Vayo's first article on the synarchist movement appeared on this page last week.*]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Competitors of Coal

IN A counterblast against the latest demands of the United Mine Workers for higher wages and other benefits the National Coal Association has issued a statement which accuses the miners' leader, John L. Lewis, of "digging the grave of his own followers." By winning "still higher wages for still less work" Mr. Lewis, the statement declares, "will destroy the jobs of tens of thousands of them [the miners] by pricing out of the market coal that must be sold if they are to have employment in digging it. The government may . . . sign on the dotted line. It may decree higher maximum prices for coal, thereby giving the mine owners permission to pass along to the consumers new increases in labor costs per ton. But the government cannot compel users of coal to stick to coal."

Mr. Lewis has given no sign that he is impressed by such arguments. He probably believes that in view of the very heavy demand for all fuels at this time, the traffic can bear another round of wage and price increases. For the present, he may consider that there will be plenty of employment for his "boys," who may as well make hay while the sun shines. And, to be sure, the competition of new industries, such as natural gas, is not necessarily a good argument for holding down wages in old ones. Nor is it a certain method of checking the rise of rival industries. Buggy-makers, for instance, might have worked for no wages at all in the early years of this century, but they could not have prevented, or even delayed, the onrush of the automobile.

But if Mr. Lewis sweeps aside the anxieties of the operators, it does not mean that he is indifferent to the threat of competitive fuels. He is well aware of that problem, and he is dealing with it by political methods. Part of the payoff he expects for assistance rendered to the Republicans in the campaign just concluded is undoubtedly a helping hand in throttling the growth of the competitors of coal. These are three in number, putting aside atomic energy as merely a potential rival—oil, natural gas, and water-power. They are all formidable.

In the past thirty years production of coal in this country, both anthracite and bituminous, has increased by roughly 20 per cent; that is to say, it has barely kept in step with the rising population and has been far outstripped by industrial capacity. In the same period oil output from domestic sources has jumped about four and a half times, that of natural gas nearly as much, and hydroelectric power production rather more. During the five years 1916-20 coal accounted for 80 per cent of our energy supplies in terms of British thermal units; in 1943, the latest year for which data are available, its share was only just over 50 per cent. Oil in the earlier period provided about 10 per cent of the total supply; natural gas and water-power each around 4 per cent. In 1943 the respective shares of these fuels were 26 per cent, 10.7 per cent, and 11.8 per cent.

This is not a situation about which Mr. Lewis is likely to be complacent, for it carries a double threat to his union. In times of stress it means increasing pressure on the price of coal; in the event of disputes in the industry it tends to lessen the effectiveness of the strike weapon by offering consumers alternative fuels. It is easy to understand, therefore, why the miners have consistently opposed TVA and similar projects that reduce the effectiveness of their monopoly. Mr. Lewis shares with his Republican friends a distaste for cheap public power.

Similarly Mr. Lewis, however loudly he may thunder at the misdeeds of capitalists on occasion, is more than ready to team up with such capitalist enterprises as the railroads against the common enemy, natural gas. The natural-gas industry, based on what used to be a waste product of the oil fields, is one of the most rapidly growing in the country. At the present time it is expecting to spend $500,000,000 on expansion and has plans filed with the Federal Power Commission for the construction of 6,000 miles of main trunk pipelines. Coal interests allege that completion of all these projects would mean the displacement of 50,000,000 tons of coal annually; railroaders complain of "uneconomic competition" which threatens to deprive them of 25 per cent of their coal freight.

From the national point of view, however, it is very uneconomic to allow natural gas to be wasted, and at the present time enough is being burned up at the source or permitted to escape into the atmosphere to heat from three to five million homes. One proposal for the useful disposition of this gas involves the utilization of the Big and Little Inch pipelines, built during the war to insure oil supplies in the Northeast. More than two months ago seven different bids from companies wishing to convert these lines to natural-gas carriers were submitted to the War Assets Administration, along with a number of offers from other interests which sought to use them as oil carriers. On the meager details that have been published it is hard to say which of the various proposals would be financially most advantageous to the Treasury. But there is little doubt that the public interest would be much better served if the "Inches" were utilized to bring cheap natural gas, which has much greater heating efficiency than manufactured gas, to the New York area.

However, some mysterious opposition has apparently held up action in the War Assets Administration, which is said to favor retention of the pipelines as oil carriers even though there are now plenty of tankers available to bring oil. If this is the final decision, it will be a great victory for Mr. Lewis, who has certainly been using all the influence he can mobilize to keep the New York fuel market for the coal mines. But it will be a defeat for the people of the United States, like every other monopolist's triumph. Mr. Lewis is entitled to get a decent living wage for his miners and to ask that those people who use coal pay a price that will cover such a wage. But he is not entitled to say that consumers must be barred from alternative sources of heat and power any more than the cotton interests are entitled to hinder women from wearing silks and rayons.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Diplomats and Ideologues

WHERE ARE WE HEADING? By Sumner Welles. Harper and Brothers. $3.

SUMNER WELLES'S "Where Are We Heading?" is the most important book published in some time on the subject of United States foreign policy. It is significant in first instance as an informed and intelligent inventory of the leading problems on Secretary Byrnes's agenda, with the relevant facts well marshaled and the comment keen and to the point. But its essential value may well lie in its sustained expression of a point of view oddly lacking in the current debate over foreign policy—the point of view of the professional diplomat.

This point of view is, of course, that foreign policy is a complex and subtle matter of practical adjustment which seeks a new form of international equilibrium through a dispassionate assessment of the political, economic, and moral tendencies which have upset the old. One might look for this attitude first of all in the State Department. It certainly would not be incompatible with the attitude of Mr. Byrnes. But his predecessors fairly well rooted out the enlightened professional view; so that the Secretary, thrown back on his own instincts as a cloakroom compromiser, has backed at one time or another most available solutions of the Russian question—except the warlike one which the followers of Mr. Wallace have dishonestly sought to pin on him—without any clear idea of our diplomatic objectives.

Yet Mr. Byrnes at least stands above his immediate predecessors in having an intermittent and apparently growing awareness of the nature of diplomatic problems. Mr. Hull was an eloquent and testy rhetorician who cared little for the details of diplomatic operations; and Mr. Stettinius was —well, Mr. Stettinius (or, in the cold exactitudes of Mr. Welles, a man "devoid of any knowledge of international relations or even of modern history and lacking the personal qualifications desirable in so high an office"). Under the Hull regime the very word diplomat came to evoke the image, not of Mr. Welles, say, and even less of Harold Nicolson, but of James Clement Dunn or some other of the Secretary's croquet playmates—the *PM* stereotype of a gentleman in striped trousers drinking tea and praising Franco. Not the least of Hull's disservices was this degradation of the diplomatic profession by favoritism to some of its least worthy members; and another of his dubious contributions was the elevation to diplomatic principle of what Welles calls—without reference to Hull, whom he studiously ignores—"the desire to believe that because some proposal is righteous and desirable, the formulation of it in writing is necessarily equivalent to the actual realization of the objectives sought."

With this last notion prevailing in the State Department, it is natural enough that the public debate over foreign policy should have fallen into the hands of sentimental ideologues. The United States, indeed, appears to have inherited the penchant for moralism which used to be Britain's specialty in international discussions. Henry Wallace and John Foster Dulles define the type—men who are possessed by strong, vague, pseudo-religious emotions but who lack the clarity or fortitude to distinguish consistently between the realm of power and the realm of value and are thus able to merge or divorce the two as suits the polemic need of the moment. Our sermonizing tradition dies hard, and one can hardly escape the impression that most people on both sides of the debate think foreign policy a matter of casting out devils.

The Welles position with its apparent indifference to ideological prepossessions will undoubtedly be confusing or even shocking to the more ardent followers of either Wallace or Dulles. Welles is a realist, not in the sense of a person who excludes moral considerations, but in the sense of a person who refuses to exclude power considerations. For him the imperative moral and political tendencies of the day are part of the data which the diplomat must take into account; they stand along with strategic and economic necessities as the facts of life to which the practitioners of foreign policy must make their precise adjustments in order to attain international stability. Moreover, for him diplomacy as a system for managing international relations has its own values and resources which the moralists tend to overlook.

Consequently his crucial standards are technical, not theological; and he is careful to distinguish between his private feelings and his views of public policy. He will refrain from denouncing the internal conditions of a regime—whether Argentina or the U. S. S. R.—if it faithfully observes its international commitments, though his realism requires him to add that non-democratic countries have inherent tendencies toward instability which lead them to violate international agreements. Communism is repugnant to him as a way of life, but the notion that democracy and communism cannot coexist in the same world strikes him as an "insane delusion." He regards Russia as "one of the greatest attempts to attain human betterment that the world has ever known" and believes that "society in every part of the earth will eventually be profoundly affected by it." Yet he never deludes himself into regarding the Soviet Union as a somewhat larger Brook Farm community, and his evaluation of its motives and objectives seems fair and penetrating.

He maintains the same balance in exploring a wide range of subjects. He castigates Peronism in Latin America, but he does not kid himself into thinking that impulsive interventionism is the way to stop it. He repeats his earlier indictment of Roosevelt's Spanish policy ("in 1937 the Roosevelt Administration was guilty of its greatest error in its handling of the issues raised by the Spanish civil war") and speaks of the "interminable shilly-shallying" of our policy toward De Gaulle. In all such questions his emphasis is empirical rather than ethical. The Hull Latin American policy "could only have been justified if it could have been expected to bring about practical results. The stupidity of the policy adopted lay in the fact that financial or economic coercion

by the United States (alone) could never be effective." He calls Roosevelt's Spanish policy an "error," where another kind of critic would call it a sin. Our policy toward De Gaulle "had not only been unfortunate, it had been stupid."

Welles clearly belongs to the school which finds blunders worse than crimes. This form of dispassion does not reject the issues that agitate Dulles or Wallace; it simply recognizes their relation to the power issues involved, so that Welles avoids the moral complacency which is likely to strike the Russians, in the case of Dulles, or the British, in the case of Wallace, as hypocrisy. Such a point of view reflects years of professional experience with diplomacy as a technique and an art.

It is unfortunate, though perhaps inevitable, that Welles's style should also bear so unmistakably the stamp of the foreign service. The book is written in the manner of a prolonged State Department cable and tends to be opaque and incommunicative. Even his occasionally mordant wit is muffled under the prose, as in his dry observation on vice-presidents: the liberal Argentine President Ortiz "was succeeded by the Vice-President, Dr. Ramon S. Castillo, who, as is not infrequently the case in republics where the vice-presidential candidates are nominated for reasons of political expediency rather than because of their ability, was the complete antithesis of President Ortiz."

As Welles points out, the current confusion of the American people over foreign policy shows itself in two different extremist tendencies—the panicky drift toward imperialism and the panicky drift toward appeasement. To arrest these tendencies the State Department and the American people must develop a clear notion of national objectives in foreign policy. "Where Are We Heading?" should do something to get the public debate off the Dulles-Wallace level of high morality and down to practicalities. But the great task has to be done at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventeenth Street. This book reminds us forcibly that the man best prepared for this task by experience and capacity is being tragically wasted at a time when the nation can spare him least.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Capital

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF CAPITAL. By C. E. Ayres. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

C. E. AYRES has written this acute and lively book as a sequel to his more highbrow "The Theory of Economic Progress." It should have a wide appeal: it is clear, its chapters are short, and it deals with the assumptions of orthodox economists with refreshing irreverence. Furthermore, it is completely devoid of charts, diagrams, and statistics. One wishes that more philosophers like Mr. Ayres—or Adam Smith—would look at economics.

For what economics needs, and has needed for many years, is a thorough going over such as physics got from men like Eddington, Whitehead, and Bridgman in the years after Einstein announced his general theory. The difficulty in the case of economics, of course, is that its theories and concepts are affected if not determined by class and personal interests, with the result that economic inquiry tends to produce not truth but doctrines which support either the possession or the acquisition of economic advantage and power. The criticism of doctrines, assumptions, and logic requires the breadth of view and intellectual acumen of one who has been trained in philosophy. This is the kind of criticism that economics should have, and it receives it from Professor Ayres.

By the orthodox Professor Ayres will very likely be regarded as a heretic, like Silvio Gesell, Hobson, and Veblen. But if they will consider his writing seriously, even at the risk of losing their faith in the divine right of capital, they will widen their perspective and perhaps get some idea of how to save private enterprise from capitalists on the one hand and the bureaucratic state on the other.

Professor Ayres holds that the predatory power of capitalists resides primarily not, as Marx claimed, in their ownership of the means of production but in their control over funds which they need not spend and which they are not required to invest. Owing to the gross disparities in the distribution of income the demand for consumers' goods is usually inadequate, whereas savings are excessive in relation to opportunities for investment. Under these conditions a mass-production economy cannot function. The solution, says Professor Ayres, is to tax large incomes so that savings will be sufficiently reduced, and to spend the revenue for social welfare so that consumption will be sufficiently increased. In this way we can achieve full production and employment.

Professor Ayres gives no estimates of what tax rates would have to be in order to accomplish the result he desires. Here is work for tax experts and statisticians who have been persuaded to Professor Ayres's general views as to the nature of the economy and his analysis of the factors which cause its periodic breakdown.

As Professor Ayres takes a broad view of the economy, and as his book is short, there are many details that are touched on lightly or altogether left out of account. Orthodox economists will be able to think of many difficulties in carrying out the author's program which they can use as arguments for opposing it. However, the real significance of this book does not lie in its particular remedy for depressions but in its criticism of the assumptions and logic of the prevailing theory of capitalism. If a considerable number of economists adopted Professor Ayres's approach to economic problems it might still be possible to evolve a comprehensive program for achieving a long period of prosperity under private enterprise. Whether such a program would be adopted would depend, of course, upon the victory of reason and liberalism over prejudice, intrenched privilege, and political reaction.

G. R. WALKER

What Gorky Remembered

REMINISCENCES OF TOLSTOY, CHEKHOV, ANDREYEV. By Maxim Gorky. Dover Publications. $2.75.

THERE is a Gorky legend (remember that legend may be, not fiction, but truth simplified and magnified): Gorky the tramp, the outcast, the man from the abyss, the voice of "creatures that once were men." In glorifying him the Soviets made him the Laureate of the Proletariat, an un-

couth, rough-hewn figure. These "Reminiscences" reveal a totally different Gorky: a conscious artist, at home with artists, their equal in sensitiveness and refinement. The most fascinating are the notes on Tolstoy. Gorky felt reverence, not before genius merely, but before a spiritual quality which he himself calls "divine." Yet he was puzzled and exasperated by the Tolstoy mystery: the would-be mujik who could not forget he was a barin, the apostle who was still a subtle artist, the believer who needed God to be sure of his own soul but was angry at times with God Himself for not keeping the tryst. The friendship with Chekhov was pure and beautiful. Of Chekhov's stories Gorky says: "A melancholy day of late autumn, when the air is transparent, and the outline of naked trees, narrow houses, grayish people is sharp." This is not mere prettiness: pages of elaborate criticism would tell us no more. His feelings for Leonid Andreyev had a tinge of pity and contempt. Andreyev was a conscious, a wilful degenerate, who sought genius—or the illusion of genius—through insanity. The all too brief section on Alexander Blok is excellent also. The last passage, Blok and the Harlot, shows how a trite sentimental theme can be redeemed through transparent delicacy. The translations, by various hands, are good—at least they are good English, for I cannot check their accuracy—and not unworthy of Katherine Mansfield herself. I wish I could quote many passages which, quite incidentally, throw light on philosophical and political problems. In the age-long fight against thought ("Thought is evil," said Tertullian) Andreyev struck a deep note: "Reason is the old witch Conscience in disguise." It will not allow us to enjoy comfortable belief in peace. The notion that the Russian proletariat has been hopelessly vulgarized by a "realistic" government is preposterous. Dostoevski, Tolstoy, and Gorky himself remain more Russian and more human than Karl Marx and Djugashvili.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Caveman's Point of View

MAN: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By George R. Stewart. Random House. $2.75.

MR. STEWART, who has written a novel about the weather and a successful history of place-naming in the United States, has produced in his latest book, "Man: An Autobiography," a general history. What is new about Mr. Stewart's history is, first, that it is written in the first person by "man" himself, and second, that it emphasizes "prehistory"—history before men lived in cities and learned to write. Of the present volume fully one-half is devoted to man's pre-urban career, two-thirds unrolls before the Hebrews and the Greeks enter the scene, and only thirty pages are left to handle the period since 1700 A.D.

What is the value of Mr. Stewart's innovations? Telling the story in the first person seems definitely bad. One is inevitably confused as to who "I"—that is, "man"—is. While "I" generally speaks with all the knowledge available to a modern social scientist, he often exhibits the unscientific snap judgments and even prejudices of the common man—for example, his disdain for scholarship and scholars. We soon forget that this is "man" talking and assume it is only George R. Stewart, but we are jarred when he uses phrases like "my peoples" or "my archaeologists."

The second innovation—for which Mr. Stewart cannot take credit; H. G. Wells and Harry Elmer Barnes, to mention the first names that come to mind, have treated prehistory at length—is good. The urban civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt that once appeared full blown on the horizon, inexplicable growths on the body of savagery, are now seen as the end-products of an incredibly long and complex process of social and technical invention and change. The idea of viewing history from the vantage point of the past rather than the present is good, and properly executed should lead to an interesting and important perspective.

Mr. Stewart's book is easy to read and hardly anyone will fail to find something suggestive in it, particularly in his discussions of physical changes in early men and of the first great inventions. But Mr. Stewart goes beyond his valid role as popularizer of history and presumes to create it: he distorts it, either unconsciously or for dramatic ends.

He ignores huge gaps in the archaeological record, the sudden disappearances and appearances of cultures, the variety among cultures, from the very beginning; instead, he creates a myth of a single continuous cultural tradition, for which we have no evidence. He glorifies the Neolithic village and devalues the city civilizations which succeeded it, choosing his facts for the purpose. Neolithic life was not so peaceful as he pictures it, and the cities' slavery and conquests, which he decries, were advances over earlier extermination policies and for the first time permitted different cultures to coexist in the same territory. To make his Neolithic Golden Age brighter, he assumes that Neolithic men had a rational, naturalistic view of the world, on the evidence of their inventions—agriculture, domestication, pottery, cloth. Yet these same inventions recur in contemporary Neolithic-type societies, and are there imbedded in magical and religious beliefs. This overestimation of Neolithic society leads him to underestimate the importance of scientific thought as developed among the Greeks and in modern times.

Some readers will find Mr. Stewart's—and his publisher's—cavalier attitude toward scholars as annoying as any theoretical defect. The men who made possible this neatly written "novel"—the blurb calls it that—are dismissed without a thank-you; rather, a sneer. There is no bibliography; readers who might be stimulated by Mr. Stewart's account to find

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out more about early human history are given no hint as to where to turn. For such readers I would like to mention an excellent book with which to follow up Mr. Stewart's account—Gordon Childe's "What Happened in History" (Penguin). And this book, much fuller and more accurate than Mr. Stewart's, though not quite as light reading, and by an authority, is only twenty-five cents. NATHAN GLAZER

Paris, 1919

SUITORS AND SUPPLIANTS. By Stephen Bonsal. Prentice Hall. $3.50.

CRYING over spilt milk may be of some use if it helps us to be more careful next time. History is the best teacher, as Hegel wrote, but it has uncommonly inattentive pupils. In May, 1919, a Ukrainian delegate said to Major Bonsal: "The Allies, thanks to America, have won the war; but will they win the peace?" He might ask the same question today. There is a ghastly resemblance between Signor Orlando's argument on Fiume and Signor de Gasperi's on Trieste. The same horse-trading and name-calling went on with a different Russia. Zinoviev boasted that "with these words we slapped President Wilson in the face." Albania opposed an Italian protectorate, and as early as March, 1919, Nouri al Said, the adviser of Emir Feisal, complained about "Jewish intruders brought to our land." Many of the issues which clouded the Paris conference in 1919 have to be faced by the current conference. Major Bonsal's candid chronicle implicitly admits the blunders which resulted in the failure of the treaties. Although the jealousy between the ex-Allies was less conspicuous then, the blunders resulting from overheated nationalism are the same. One shortcoming was and is incompetence. Colonel House told the author, who was his aide: "I think I can handle Lloyd George and the 'Tiger,' but into your hands I commit all the mighty men of the rest of the world." He did indeed handle those "strange people," and his interviews with them are recorded in this book.

But even a brilliant journalist like the author cannot be expected to be equally familiar with the problems of the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Koreans, the Rhineland, and others on which he served as an expert to Colonel House. It is not surprising that he took Father Hlinka for the representative of Slovakia, "who deserved a better fate." He faithfully reports all cock-and-bull stories, including the statement that Hlinka stood for a union with Hungary. Yet a British authority has written that this "turbulent priest . . . surpassed the most chauvinist Czechs in his hatred of Hungary." Major Bonsal has won a historical prize, but his book, a fine piece of journalism, is certainly no history. No historian would call Kerensky "one of the many fugitive Pinks," or indorse Bratianu's statement that the Rumanians only took back what the Hungarian regiments stole from them. Major Bonsal admits some of the blunders of the peacemakers, but hardly shows how they could have been avoided. "Better to have had no revolution at all," was Iswolsky's opinion, which the author seems to share—admitting, however, that "the making of history is a difficult task whether undertaken by the philosophers in their closets or by the orators in the market places." The task is no easier for army officers and journalists. RUSTEM VAMBERY

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Sugar-Coated Pill

TO LEVEL CRITICISM of any kind at a book so well-intentioned, competent, and reasonable as Margaret Halsey's on race relations, "Color Blind" (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), might be considered little short of churlish were it not for the fact that a determinedly bright and humorous attitude to a subject essentially unhumorous has much the same antagonizing effect, on this reader at any rate, as an evangelist's intimacies with the Almighty. "Most writing on the race problem," says Miss Halsey, "falls into one of two classes. Either it is passionate fiction about race clashes . . . or else it is passionless non-fiction loaded to the gunwales with statistics." There is, it would seem, a certain need for either passion or statistics which is not entirely compensated for by the substitution of humor.

Miss Halsey, who worked during the war at a service men's canteen where race discrimination was not practiced, has based her book largely on her experiences at the canteen and on a really excellent memorandum that she put out for the white hostesses. This memorandum attacked, with sound common sense and good humor, the stock prejudices about Negroes and answered the questions that would arise while the girls were working. The book is in effect little more than an enlargement of this pamphlet. Though prejudices about Negroes are deep-rooted, they are not very numerous, and though Miss Halsey's answers are pointed and wise, they do not lend themselves to extension; so that the book becomes, perforce, rather repetitive. Then also Miss Halsey's humor, in which the book abounds, is based largely on the most elaborate pranks with similes.

In short, Miss Halsey has stated, not to say reiterated, with insight, humor, and sincerity, the sound opinions of an enlightened and well-balanced individual on the Negro question. Though she can hardly be said to have shed any new light on the subject, she has certainly illuminated it with a bright one, and probably she has brought the matter to the attention of a number of persons in whose minds the question would have remained a vague, unformulated annoyance. That the book can hardly be considered a very weighty contribution to the solution of the problem is probably a small price to pay for awakening a large number of consciences.

ANTHONY BOWER

The Chinese Puzzle

TO A WESTERN observer the labyrinth of Chinese society must seem as intricate as its language. It took both courage and ingenuity for Olga Lang, author of "Chinese Family and Society" (Yale, $4), to attack the Chinese character first. That accomplished, she was able to dive into the midst of Chinese life, swimming through its classical and modern literature as well as through the depths of daily life in modern China. She emerged without losing her perspective: "China needs world culture to become happy and prosperous," but "the world needs China to develop its civilization to the highest possible level," since China can teach it "how to be tolerant and human." It is a message from the fermenting chaos.

Miss Lang shows how Confucianism governed all Chinese relationships until it was checked by the influx of all kinds of Western ideas—Christianity, fascism, communism, and democracy. Imperial China, which had enforced the dominance of Confucianism in order to guarantee submission, was replaced by republican China; this upheaval destroyed the old family and established the new. Then the society itself began to disintegrate. The factory girl no longer is willing to be no more than the daughter-in-law of her husband's parents, but insists on being the wife and companion of her husband. The girl who used to welcome foot-binding now despises it. The children begin to criticize their parents. Several families may still share one room in Shanghai's factory area, but the individuals read newspapers, discuss international problems.

The author does not present this development as universal; reactions to the old and the new ideas varied with different classes. Miss Lang's laborious examination of different levels of society has brought to the reader a lively succession of stories, either quoted from novels or written from personal experience; academic rigidity is transformed, almost, into entertainment. While the tables and the analysis may interest students of sociology, the ordinary reader may find the incidents from the novels more entertaining. And the existence of such great lyricists as Chu Yuan and Lee Yi-san should convince Miss Lang that China does not have to deplore its "poverty" of lyric poetry.

YANG KANG

Descanso, U. S. A.

LIKE THE LYNDS' MIDDLETOWN or James West's Plainville, Ruth D. Tuck's Descanso (the Spanish word for Repose) is an unidentified medium-sized American city not to be found on any map. Her book, "Not with the Fist" (Harcourt, Brace, $3), deals primarily with the city's "colonia"—the section composed of immigrants or descendants of immigrants from nearby Mexico, generally thought of as being slightly above the Negro, probably slightly above the native Indian as well, but certainly far below the Anglo-Americans. The "whites" keep them in the "place" where they "belong," if not with their fists, at least with their elbows. Hitler's and Madison Grant's racial nonsense helps prevent the dark-skinned Mexican minority from holding public office or enjoying full social equality. The outspoken and well-informed author blames the Mexican Americans' miserable caste status partly on the fact that the "whites" do not know or do not care to know their Mexican fellow-townsmen. True, there exist genuine cultural differences between these groups, at least as far as the older generations are concerned, but Miss Tuck, a believer in "cultural pluralism," considers it unfair to object to the Mexican Americans' use of Spanish in public, and to demand that they abandon their foreign ways. The author prefers the Soviets' idea of letting national minority groups retain their cultural autonomy while the state provides them avenues for fuller participation in the entire nation's life.

An improvement of the position of our three million Mexican Americans can be brought about only through sincere cooperation between them and the Anglo-American majority. Miss Tuck does not say that the "colonia" consists of angels only; she finds there reaction, egotism, and chauvinism as well. But as long as policemen arrest intoxicated Mexicans and overlook white drunkards, as long as our newspapers purposely exaggerate the Mexicans' guilt in "zoot-suit" riots, as long as employers refuse to hire Mexicans except in an emergency and labor leaders stick to the color line, as long as unscrupulous politicians reply to any suggestion of improving the Mexicans' status with the unfair question, "Would you want your daughter to marry a Mexican?" and grant these fellow-Americans only third-rate housing, education, and jobs—as long as all this happens, any minor faults of these Mexican Americans are completely overshadowed by our own major sins.

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Drama

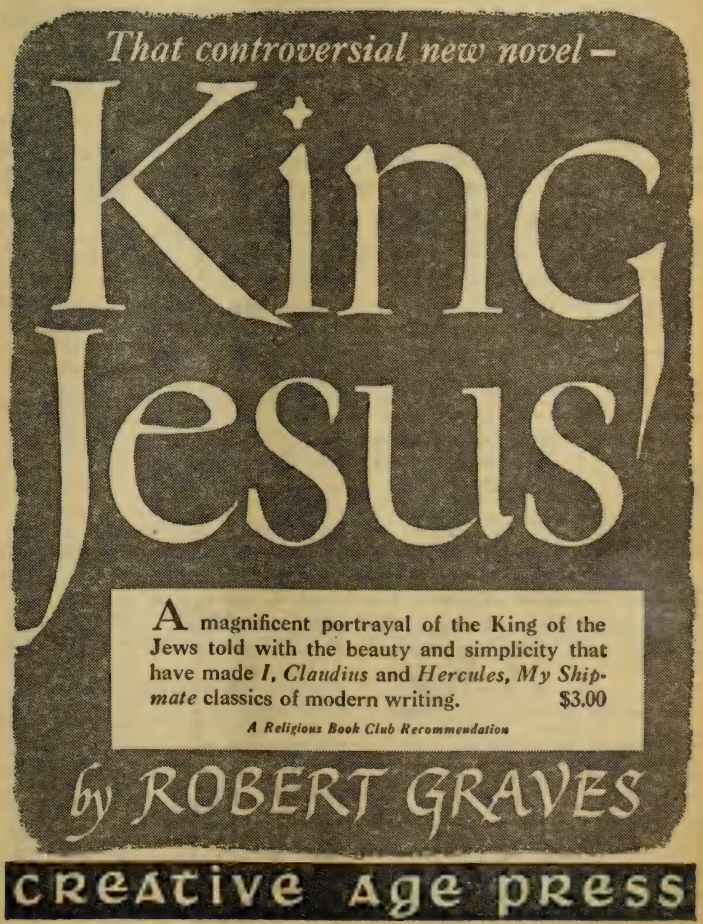
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

HEADS are already shaking over the prevalence of revivals during the current season, but the two latest new plays may well give pause to the most jaundiced opponent of the classics. "Present Laughter" (Plymouth Theater) is very wilted Noel Coward, and "Happy Birthday" (Broadhurst Theater) is a music-hall skit not too successfully disguised as a comedy. Neither, moreover, is a novelty except by courtesy, for the first is shamefully plagiarized from its author's previous works, and most of the material in the second was already in the public domain.

That Mr. Coward should be weary after all these years of determined youthfulness is understandable enough, but weary he obviously is, and "Present Laughter" — whose sprightliness is about as convincing as a hoofer's smile —appears to have been written out of sheer force of habit. All the characters say even "Good Morning" or "No, thank you" with the roguish air of having just got off something too utterly utter; though half the audience seems to laugh obediently when laughter is asked for, most of the laugh lines are neither stale wit nor bad wit but simply not wit at all. The central character is that very familiar figure, the popular actor pursued by more women than he quite knows what to do with; and the plot, if one may call it that, seems to have been made up as the author went along. At one point one of the personages protests that she feels like a character in a French farce—Mr. Coward ought to be by now sufficiently wise in the ways of the theater to know that it seldom does a playwright any good to admit how bad he is. There is a solemn youth supposed to have some sort of fixation on the hero, who pops in and out to create a disturbance whenever it becomes evident that the action is about to lie down to die, and the big scene, in which, owing to some odd arrangement of the wiring, a deceived husband is able to talk to his wife in an adjoining bedroom while supposing she is in her own home, succeeds only in making the spectator wonder what Sheridan could have done if he had only had a telephone behind that famous screen. At ten minutes to eleven the three principal male characters get absorbed in the details of a new theatrical enterprise upon which they are about to embark and totally forget their recent discovery that all three have been going to bed with the wife of one of them. Mr. Coward may be disappointed to find that, though few are shocked, more will remember that he used a similarly pleasant little polyandrous arrangement to conclude a former play. Can it be that his apparent obsession with it has sociological significance and that it is indeed one more sign of the approaching Downfall of the West? In lusty ages it is generally assumed that your hero needs several women. In that section of contemporary English society which Mr. Coward knows best males apparently find one whole one too much and are relieved at an opportunity to club up.

To make the whole play more depressing, it has a thesis expounded by a raisonneur in the last act with all the solemnity of a French well-made play. Our hero, after he has taken it in, protests that he has never in his life heard anything so immoral; but he must have led a very sheltered existence, for the thesis is merely that love is best when played as a game without too much emotional involvement. Entirely too much fuss, says Mr. Coward, has been made about sex, and he then proceeds to make quite a little more. Here, in short, is much ado about not making much ado.

Most bad comedies as well as quite a few of the good ones—"Candida," for example—have a scene in which some timid person gets drunk, grows bold, and thereby settles a lot of difficulties. Since, in the bad comedies at least, this scene usually gets most of the laughs, Anita Loos, who is responsible for the text of "Happy Birthday," seems to have decided that it would be a good idea to dispense with all the others and stretch this one out for two hours and a half. The stretching involves a lot of trick scenery to represent what the tipsy heroine thinks she sees and also a comic-strip version of life in a honky-tonk; but it would all add up to less than nothing if it were not for Helen Hayes, who appears to be having the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time of her life. As a librarian—and you know what comedy librarians are like—who quickly graduates from Pink Ladies to Scotch, she runs a gamut from A to Ampersand, including such unexpected stunts as a stint at the microphone and a slinky dance with a professional panther. Considered merely as a stunt, the performance is really superb. In fact, it is hard to imagine any other American performer who could be equally convincing in both her mousy and her raucous phases, or who could cavort and mug with such confident, tireless energy. That she furnishes at moments excellent fun I cannot be churlish enough to deny, but I think also that it is no more than due courtesy to assume that, if Miss Hayes chooses to appear in such a dramaturgical nonesuch or gimmick as "Happy Birthday," it is only because no suitable new play could be found.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT HAS taken me a long time to realize that in John Martin we have a critic with an unerring sense for the first-rate and the great in art—and an invariable contempt for it. Mr. Martin is contemptuous of Balanchine's choreography; he is contemputous of Berman's scenery and costumes; and since his words influence the ideas and actions of other people, Ballet Theater shows courage for which it deserves praise in putting on Balanchine's "Apollo" and "Waltz Academy" and in using Berman's designs for its new production of "Giselle."

Not since Berman's decor and costumes for "Danses Concertantes" has there been anything so pictorially sumptuous and distinguished, and so dramatically active in its relation to everything that happens on the stage, as what he has created for the supernatural second act of "Giselle": the grandly somber fore-curtain; the powerful decor of the "tomb of Giselle amid lonely spectral cypresses," seen at first through gauze transparencies; the costumes of the Willis, with a film of black over the white, and green showing now and then underneath. In this act there are also effective revisions of the Dolin choreography: for example, the way the Willis close in on Hilarion (the black in their costumes heightens its effect). And there is the dancing: the exquisite phrases of Alonso, the quiet precision and elegance of Youskevitch, the bold brilliance of Kaye, the fine work of the corps. All these combine to make the act the excitingly beautiful and dramatically powerful piece of "ballet theater" that I called it recently (Mr. Hurok watched it one evening from a seat in the back row, and did not applaud at the end).

The realistic first act does not impress me as something completely achieved, in the way the second does. In Berman's work there are details of which I would prefer to think that I don't understand rather than that he miscalculated: I don't understand what he is driving at with the uncompleted structure that is the cottage of Giselle, or why—when the backdrop and the costumes of the Duke and his entourage are so extravagantly fantastic—the peasant costumes are so conventionally bright and clean. In this act the revisions are concerned mostly with creating realistic dramatic sense; and not only do they still leave the nonsense of Wilfred coming on at the beginning with Albrecht and coming on again later with the Duke, but they clutter up the proceedings with a lot of over-explicit pantomime — like Giselle's demonstration of having heard Albrecht's knock on the door and having found nobody when she came out, or the various demonstrations of the fact that she has a weak heart. (There is the same attempt to make sense of "Swan Lake," with similar results: on the one hand a lot of over-explicit pantomime; on the other hand the continuing nonsense of the Prince's walking off arm in arm with the Swan Queen and returning in vain search of her.)

Meanwhile, Markova is giving her performance of Giselle with the De Basil Ballet Russe. One continues to get from it—as from all her dancing nowadays—the impression of lessened intensity; nevertheless her "instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time" still produces "the most refined of rhythmic delights" and a performance that remains unique, and for which one endures its undistinguished surroundings and the disturbingly offensive performance of Dolin.

Additional De Basil productions that I have seen include another Lichine horror, "The Prodigal Son," with the choreography that De Basil saw fit to have Lichine create in 1941 to replace the wonderful Balanchine choreography of the original Diaghilev production that I saw in 1929. And two of the works taken over from Ballet International: "Sebastian," worth seeing for the extraordinary costumes by Milena, for some striking details in the choreography by Edward Caton, including the new *pas de deux* of Sebastian and the lifeless courtesan, for the performance of Moncion—superb in its intensity and precision, and for the fine performance of Hightower, Skibine, Patterson, and Marjorie Tallchief; and the amusing "Mute Wife," with Antonia Cobos, Skibine, and Moncion.

However, not all the season's horrors were presented by the two Ballets Russes. To the Monte Carlo company's "The Bells" and the De Basil company's "Cain and Abel" and "The Prodigal Son" Ballet Theater added Jerome Robbins's "Facsimile."

Letters to the Editors

Announce IRRC Luncheon

Dear Sirs: Friends of labor are urged to attend a luncheon honoring Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian American Labor Council; Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board, I. L. G. W. U.; and Irving Brown, European representative of the A. F. of L., recently returned from Europe with the unpublished story of trade-unionism in Europe today. Off-the-record reports on labor's hour in Europe will be given at this luncheon, which is sponsored by the International Rescue and Relief Committee and will be held on November 23, at 12:30 p.m., in the Tudor Room of the Henry Hudson Hotel—subscription $5. For reservation call LE 2-7916 or write to the I. R. R. C., 103 Park Avenue.

SHEBA STRUNSKY
Executive Secretary, I. R. R. C.

New York, November 7

Never So United

Dear Sirs: Reading, here in London, Aylmer Vallance's article British Labor at the Crossroads in your October 12 issue, I felt it must be about some other country, or it must be a handout from Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. Vallance reports to your readers that the "government's stock, particularly among its own supporters, has fallen," and that the electorate are "disappointed." Here are two facts which no amount of wishful thinking can remove: (1) the membership of the Labor Party has doubled in the past year; (2) the government has not yet lost a single by-election, which is a record unequaled in living memory. If people

were really so dismally "disappointed," then by-elections, of which there have been many, would reveal that disappointment immediately.

No one, not even Mr. Vallance, could exaggerate the pressing need for homes, homes, and more homes. Nevertheless, the number of houses built so far is little short of miraculous. By the end of September, 89,000 new houses had been completed. One gets some idea of the immensity of that achievement by comparing it with the period at the end of the 1914-18 war, when only 2,000 houses were built in the first sixteen months. In addition to the new houses, bomb-damaged houses have been repaired and premises converted into apartments. Altogether, by the end of September homes had been provided for 242,302 families. Considering the acute shortage of materials and skilled labor, that is a magnificent achievement.

The Labor government is not infallible. . . . But by and large the government, including Ernest Bevin, has the enthusiastic support of the mass of the movement. After eighteen years as an active member of the Labor Party it is my impression that never was the party so united and never was it in less danger of "splitting into factional left and right" than it is at the moment.

PATRICIA STRAUSS

London, November 1

"Reckless Accusations"

Dear Sirs: I am at a loss to account for the editorial entitled Their Own Petards (*The Nation* of October 5), in which reckless accusations of dishonesty and stupidity are made against the American Medical Association and the National Physicians' Committee. Many such articles are attributable to the same cynical and unscrupulous disregard for truth that Hitler advocated in his technique of "the colossal lie." Many can be ascribed to a lack of the background necessary to understand the situation. Let us hope that in this case we are dealing with nothing more sinister than the uncritical acceptance by "the harried liberal" of material provided by unscrupulous or stupid individuals. . . .

One cannot determine the effect of a law by quoting a single sentence; one must, at the very least, take account of the entire law, and usually of its relationship to the body of law as well.

You pretend to find inconsistency between the N. P. C.'s statement that "the Surgeon General [under the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill] would be authorized to determine what hospitals or clinics may provide service for patients and under what conditions" and the A. M. A.'s statement that "the Surgeon General shall exercise no supervision or control over a *participating* hospital [italics mine] unless it is owned or leased and operated by the United States." It should be apparent that there is no inconsistency between the two statements. Moreover, if you will read the definition of a "participating hospital" in the bill (S 1606, Sec. 214, k, p. 69, lines 14ff.) and the provisions for certification and control of "participating hospitals" (Sec. 206, a and b), you will see that there can be no question as to the truth of the N. P. C. statement. If then you read Section 206 (c), from which the A. M. A. statement was quoted verbatim, you will see that any charge of inconsistency must be directed against the bill itself. You will see, moreover, that the only way that lines 22-25 (page 52) can be made consistent with the rest of the bill is to adopt such a limited and arbitrary meaning of the word "operation" as will divorce it from all matters bearing on the service supplied by the hospital. . . .

I offer no brief for all the actions and statements of the A. M. A. or the N. P. C., but I have yet to find either organization stooping to the dishonesty practiced by the Frothinghams in their attempts to mislead the uninformed. . . .

FREDERICK B. EXNER, M.D.

Seattle, October 8

[*Since Dr. Exner's criticism of* The Nation's *editorial also contained criticism of Dr. Channing Frothingham, chairman of the Committee for the Nation's Health and a proponent of national health insurance, Dr. Frothingham was asked to comment.*]

Not a Distortion

Dear Sirs: Your editorial cited two statements made by the National Physicians' Committee which were contradicted by the *Journal of the American Medical Association.* The National Physicians' Committee statement, "The doctor would have little if any interest in the patient who was compelled to visit him . . . sick people must depend on a doctor that has been assigned by a political bureaucrat," was refuted in your editorial by correctly quoting the *Journal.*

Since in his letter Dr. Exner does not take issue with this part of your editorial, it would seem that he agrees that the N. P. C. has been issuing false and misleading statements dealing with the doctor-patient relationship.

He does in his letter endeavor to defend the statement of the National Physicians' Committee to the effect that "the Surgeon General would be authorized to determine what hospitals or clinics may provide service for patients and under what conditions." Your editorial showed this statement to be inaccurate by quoting from the analysis of the bill prepared by the American Medical Association. In trying to support the N. P. C., Dr. Exner refers to several sections of the bill. He criticizes the statement of the Committee for the Nation's Health because it only quoted one sentence from the analysis of the bill prepared by the Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the American Medical Association.

Since Dr. Exner is not satisfied with one sentence, permit me to quote the whole section from which the one sentence was taken as it appeared in the *Journal* (December 1, 1945, p. 977):

> The Surgeon General is directed to publish a list of institutions which he finds to be participating hospitals in accordance with general standards prescribed by him after consultation with the Advisory Council. Any institution which is not included in the list, or any institution having been removed from the list, may petition the Surgeon General for a hearing. The bill provides that the Surgeon General shall exercise no supervision or control over the participating hospital unless it is owned or leased and operated by the United States. No requirement for participation by a hospital may prescribe its administration, personnel, or operation."

Your editorial did not distort the truth. . . . As the material upon which it was based was provided by the National Physicians' Committee and the Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the American Medical Association, I shall have to leave it to Dr. Exner to decide whether this material was provided by unscrupulous or stupid individuals.

CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M.D.

New York, October 24

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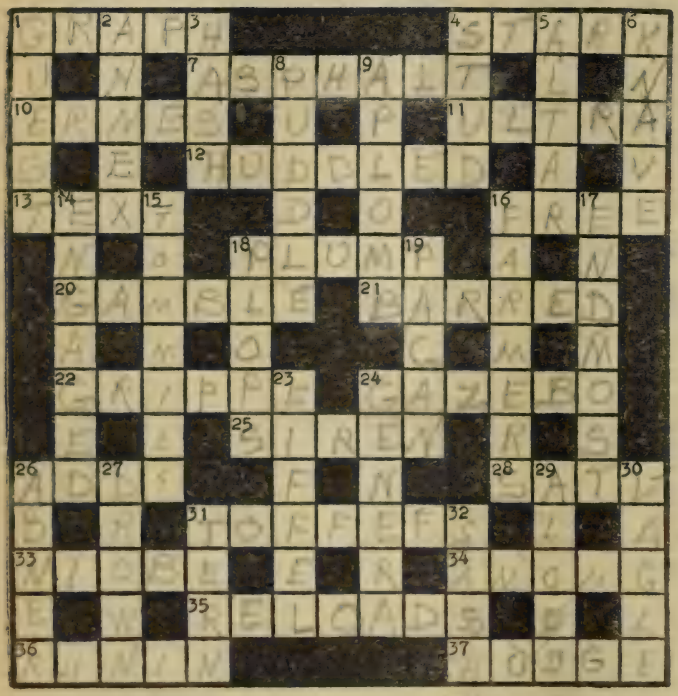
Crossword Puzzle No. 187

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Though it has its ups and downs it constitutes a record
4 Tea in the smallest Channel Island is a bit strong
7 We walk on it, but it makes a snake lame
10 Birds that might turn to sneer
11 Extremely
12 In conference?
13 Author's original words
16 Unattached
18 The plum pudding is nearly half fat
20 Not what lambs do in the spring, but what gulls do before the fall
21 Made fast
22 A sort of seizure?
24 Summer house where you invite an American to admire the view
25 Did this suit make Winston Churchill irresistibly charming?
26 Tots
28 Glut
31 Mackintosh's, perhaps
33 She gets in return the Order of the British Empire
34 A bit of a mongrel
35 Another bulletin
36 New cars are, but not necessarily by the police (3 and 2)
37 Peasant wearing a mortar-board

DOWN

1 He is entertained
2 An English queen's vote is appropriate
3 Makes mincemeat of the Shah
4 You get it in the neck
5 Tra la (anag.)
6 Stealer of hearts
8 Stir up mud
9 An Alp mob shows self-possession
14 Retreating Germans claimed they successfully did the opposite
15 British soldiers
16 People of cultivation
17 Tom's den is farthest
18 Plumps into water
19 Father gets a horse up
23 Tower that would tower over the Tower of Babel
24 Plural of "genus"
26 Biblical army captain
27 "I murdered him last Tuesday, He did annoy me so; I took him to the bathroom, And -----ed him, don't you know"
29 O laud! (anag.)
30 Far-sighted bird
31 It's a bit smaller than a bittern
32 Waistband

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 186

ACROSS:—1 ATMOSPHERE; 6 SMUT; 10 TERRAIN; 11 GROWN-UP; 12 THINNEST; 13 SACKS; 15 UNLIT; 17 INCLEMENT; 19 MONOLOGUE; 21 ROUSE; 23 NEGUS; 24 TOPARCHS; 27 TOENAIL; 28 EXTINCT; 29 PITY; 30 PERSISTENT.

DOWN:—1 ATTA; 2 MARSHAL; 3 SPAWN; 4 HANKERING; 5 RIGHT; 7 MANACLE; 8 TYPESETTER; 9 FORSWEAR; 14 HUMMING TOP; 16 TALESMAN; 18 CHEAPNESS; 20 NEGLECT; 22 UNHINGE; 24 TULLE; 25 RITES; 26 STET.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

BARRING A NEAR MIRACLE, THE COAL MINES will be shut down before this issue of *The Nation* reaches most of its readers. For the second time within eight months, for the eighth time within five years, John L. Lewis will have signaled "No contract," and miners throughout the country will have automatically answered "No work." But this time the contract he has denounced is one to which the government is a party, and Secretary of Interior Krug holds, with the backing of the Attorney General, that it covers the period of government possession of the mines and can only be ended by mutual consent. So Mr. Lewis may have to attempt to prove in court that he has not instigated a strike, thus rendering himself liable to prosecution under the War Labor Disputes Act. This promises a pretty legal tangle which may occupy the courts for months. However, injunctions are even poorer implements for digging coal than bayonets, and they are not likely to do very much to halt the industrial paralysis which will be the inevitable result of a prolonged mining stoppage. Average stocks on hand are said to amount to two months' supply, but the steel industry will probably be brought to a standstill within a few weeks, and the innumerable factories dependent on steel will not be able to keep going much longer. Drastic curtailment of production just as prices have been decontrolled may well give a sharp upward twist to the inflationary spiral. But that will only increase the certainty of equally sharp deflation, as loss of wages and exhaustion of savings by laid-off workers cuts deeply into purchasing power. It is difficult to see how the miners can gain any advantage commensurate with the damage the strike will inflict on workers in general and, in the long run, on the miners themselves.

✶

WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO NOW? We confess that we find it singularly hard to offer useful suggestions. Mr. Krug has taken the position that the government as "interim custodian" of the mines cannot grant the far-reaching changes in hours and wages which Mr. Lewis has demanded. He proposed a two-months' moratorium so that negotiations could be carried on between the miners and operators, promising that if no agreement had been reached by January 16 the government would withdraw from the industry and leave it "to the normal operation of economic forces." Mr. Lewis caustically dismissed this plan in a whirl of rhetoric. The real objection to it from the miners' point of view seems to be that the operators have not agreed to accept the Krug-Lewis contract, which includes the all-important welfare levy, even as a basis of negotiations; so that the union would be back where it was before the spring walkout. But Mr. Lewis, it seems to us, has thrown away this argument by denouncing the contract, relinquishing a substantial bird in hand in the hope that his strike blunderbuss will bring down two in the bush. The result is an impasse. The Administration, already in a weakened condition, cannot afford to retreat; to do so would make it an object of public derision. Mr. Lewis, his ego swollen by past triumphs, will not dream of backing down. All the portents, therefore, point toward a war of attrition with an end that cannot easily be foreseen. But one thing seems certain; the forces gathering for a full legislative onslaught on the unions will be immensely stimulated and strengthened.

✶

MISSISSIPPI'S TWIN STATESMEN HAVE GROWN so used to playing on the wrong side of the aisle in Congress that it took more than a week for them to discover that, like Democrats everywhere else, they were on the losing end of the affair of November 5. That pertinent fact has now been driven home to them by two arresting incidents. First, the Republican steering committee has decided that it will challenge the right of Senator Bilbo to take the oath when Congress convenes in January. Charges that he intimidated Negro voters in the

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primary campaign and took a toll in graft from war contractors will then be referred to the Rules Committee. Whereas a two-thirds' vote would be required to oust him once the oath were taken, a simple majority is all that is required to keep him from taking his seat in the first instance—and the Republicans, perhaps with an eye on the Negro vote in 1948, apparently intend to use their newly won majority for that purpose. The second blow of the week for the Mississippi coalitionists came in the form of a slap at John Rankin by J. Parnell Thomas, which is news of the dog-bites-dog variety. Mr. Thomas, who is slated to become chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities when the Republicans take over, condemned the "star-chamber proceedings" in which Rankin, sitting as a tyrannical one-man subcommittee, subjected that very distinguished scientist, Dr. Harlow Shapley, to his usual bullying tactics. When Dr. Shapley very properly resisted this invasion of his rights as a citizen, Rankin threatened to cite him with contempt of Congress. But this time the Mississippian overshot the mark and, finding even his usual supporters joining his critics, was forced to back down.

*

UNTIL THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION, THE state of Alabama had been an island of liberal refuge between the Scylla of Mississippi and the Charybdis of a Georgia which had relapsed into Talmadgism. But on November 5 Alabama voted to adopt the Boswell amendment to its constitution, an amendment which will set up the most highly restrictive voting qualifications in force in any state in the Union. The author of the amendmentment is Representative E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva, in Alabama's Black Belt. Mr. Boswell wanted "to save our Alabama traditions and principles from the frontal attack of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and their radical allies . . . [to] maintain and insure white supremacy in Alabama, by law, for the salvation of both the Negro and white races." The amendment provides that each applicant for the right to vote must appear before the board of registrars in his county and be able to read, understand *and explain*, to the board's satisfaction, any section of the Constitution of the United States. It is a foregone conclusion that registrars will accept no Negro's explanation of any part of the Constitution. The leaders of organized labor and many newspapers opposed the amendment, but the rank and file of labor in the large industrial districts failed to go to the polls. Racial prejudice is probably stronger than loyalty to a union, and every questionable device known to racial bigots was brought forth by proponents. The amendment was the baby of the state Democratic committeemen, and passed by the small majority of less than 10,000 votes out of 200,000 cast. It will, of course, be tested in the courts

at the earliest opportunity. Many of the state's lawyers believe it will be held unconstitutional. Meanwhile, Alabama has taken a step backward, much to the dismay of those who have been priding themselves on the advancing forces of progressivism within the state.

*

HIGH UP IN THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL the Big Four Foreign Ministers are again going over the draft peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland, trying to reach agreement on unsettled issues. The sessions are private, and although the press is being given fairly full summaries, it is not always easy to judge the tone of the proceedings. On the basis of precedent, however, we can assume that while the language used is often undiplomatically frank it remains essentially double-talk. The ministers, for instance, will wrangle for days over the apparently minor question of who is to control the police in the Free State of Trieste —the U. N.-appointed governor or the elected council? It is agreed that in an emergency the former must take charge. But Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin urge that if he is to have the power to do so the chief of police must be appointed by him and responsible to him. Mr. Molotov demurs on the ground that this would be undemocratic and destructive of self-government. He probably expresses this opinion forcefully; he does not say that behind his objection is a fear that America and Britain want to turn Trieste into a spearhead of Western imperialism, nor do Byrnes and Bevin utter their real belief that the Russians aim at making the city an outpost of the Slavic bloc. Yet there can be little hope of allaying these suspicions unless they are dragged into the daylight and examined candidly. Even if mutual exhaustion leads to a compromise on Trieste, the agreed solution to the problem will have little validity without a common effort to make it work. Instead, we shall see a struggle inside the infant free state, with each side attempting to use it as an implement of power.

*

IN CONVOKING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN Nanking without the presence of the Communists or the Democratic League, Chiang Kai-shek has slammed the door against further conciliation efforts. Despite the presence of a few non-party representatives and delegates from the Youth Party, the Assembly is predominantly a hand-picked Kuomintang body. Its sole function is to ratify, with minor changes, the pre-war draft constitution, which is designed to regularize the Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship by creating a façade of democratic terminology. Chiang's decision to plunge ahead on such a major undertaking as the writing of the national constitution without the opposition parties is a direct challenge to American policy as outlined eleven months ago by President Truman. It amounts to the open avowal of an intention to use force rather than the ballot or other democratic means to settle the differences between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Thus, Mr. Truman is faced by the necessity of making good on his implied threat of withholding aid from China's one-party regime. The reactionary wing of the Kuomintang is clearly banking on the assumption that the United States will continue its support to prevent increased Communist influence. But John Carter Vincent, director of Far

Eastern Affairs of the Department of State, strongly hinted that this country would not retreat from the policy outlined in the Truman directive when he told American business interests that "it is unsound to invest private or public capital in countries where there is widespread corruption . . . where a government is wasting its substance on excessive armament . . . where the threat of civil war exists . . . or where undemocratic concepts of government are controlling." We trust that the implications of this statement are being carefully studied in Nanking.

*

THE NEW INDONESIAN-DUTCH AGREEMENT appears to provide a solution for this knotty colonial question satisfactory to the legitimate interests of all concerned. The Indonesian Republic is recognized as the government for Java, Sumatra, and Madura. This republic is then to be federated with the autonomous states of Borneo and the Great East in a United States of Indonesia, which will be linked with the Netherlands in a partnership under the Queen. Dutch and other foreign business men are assured of equal tax rights in Indonesia, and the Dutch are guaranteed equal treatment with Indonesians in civil rights. Foreign relations and national defense fall under the authority of the new Netherlands-Indonesian Union, thus assuring common action in world affairs. Although the pattern is similar in many respects to that of the British Commonwealth, the proposed U. S. I. has the advantage, from the Dutch viewpoint, of providing a stronger constitutional bond with the mother country while giving the Indonesians full rights of self-government in domestic matters. It remains to be seen, however, whether the more extreme Indonesian nationalists will accept even these loose ties with the Netherlands.

HAROLD ICKES LONG AGO CALLED HIMSELF a curmudgeon, and the country pretty well accepted his estimate. There is no need for him now to drive the point home with a sledge-hammer. We are not thinking of his break with the Independent Citizens' Committee —that was inevitable, reasonable, and gracefully executed—but of his splenetic assault on David Lilienthal. Devoting his New York *Post* column to the indulgence of long-accumulated resentments, Ickes writes that "it would have been better if there had been a less romantic acclaim of Mr. Lilienthal" on the occasion of his appointment as head of the Atomic Energy Commission. He suggests—in contradiction of Mr. Lilienthal's personality, his record, and the facts as we know them—that the deservedly respected chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority lobbied for the appointment with the brassy persistence of a job-hungry ward-heeler. And he takes it upon himself to write off as "bunk" the "deep humility" avowed by Lilienthal when he accepted the appointment. With the feline touch of a Clare Luce he adds that "Mr. Lilienthal is not capable of 'deep humility' except when he contemplates the reflection in a mirror of Mr. Lilienthal himself." Not a single fact appears in the Ickes indictment, but only the emotionalism of an embittered man. Certainly there is no hint of the probable source of his current choler—the feud between a Secretary of the Interior who wanted TVA brought under his own control and a chairman who fought successfully to keep it locally administered. Without going into the merits of that controversy, it is impossible to miss the irony in the Curmudgeon's gratuitous warning to the members of the new commission. They are to keep a watchful eye on a chairman who is "willing to arrogate to himself all of their powers and responsibilities." Speaking of mirrors, Mr. Ickes. . . .

Spain Again

THE Spanish question comes up this week in a rather new context. Although the resolution advocating a general break with Franco was introduced in the General Assembly by Poland, it was Trygve Lie who insisted in his opening speech that the issue should be faced and disposed of. His demand has been echoed by a number of Western nations, both in Europe and Latin America. Indeed, the feeling he expressed is so widespread that only by marshaling the full strength of their respective blocs can Britain and the United States hope to head off a two-thirds' majority in favor of Poland's resolution.

This is a situation neither of the big Western powers can exactly relish, and Mr. Bevin's job is made even more difficult by the revolt in the Labor ranks at home. He will probably stick to the old non-intervention line, but with increasing discomfort. The American attitude is accurately described by J. Alvarez del Vayo on a later page, and the picture he gives is one to dismay every democrat in the country. At last the United States moves into the lead, instead of following the British; at last we take the initiative. But to what an end! Solemnly protesting our dislike of Franco, solemnly advising the Spanish people to get rid of him, we busy ourselves lining up our unwilling satellites to defeat any effective action against him in the Assembly. And we do all this in the face of a demand for action that this time cannot possibly be dismissed as Communist-inspired.

The broad effect of our behavior is already painfully apparent. In the popular view of almost every country of the world, the United States is coming more and more to symbolize intransigent reaction cloaked in pious hypocrisy. Even our most humane and liberal attitudes—such as those embodied in the refugee plan and in our support of civil rights and free elections—have been largely offset by our consistent hostility to social and political change. Spain, as always, remains the infallible test of democratic honesty. For the United States at this time to assume leadership in a fight to prevent action on Spain in the Assembly will be taken as final proof against us.

There is still time to rally opinion in support of a decent policy on Spain. We urge Nation *readers to write to the American delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations asking it to vote for the Polish resolution recommending a rupture of relations with Franco. We urge, also, that the C. I. O., meeting in Atlantic City, repeat its own stand, so often stated, in support of action against fascism in Spain.*

Why does the State Department persist in its old and dismal policy toward Franco? What do we want? Of what are we afraid? The expert who discussed with Mr. del Vayo the danger of civil war was not, we assume, concerned only with sparing the Spanish people a new period of suffering. They are suffering today and will continue to suffer as long as fascism is held in power. What our government presumably fears is a Communist regime arising in Spain as the result of a political overturn—with or without a civil struggle. If war comes, Spain must be under the control of the West, not the East. If war comes, a Communist Spain would side with Russia, while a fascist Spain—oh, final irony! —would be a willing ally of the West. There are new American landing fields in Spain built with the cooperation—at a good price—of Franco. There are valuable metals and other raw materials. There are bases which control access to the Mediterranean.

Is it far-fetched to suspect that considerations such as these are factors in our refusal to countenance real action against Franco? If the premises on which they are based

were sound, they would have at least the same validity as Russia's desire to dominate the Dardanelles or Britain's fixation on the Middle East. But the premises are false. Communism has few roots in Spain, where the temper of the people is fiercely individualistic and the non-Communist left parties and labor organizations are traditionally strong. Spain's natural trade and political relations are with the West. Its culture is Western. Only one thing could turn Spain to communism: if Britain and the United States continue their diplomatic and economic support of Franco, the Spanish Republicans may be driven closer to the one great power on which they feel they can depend. Deprived of the help of the Western democracies, non-Communist leaders will lose prestige and influence and eventually be superseded by those who all along have insisted that hope lies only with Moscow.

This week a new chance has come to break the ten-year stalemate on Spain. It will almost certainly be lost if the United States remains fixed in its present attitude. The Latin American countries, with very few exceptions, would back a break with Franco if they dared; as we go to press they are discussing among themselves the possibility of making a common stand. But it will be difficult for these delegations to act together in defiance of the United States. The greatest danger, we believe, is that they may accept some compromise move backed by the United States, such as the plebiscite proposal mentioned by Mr. del Vayo.

This plan, put forward by Señor Belt of Cuba, who seems to have succeeded Padilla of Mexico as the State Department's errand boy, offers the United States, and presumably Britain, a tempting way of escape from their dilemma. Nothing sounds fairer or more generous than a plebiscite—unless one remembers Hitler. A vote taken under international observation—assuming Franco obligingly agreed—would obviate both the necessity of applying direct pressure and the danger of civil war. Invoking a picture of the Spanish people happily trooping to the polls and voting Franco out of office while foreign correspondents look on, the plebiscite plan fits perfectly the formula suggested by Mr. Acheson last week.

The only difficulty is that a vote taken under the dictatorship would be a plain fraud, a cynical travesty on democratic procedure. Even if the State Department succeeded in winning some support for the proposal in Latin America, the final result would be disastrous. We strongly advise our government against trying it; American stock is low enough already in the democratic exchanges of the world.

[*Freda Kirchwey's announced editorial on progressive prospects in America will appear in the next issue of* The Nation.]

Revolt Against Bevinism

A LONDON dispatch in the New York *World-Telegram* of November 14 described sponsors of the back-bench labor protest against the government's foreign policy as an "anti-American, pro-Soviet minority." This is an inaccurate and dangerously misleading description. If the rebellious group represented merely the fellow-traveling fringe, Mr. Bevin would have little to worry about. The seriousness of the movement lies in the fact that it is led by thoroughly loyal and responsible labor men who would not lightly have risked disunity within the party's ranks had they not believed that a change in foreign policies was imperative. It is absurd to accuse R. H. S. Crossman, Michael Foot, or Jenny Lee of being pro-Soviet or anti-American. All of them have been severe critics of Moscow in the recent past, and the fact that they dislike the Bevin-Byrnes line does not mean that they hew to Stalin's.

Antagonism to Bevin's foreign policy has long been smoldering within the Labor Party. It is felt that he has made the Foreign Office far too much of an adjunct of the Department of State, that he has carried the doctrine of continuity to extreme lengths, and that he has leaned too heavily upon the advice of professional diplomats whose training and background render them entirely out of sympathy with the democratic forces emerging in the world today. That is the general indictment; it is illustrated and reinforced by Mr. Bevin's treatment of the Greek, Spanish, and Palestinian problems.

Until now, Labor Party critics of foreign policy have usually refrained from public protest. They have done so, partly because they hoped that Mr. Bevin, who has long commanded the affection and respect of British labor, would realize he had taken the wrong turning and would retrace his steps, partly because they appreciated the genuine difficulties created by Soviet intransigence. Above all, the back-benchers have kept quiet because they feared that party dissension might react unfavorably on the progress of a domestic program with which they were in thorough agreement.

Now they must speak out precisely because domestic policies are threatened by a shortage of man-power which in turn springs in part from foreign policy. Shortage of manpower is reflected in inadequate coal production, in a lag in housing, in the slow expansion of exports. It means a continuance of the war-time regimen of "austerity" which is weighing on British health and spirits. Premier Attlee and other ministers have lately been appealing for greater productivity, and indeed, unless that is achieved, hopes of recovering a pre-war standard of living cannot be realized. But at the same time, the Defense Committee of the British Cabinet is reported to be considering the maintenance of 1,500,000 men under arms, and Mr. Attlee has just brought for-

ward a permanent conscription plan. "In thus asking the country to accept more guns and less butter," writes the *New Statesmen and Nation* of November 9, "the government is asking too much; and it is basing its appeal for harder work on the wrong grounds. Whatever arguments may be put forward by . . . the proponents of 'tough' foreign policy, a campaign for higher output by trade unionists based on the slogan 'Sweat your guts to keep your sons in khaki' is foredoomed to failure."

Another reason why the revolt has now come into the open is the Republican success in the American elections. The return to power of the G. O. P., claiming a mandate to restore undiluted free enterprise, has made many Britons wonder how long a Socialist Britain can run in double harness with a capitalist America. In addition, it has increased fears that American foreign policy will proceed from toughness to roughness, involving Britain in a conflict which might well lead to its obliteration. Some American critics of the Byrnes policy regard it as designed in Whitehall, but to many Britons the reverse seems true. They see Russian pressure against British interests in the Middle East and elsewhere as inspired largely by a desire to build a safety belt against American atomic aggression.

The Labor rebels, aside from a few fellow-travelers, want to relax the American embrace without recoiling into Russia's arms. They would like Britain to seek a middle way in association with like-minded countries and thus create a power bloc which would balance the conflicting forces to east and west. Their resolution requests the British government to "recast its conduct of international affairs so as to afford the utmost encouragement to and collaboration with all nations and groups striving to secure full Socialist planning," and thus "provide a democratic and constructive Socialist alternative to an otherwise inevitable conflict between American capitalism and Soviet communism." This certainly seems a more hopeful way of meeting the Russian challenge than Bevin's policy of nagging at Russia's satellites while attempting to build British outposts on the reactionary quicksands of Greece and Spain.

We write without knowing what the outcome of the revolt against Bevinism will be. Probably, the rebels will be defeated, but their foray will have been worth while nevertheless. For one thing, it points up the incompatibility between peaceful prosperity and the present competition in armaments. The urge for greater productivity for the improvement of living standards is common to Communist Russia, Socialist Britain, and capitalist America. All three countries are finding the burdens of armaments and armies hard to bear. In the first two, they are reflected particularly in shortage of man-power; in this country, as the Republicans are already discovering, they are the chief impediment to that reduction in taxes required to lubricate the machinery of free enterprise. All the Big Three powers, therefore, have a strong incentive to agreement on disarmament. Can they not find some way to ease their mutual suspicions so that this problem can be tackled with the urgency it deserves?

Confusion in the G. O. P.

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 14

THE Republican leaders on Capitol Hill are in the position of the gay young man who awakens after a night of celebration to discover that he is married to a very lively stranger. The bridegroom does not know what the devil to make of his new responsibility—and neither do the G. O. P. strategists.

Reporters and radio men have been swarming over the Hill for several days hunting Republicans who would talk. The politicians who earlier were so willing to oblige on anything from the shortage of hairpins to the heights reached by wages are now strangely reluctant to open their mouths in front of a notebook. Joe Martin, Republican leader in the House, innocently said he thought Senator Fulbright's idea that Harry Truman abdicate in favor of a Republican Secretary of State might be a good suggestion, but Senator Morse was sharper. He caught Fulbright in the hall of the Senate Office Building and asked him whether he wanted to ruin the Republican Party.

The awful truth is that the Republicans were much happier when all they had to do was take a lusty swipe at Harry Truman, Communists, and the OPA. They are appalled by the idea of having to run the country for the next two years. Privately some Republicans are lamenting that their party won control of both House and Senate. They only wanted the House.

Harry Truman, who is genuinely happy for the first time since he became President a year ago, is further embarrassing the Republicans. He is beating them to the punch in carrying out the G. O. P. program—reduction of taxes, elimination of economic controls, and huge cuts in the federal pay roll. This afternoon one of the Washington papers alarmed the thousands of minor bu-

reaucrats and clerks who are wondering about their pay checks by running the headline, "U. S. Bureau Cuts to Come Sooner than Expected." Personnel and salary cuts, in fact, began almost the day after election in every government office in Washington. The OPA let out 10,000 at one stroke. The army is thinning out all its civilian employees. The State Department is acutely concerned over the problem of maintaining order in Germany and Japan after the army and navy appropriations are sliced.

Senator Taft

President Truman is cheerfully seconding every Republican suggestion. When Senator Ball announced belligerently that he had a handful of bills restricting the freedom of organized labor, the White House correspondent for the Washington *Post* said that was just dandy with Mr. Truman. His exact words were, "President Truman would approve reasonable amendments to the Wagner act. The Chief Executive was described as feeling that there are certain inequities in the act which the Eightieth Congress might well correct, to the end that there would be a fairer balance between management and labor."

Intimates of Mr. Truman tell me he is enjoying his new role. Certainly there was no trace of sorrow at his press conference on Monday. He read through a statement of policy like a schoolboy reciting his lesson, and then with a wide grin on his face shook hands with visitors. The President is only too glad to dump all the responsibilities on a Republican Congress. There is no evidence at this time that he intends to fight the Hill on any issue. All this is very confusing to the Republicans, whose strategy for 1947 as conceived before the election was to harass the Administration and nimbly step aside when public reaction hunted for the devil responsible for strikes, the high cost of living, the recession, and disintegrating foreign relations.

Joe Martin held a request press conference this week, but there was so little hard news in it that the reporters had to satisfy the customers with the story of how Joe rose from blacksmith's son to Speaker-apparent of the House. Martin was vague on the details of the G. O. P. tax bill and economy drive. They would be left, he said, to special Republican study committees.

Senator Styles Bridges, who will be the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, issued a statement filled with ringing generalities. Not even the skeleton of a factual, detailed program lurked in it.

"Curly" Brooks, the Chicago *Tribune* Senator who happened not to be a committee chairman or leading Republican strategy maker, had a novel suggestion. He would balance the budget and end "corruption, communism, and confusion" all at one sweep by eliminating "the radicals from our government rolls."

The G. O. P. on the Hill not only finds itself suffering from a lack of program for the next two years; it is also cursed with too many generals. In the Senate alone there are so many would-be leaders that, as a compromise, gentle Wallace White will be unenthusiastically shoved into the job of majority leader. Taft wanted the place, but he has annoyed so many Republicans to both left and right of him that he will probably have to be content with the chairmanship of the G. O. P. steering committee. Then any revolt against the Ohio Senator's views can be fought out behind closed doors and not on the Senate floor.

Even Senator Vandenberg's domination of foreign policy is threatened, and he may have to do some fancy trading with his opponents. Some of the Republican Senators consider the election returns a mandate to bear down on Russia in a way that would make Vandenberg's maneuvers look like a Boy Scout picnic. Senator Wherry of Nebraska, who has never been celebrated for his internationalism, has left for a "tour of inspection" of Europe. Considerable sentiment is developing among Republicans against any form of economic aid for foreign countries, and any steps to open wide the tariff doors will be vigorously opposed. Under Secretary of State Acheson at his news conference early this week indicated that the State Department was only too painfully aware of this.

An aggressive though small liberal bloc among the Republicans is going to insist that the G. O. P. must turn left to hold the voters for the 1948 elections. This group will not have much influence in the party councils, but it will continually snap at the heels of such old-timers as Joe Martin, Clarence Brown, and Charlie Halleck in the House. If the Democrats can manage any unified command they will have a good chance to split the Republican leadership on liberal measures. They are quite the opposite of the Republicans, however, in having no generals at all.

The Republicans have a job ahead that makes even the boldest swallow hard. The voters have put it up to them somehow to find houses, bring goods back on the market at lower prices, turn back the expected recession, restore security in the world, and prevent the atomic bomb from exploding over these United States. One of the Democratic Senators commented in dead seriousness, "I hope the Republicans are ten times better than they look."

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Tug of War Over the D. P.'s

Lake Success, November 16

THE poignant problems of human suffering which all too often are the forgotten quantity in international negotiations dominated discussions at Lake Success during the past week. In the muted atmosphere of committee rooms skilfully improvised at the former quarters of the Sperry gyroscope plant, with their softly colored walls and draperies and their day-long artificial lighting—reminding one observer of grim inquisitorial scenes in Koestler's "Darkness at Noon"—it is startling to hear the urgent appeals for help of flesh-and-blood people to whom, in turn, the devious phrases of high diplomatic strategy gambling with their lives appear remote and unreal. In this atmosphere the warmth of feeling expressed by LaGuardia with his customary histrionic vigor electrified even some of the hardened government representatives.

The two main humanitarian problems before the General Assembly are refugees (Social and Humanitarian Committee) and food (Economic and Financial Committee). These two problems, long on the conscience of mankind, have assumed new urgency because UNRRA, which has performed a valiant task in alleviating the sufferings of the displaced and the ill-fed, is slated to wind up its activities in 1947. What, then, is to take the place of UNRRA and complete a job that is admittedly far from finished? Will it be some new, if more limited, international organization, or shall we fall back on such measures of assistance as individual nations may prove ready to undertake? This is the basic issue with respect to both refugees and food.

The Assembly's Social and Humanitarian Committee has before it a draft constitution for an International Refugee Organization which has been under discussion for ten months. Russia rejected this draft when it was submitted to the Economic Council and in the opinion of some of the delegates is now filibustering to prevent its acceptance by the Assembly committee. The core of the controversy is this. There are still about 1,200,000 displaced persons in Europe, most of them in camps in the British and American zones of Germany. These camps are maintained and financed by the United States and Britain, which have performed the seemingly miraculous feat of repatriating some eleven million out of the twelve million D. P.'s who were in Germany on V-E Day. Russia asserts that a considerable number of the D. P.'s, notably those of Russian, Polish, and Yugoslav origin, were "collaborators" of the Germans during the war and should be returned to their native countries for trial as war criminals. The Western powers admit that some collaborators did take refuge in the camps, but point out that they are screening all suspects. They contend that, even after this screening has been completed, there will remain some 850,000 D. P.'s who, because of their political or religious convictions or, in the case of Jews, because of their fear of renewed anti-Semitism, will refuse to return to their homelands. These persons, according to the British and Americans, cannot be forced to return against their will; but neither can they be allowed to stay in Germany, where they will become a threat to security and an economic liability to the Allies. The Western powers, therefore, want to make arrangements for the resettlement of these residuary D. P.'s outside of Europe—principally in Canada and Brazil, which have offered opportunities for settlement.

To these proposals violent objections have been raised by Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, which argue that such settlers would become nuclei of opposition to the regimes in their homelands. Moreover, these three countries, all suffering from a shortage of man-power, have no desire to see potential workers go abroad to strengthen the economies of overseas countries. The cost of administering the International Refugee Organization is estimated at five million dollars, and the cost of resettlement at another five million—a sum regarded by many authorities as inadequate. Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, being wholly out of sympathy with the plans for resettlement, have so far refused to make any financial contribution toward their realization, although they might be willing to finance I. R. O. operations for repatriation of D. P.'s to their homelands. Underlying this complex controversy is the belief of the Western powers, courageously voiced by Eleanor Roosevelt, that the individual has rights which must be respected by the state, in sharp contrast to the view presented over and over again by the Russian spokesman, Foreign Vice-Minister Vishinsky, that the state is paramount, and the individual must bow unquestionably to its dictates.

While on refugees it is the Western powers which urge international action in opposition to Russia, the positions are reversed on the question of food. On Armistice Day LaGuardia pleaded before the Economic and Financial Committee for the creation of a $400,000,000 United Nations Emergency Food Fund for 1947 to tide European countries over until the next harvest. The following day, in Washington, Dean Acheson, Acting Sec-

retary of State, indicated that in the opinion of the American government the time had passed for an elaborate international food agency, and that this country preferred to consider the food needs of individual nations, extending relief when necessary through grants or loans to be requested of Congress. There has been a growing feeling in Washington and throughout the country that aid should be extended, in the first instance, to "grateful" countries, and not merely to all peoples in need irrespective of their attitude toward us.

The policy of the United States was promptly denounced by Mr. Gromyko, who contends that this country is using food as a political weapon. On November 16 Professor Arutiunian, speaking for the U. S. S. R., paid tribute to the work of UNRRA and called for continuance of its food-distribution activities into 1947. But should this prove impossible, Russia, he said, was ready to back the LaGuardia proposal. While it is only natural for the United States, which has been contributing some 70 per cent of UNRRA's expenditures, to expect gratitude, we must remember that many of the receiving countries, having been for years in the forefront of our common battle, feel that the shoe is on the other foot, and that it is we who should be grateful to them, helping them now out of our war-expanded resources. It is entirely proper to inquire whether the food needs of European countries can be met more efficiently by international or by national action. But in one way or another they must be met—and there will be less temptation to use food for political purposes if it is distributed under the supervision of the United Nations than by a single nation, no matter how generous its intentions.

Moscow in November

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, November 13

ON THE evenings of November 7, 8, and 9 Moscow's cold but snowless streets were crowded. Singing and dancing amateur "ensembles" from the various factories performed on illuminated platforms, and people in mufflers and padded coats danced on the pavements to the tunes of jazz bands. Occasionally a truck appeared, selling sandwiches, sausages, and cakes. Otherwise the twenty-ninth anniversary of the October Revolution passed off quietly. Stalin was not present at the Red Square parade. On the previous night, at the Bolshoi Theater, on a stage decorated with an immense portrait of Stalin and a bust of Lenin and draped with the sixteen red flags of the Soviet Republics, Zhdanov, in a long speech, gave a survey of the progress achieved during the first year of the Five-Year Plan and a brief analysis of the international situation.

People reveal a certain awareness of the formidable tasks still to be performed at home, of the many difficulties to which Zhdanov referred. Russia as a whole had a bad harvest, and this is reflected in the food situation. Bread rationing, which should have been abolished this year, is to continue until 1947. Zhdanov expressed regret at this and also at the fact that the government had found it necessary to increase the prices of rationed foods two-and-a-half and three-and-a-half times. He explained that the government's food reserves were low and would have to be replenished. In a recent article Professor Varga dwelt on America's wealth in food reserves and expressed some apprehensions about their being used as a political weapon: when spring comes, he said, some European countries will be tempted to ask America for food credits, and "the Americans will then try to lay down a variety of political conditions."

In the Kursk province and some other areas the harvest was so bad that emergency food supplies had to be sent in—and tributes are paid to Stalin for the fatherly care he took of the Kursk peasantry. Some villages, however, have food reserves, and these are not being sent to the cities in sufficient quantities; it is apparent that additional inducements must be offered to the peasants. The government is finding it necessary to direct special attention to the whole problem of internal trade. With the Five-Year Plan concentrating largely—especially at this early stage—on restoration of heavy industry, there is still a serious shortage of consumer goods. *Pravda* said recently, "Soviet and party organs must radically change their attitude on questions of internal trade and consumer goods."

MOBILIZING THE COOPERATIVES

The Soviet cooperative movement is being revived to help the government cope with the situation, and the decree of November 9 concerning the new functions of the cooperatives is described as of "exceptional impor-

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tance." Pursued to its logical conclusion, this policy should considerably alter the Russian urban scene in the coming year. There are 18,000 consumer cooperatives in the Soviet Union and 11,000 producer cooperatives (workshops and a few small and medium-sized factories) in Russia proper. The consumer co-ops, which until the present have been found only in the villages, acting as distributing centers for government goods only, are now to open booths and stores in the cities. They will sell not at state prices but at current market prices—though not above the prices of the government's "commercial" stores. This permits a considerable gain for the members of the cooperative and means that a serious competitor will have been created for the *kohkhoz* market; the highly probable result will be a general drop in prices. The government decree authorizes the consumer co-ops to sell bread, milk, meat, and a long list of other foods.

Where will they get their supplies? Here the question of marketing comes in. The co-ops will be marketing and buying organizations. The government is placing at their disposal 7,000 trucks, and it is hoped railway cars also, so that they can transport existing food reserves from out-of-the-way villages in remote parts of the country. The cooperatives will enter into what is called "healthy competition with the state."

The producer co-ops will also have a new function. Hitherto they have been largely working on government contracts and have been paid for their products at state prices. They reached the consumer through government stores. Now they will sell direct to the consumer and at market prices, which should provide a great inducement to production. The government will aid them by supplying equipment and raw materials and by instructing local authorities to help them to acquire premises, technicians, and skilled labor. The establishment of these cooperative shops in the cities should greatly relieve pressure on government stores, increase the supply of consumer goods, and encourage the peasants to come to town to buy. Since the producer co-ops have been instructed to concentrate on household goods, kitchen utensils, crockery, glass, furniture, hosiery, and shoes, their production will be an important contribution to the Five-Year Plan. The growth of both producer and consumer co-ops will be stimulated by the opportunities they offer for personal gain, and it is expected that a large number of people now unemployed or not working will be attracted into the movement.

Whether the co-ops with their new functions will become a permanent feature of the Soviet economy or are simply a solution for an emergency is still hard to say. The probability is that more centralized state trading will come into its own again when the flow of goods between the towns and cities has increased.

The mobilization of the co-ops as a producing, marketing, and trading auxiliary points up certain difficulties that have arisen as a result of the war, difficulties accentuated by the bad harvest. Although there have been substantial accomplishments in reconstruction during the first year of the Five-Year Plan, notably in heavy industry and textiles, these represent only "the very first steps," as Zhdanov and others have stressed. The high war casualties have caused a shortage of skilled labor, transport remains difficult, and there is a serious lack of machinery. The Soviet Union's interest in American credits was emphasized by Stalin in his reply to Hugh Baillie of the U. P. But at the same time the Russians have repeatedly made it clear that they will not consider any credits with political conditions.

THROUGH THE MOSCOW TELESCOPE

One frequently sees articles like Zaslavsky's in *Krokodil* the other day, which drew a sort of psycho-meteorological map of the world showing depression and storm clouds over America, rain over Western Europe, and sunny blue skies over the Soviet Union. In numerous utterances it is reiterated that the Soviet Union has "an economic system superior to any other—without crises or unemployment."

In the Russian view the results of the German and French elections are a confirmation of various theoretical and practical ideas about the world situation that have been put forward in Russia lately. If the greater part of the Germans voted Social Democratic rather than Communist, it was because the Germans are banking on opposition between the East and the West, have ideas of revanche at the back of their minds, and still have not absorbed the conception of the "new democracy," or, in fact, of any sort of democracy. Those who voted Social Democratic were not voting for German democracy but for the preponderant influence in Europe of Byrnes's Stuttgart speech. Above all, the Germans, owing to twelve years of Nazi indoctrination, are not quite like other people yet, the Russians say. Apart from Germany, which is the land of supreme opportunism, the Russians are largely convinced that the "new democracy" is making headway in Europe. The increase of Communist votes in France is considered highly symptomatic.

Stalin's selection of Churchill as warmonger number one was not accidental. Already, in England, a paper like the *New Statesman and Nation* notes that Churchill is fancying himself as the leader of World War III. Russia has considerable economic difficulties and an immense reconstruction program ahead. It is the last country in the world which wants another world war. The Russians

ask therefore what Churchill's purpose could possibly have been when he started the story about two hundred Russian divisions on a war footing, except to cause unnecessary nervousness and possibly to try to bludgeon Russia, by creating intense friction, into abandoning certain strategic political positions in Europe. Incidentally, even before Stalin's statement about the sixty divisions which would shortly be reduced to forty, Allied military attachés in Moscow, including some who are highly critical of the Soviet Union, were more than skeptical about Churchill's figures. The Churchill speech is believed to have had unquestionable influence on the French elections by helping the Communists in their role as the great "peace party" and also as the "independence party" —that is, independence from the excessive inroads of Anglo-American influence and, still more, of French finance capital, which was notoriously collaborationist.

Byrnes's and Bevin's shoulder-shrugging about "What is a fascist?" and "What is a collaborationist?" marks, in the Russian view, a long retreat from their war-time positions, and can only strengthen the resistance of millions in France, Italy, and Eastern Europe to whom "fascists" and "collaborationists" are perfectly real persons. Such persons still exist in Europe, and so do the memories of the German occupation. Thus Churchill's and Byrnes's olive branches to Germany at this stage had precisely the effect we have seen in the French elections. In other words, the conception of the "new democracy" in Europe, as the Russians see it, is something which makes a spontaneous appeal to millions of people for a dozen different reasons—and for different reasons at different times. There is undeniably a clash of ideologies here, but what is interesting is that it is by a kind of instinct and intuition rather than through deliberate stimulation that the right in Europe has come to look to the West and the left has come to look to the East, or rather right and left are turning their backs on East and West. This tussle in Europe, as the Russians see it, is inevitable. What might, however, be regulated to some extent is the degree of friction; hence the welcome given in Russia to many of Wallace's arguments, the conciliatory tone of Stalin's statements, and Russian eagerness for business with America. The ideological conflict in Europe will continue, but in the Russian view there is no reason why this should spell the inevitability of physical war.

On the American elections the Russians have been extremely reserved, attributing the results to Democratic blundering rather than to any solid Republican achievements and concluding hopefully, "In both parties the struggle between the real friends of peace and the others will continue." The prospect of Dewey's becoming the next President is noted without comment.

Race Justice in Aiken

BY GEORGE McMILLAN

Aiken, S. C., November 13

ISAAC WOODARD'S demand that a Southern bus driver treat him like a man started a chain of events that were made to seem inevitable in Federal Court at Columbia, South Carolina, last week—even to the final event, the acquittal of the Batesburg police chief who blinded the Negro war veteran.

By speaking as he did on a bus that was making its way through the South Carolina piedmont Woodard threatened a way of life that is still taken for granted in that state.

While the case was being tried, the alleged acts of the police chief were overshadowed by the question of Woodard's behavior: in the ten hours after he was discharged from the army was it that of a "sober South Carolina Negro," or was it outside the pattern of conduct cut by South Carolina whites "for the inferior race to which Woodard belongs"?

GEORGE McMillan is a free-lance writer living in Aiken, South Carolina. He served as a marine combat correspondent during the war, and was assistant chief of the News Bureau, Office of War Information, before he entered the service.

In the turgid climate of the courtroom Woodard had to be acquitted of conduct unbecoming a Negro before Police Chief Lynwood Shull could be convicted of depriving Woodard of his constitutional right to "be secure in his person." Few in the courtroom knew, or seemed to care, that this was the first civil-rights case ever heard in South Carolina.

Every one of the witnesses who had been on or near the bus that night of February 12, 1946, was asked by the defense whether Woodard had talked profanely and obscenely "in front of, or in the hearing of, white ladies." All the defense witnesses said he had. The prosecution spent much of its time vainly trying to prove that Woodard was no more boisterous than the others in the group of understandably elated and hilarious men who had been discharged from the army that afternoon at Camp Gordon, Georgia.

The event that undoubtedly provoked Woodard into his angry argument with the bus driver was mentioned only indirectly at the trial. The bus driver had asked a white soldier who was sitting beside Woodard at the

beginning of the journey to get up and move to the front. This man, known only by his nickname "Montana," did not appear as a witness for either prosecution or defense. With some other men aboard the bus, he had not only been discharged with Woodard but had also returned from the Pacific on the same troop transport.

It is easy to see how "Montana" and the other men felt for that moment in time a comradeship which overcame what must have seemed, if indeed they were conscious of it at all, the superficial ritual of segregation called for in the South Carolina setting.

One of the white veterans, Jennings Stroud, now a student at the University of South Carolina, did testify in Woodard's behalf. "Woodard was making noise," Stroud said, "but so were all of us."

The resentment aroused in Woodard when the bus driver asked Montana to move up front was perfectly natural. Later, when Woodard asked the driver to make a rest stop, the driver refused; he said, "Hell, no," according to the Negro. It was then that Woodard replied, "Dammit, you've got to talk to me like a man."

This reply of Woodard's, his claim that, though a Negro, he should be treated as a man, caused the driver —the conclusion is inescapable from the evidence at the trial—to single Woodard out for arrest at Batesburg. By the time Shull came on the scene to arrest Woodard the racial battle lines had been drawn, and Woodard stood convicted.

The defense was perfectly willing to let the jury decide between the word of Shull and that of Woodard. Only the two participants were able to make any assertion about what happened during their altercation. The blows were struck around the corner from the bus stop, in the dark, on a deserted block of tiny Batesburg's business district. The jury could take Shull's word that Woodard was still profane and resisted arrest by grabbing Shull's pellet-loaded blackjack; or it could take Woodard's word that he was merely protesting that Shull had no reason to arrest him, and that he grabbed Shull's blackjack only after Shull had already hit him.

The all-white jury had to choose between the word of a white man and the word of a Negro. Shull was acquitted in twenty-eight minutes.

Two facts which helped to bring the case to national attention went undisputed. Woodard is permanently blind, and Shull struck the blow which blinded him.

In the Wind

AROUND TOWN: The Wind spent most of the week blowing through the five boroughs that contain and surround its home office, eyes open, ears wide, and in general making a nuisance of itself. On the overhung morning of November 6, for instance, the Wind caused quite a traffic jam at a crowded intersection, regarding with prolonged fascination the *Daily Worker's* banner headline: "ALP Vote Strong."

CONVERSATIONAL FRAGMENT in the financial district, overheard that same morning, from a man who never flinched as part of a scaffolding fell loudly on to another part: "And another twenty shares dropped!"

THE DISPLAY WINDOW of the Mosler Safe Company, 320 Fifth Avenue, has been featuring a huge photograph of the rubble of Hiroshima. Staunch and undamaged in the middle of the photograph is a Mosler safe (advt). This is the way the world ends, with a bang and a well-protected insurance policy.

FARTHER DOWNTOWN, the City Hall Hardware Shop at 33 Park Row is offering a bargain sale in household odds and ends. One of the odds is a large basket filled with second-hand policemen's billy clubs, at twenty-nine cents each. "No Home Should Be Without One," declares a poster.

JUST TWO BLOCKS SOUTH, Modell's (198 Broadway) is holding *its* bargain sale—of surplus war property. Center of attraction is furnished by G. I. gas masks at nineteen cents each. "Children Will Love Them," chortles Modell's tag line.

UP IN THE HINTERLAND—Yonkers, that is—City Comptroller Thomas V. Kennedy has declined an $800 increase to his present annual salary of $7,200 because, he announced, "the city is not in a position to pay it." Kennedy, who passes on Yonkers's tax expenditures, goes on to say that "if you're going to have stabilization of government, it has to start with someone." "And find," Mr. Kennedy might have added, "what wind serves to advance an honest mind."

A SPY who snuck up to Buffalo over the week-end reports this sign on a cage in the zoo there: "Bald Eagle *(Heliaectus leucocepheles)*—range: the whole of North America. Never fishes for himself as long as he can rob the more skilful and industrious fish hawk. The bald eagle is our national emblem."

SCANNING the out-of-town papers in the huge Times Square newsstand which carries them, the Wind uncovered this editorial sentiment in the Tucson (Arizona) *Star*: The Republicans "will probably do what Senator Taft wants as long as he continues to be the leading bull in the Republican herd."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

The People's Front

THIS time there will be no doubt about where the last fascist regime in Europe is finding its chief support. I am in a position to affirm that the center of opposition to a democratic policy toward Spain has definitely shifted from London to Washington; in the last ten days, since the presentation of the various resolutions on Spain in the General Assembly of the U. N., it is the State Department which has taken command.

The change was rather sudden. Until Foreign Secretary Bevin arrived in New York, British representatives were busy—as they were last spring during the sessions of the Security Council—explaining the necessity of continuing to do business with Franco unless some deal could be worked out with the monarchists and the army. When Mr. Bevin stepped off the boat, he got the whole story of the Trade Union Congress meeting in Brighton, where his position on Spain had been repudiated by an overwhelming vote. The former Transport House official was badly jolted; for the first time he realized the full extent of the rebellion which has now crystallized in the protest amendments submitted by the sixty Labor M. P.'s. Bevin is too shrewd a politician to stake his own fate and that of his government on a single issue. Members of other delegations reported him as inclined to favor a more positive stand against Franco in the General Assembly. It was at this critical moment that the United States began to use its influence, especially in the Latin American bloc.

The effect of this initiative became apparent almost immediately. In a statement published on November 15 Dr. Alberto Arca Parro, the Peruvian delegate, said that the Latin American nations were "watching closely" the attitude of the United States, which "does not favor the rupture of relations or any other violent action against Franco Spain." Perhaps half of the Latin American delegates, who at the opening of the Assembly had agreed in talks among themselves to take a strong anti-Franco position, have been retreating inch by inch. Privately they say quite frankly, "The whole thing depends on the United States. If you can change the mind of the American delegation, the fight can still be won."

Well, I am not in a position to convert the American delegation, but I can at least give our readers an idea where it stands at this moment. I had a long personal talk the other day with a man who is very close to the delegation and who made no bones about the fact that the United States intends to do its best to stall any effective action on Spain. He began by repeating the old argument that it is not the business of the United Nations to interfere in the "internal affairs" of any country; were that its function, he said, one might well ask it to put an end to the dictatorial Tito regime. Here he was obviously echoing the recent extraordinary outburst of Sumner Welles, who in linking Yugoslavia and Spain conveniently ignored the rather obvious distinction between a government put in power by the Axis and one which came to power by defeating the Axis.

But presently my informant brought up the point being stressed by the American delegation in all its discussions of the Spanish issue: any drastic change in Spain inevitably means civil war. If the State Department really believes this theory, the American intelligence services must be singularly inefficient. Civil war is "inevitable" only if the dictatorship believes it has the solid backing of the United States. Recently Franco's prestige and power have been severely undermined. Cabling from Madrid on November 11, Paul B. Kennedy of the New York *Times* reported, "Generalissimo Francisco Franco has lost, if only temporarily, his iron grip on the Spanish state." He attributes the change to "an economic situation which seems approaching the chaotic." In other words, even with increasing Anglo-American aid, diplomatic and material, Franco has been unable to solve Spain's economic crisis. If all foreign resources were withdrawn, where would he find the means with which to fight a civil war? Everyone admits that fully 90 per cent of the people oppose his rule. He has lost an important section of his banker support. His generals? The day they believe the United Nations is ready to act on Spain, a large proportion of them will try, as they did after San Francisco, to get in touch with Republican leaders with a view to cooperating in the overthrow of Franco and so saving their own skins. As for the Falange, it is disintegrating in its own corruption and no longer can put up a real battle.

No, the United States government cannot use the argument of civil war as an excuse for putting the brakes on the anti-Franco forces within the United Nations. Nor can it justify the even more pharisaical proposal of Dr. Guillermo Belt, chief Cuban delegate, that a plebiscite "under the scrutiny of the press of the world" shall determine the form of government to be set up in Spain. This seems to be the compromise formula which the American delegation will probably back, using Dr. Belt as its spokesman. Perhaps the example of Greece has encouraged the royalist wing of the State Department to hope for a similar outcome in Spain. I can assure them that no pressure or back-stairs bargain will induce the people of Spain to accept a plebiscite taken with Franco in power.

DEL VAYO

The American Political Scene

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

II. The Bankruptcy of Parties

London, November 1

IT IS many years since the difference between American political parties lay so obviously in the field of doctrine that it was possible for the observer to be sure of the distinction of the principles for which each stood. No doubt it is pretty accurate to say that the main emphasis of the Republican Party is profoundly conservative, and that the chief figures who determine its policy are also the chief representatives of corporate wealth. No doubt, also, it is a fair statement that the Republicans, generally, are hostile to government regulation of American economic life, and remain convinced that the smaller the part it plays in interfering with the free economy of the market the better for the American people. I am confident also that if the Republicans could have had their way, the Wagner act and the Securities and Exchange Act would not have been on the statute book. Nor is it likely that experiments like the TVA or those—some of them of remarkable quality—undertaken by the WPA and the PWA would have been attempted on anything like the scale upon which Franklin Roosevelt insisted.

But no serious observer is entitled to infer from the conservative character of the Republican Party that the Democratic Party is a liberal alternative. The core of the Democratic Party remains the solid South; and the evidence is overwhelming that, with rare exceptions, the South is at least as conservative as most parts of the Republican Party. It may throw up an occasional liberal like Senator Hill of Alabama, or Senator Pepper of Florida, but in general no serious assessment of its character could honestly suggest an anxiety, in the effective political South, to prove its enthusiasm for the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt was able to retain the allegiance of the great cities—New York, Chicago, Boston. But I do not think it is excessive to say that the Democratic machine in each of these gave him a support that was personal in character, and that he obtained the support he had in return for the use of his patronage and his decision to turn a blind eye to the habits of men like Mayor Hague of Jersey City, whose way of life corresponds much more to that of a Nazi *Gauleiter* than to anything one could legitimately expect from a supporter of the New Deal.

The fact simply is that Americans, when they were liberal, supported the Democratic Party because of the special character Mr. Roosevelt gave to it. So did organizations like the Political Action Committee. He made the choice between parties temporarily real because he made the Democrats accept, as the price of their victory, a policy in large degree alien from the inner drive of the party machine. Now that he is dead, it becomes rapidly ever more obvious not only that his successor cannot compel the continued payment of that price but, even more, that he is not very seriously anxious to do so. It is also pretty obvious that in so far as Mr. Wallace seeks to be the residuary legatee of the Roosevelt heritage, he represents at best an influential minority in the party who could not hope to nominate him as their candidate in 1948 even if Mr. Truman decided not to run again. It is difficult to see on the Democratic horizon any real quest for something different from the "available" candidate who can be regarded as not seriously distinguished either in personality or in principles from his opponent on the Republican side.

HOMELESS LIBERALS

Most American liberals are convinced, intelligibly enough, that their votes would be thrown away if they were cast for a Socialist candidate, still more for a candidate from the Communist Party. Neither of these organizations could today muster a quarter of a million votes; and if a progressive candidate is to have a chance of victory, it is useless to look to either camp of the extreme left. The liberals rule out also any serious possibility of a third party. The time, they think, is too short for its effective organization to be possible, and an attempt in the absence of that effectiveness would almost certainly simply assure a Republican victory. Since that would mean the presence of Mr. Dewey, or Governor Bricker, or Senator Taft in the White House, or of some compromise candidate with no greater appeal to the liberals than any of these, American progressive opinion is firmly convinced that the best it can do is to bring all the pressure to bear it can in support of liberal influences in the Democratic Party.

On any showing, that is an immense task. Liberal influence has proved insufficient, under President Truman, to retain any of the major liberals in the Administration in Washington. It has not been able to safeguard American labor from having to assume a defensive

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position against the business interests which so patently feel that, after long years of waiting, their hour is at length at hand. It has not been sufficient to impose a liberal foreign policy upon Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes; perhaps in no realm is the influence of Franklin Roosevelt so grimly absent. The liberals are adversely affected by the continued rift in the labor movement. Their influence with the bosses of the city machines has declined enormously since they ceased to be able to look for support to the man in the White House. Their occasional victories, as in the defeat of Senator Burton Wheeler in the Montana primary, are offset by the victories of men like Bilbo and Talmadge. They are no longer on the inside of the forces they seek to move in their direction. They lack a coherent and unified striking power. Despite the deep interest in the ideas and fortunes of Henry Wallace, they lack, I think, a person round whom they can build the kind of dynamic appeal which, in 1940, swept Wendell Willkie into the Republican nomination. Given the actual play of forces in America today, I think the most the liberals can hope for is to act as a brake on the drift to conservatism that is now the major trend in every aspect of American policy.

It is worth noting that on the three occasions since 1919 when liberals in America have had a chance to vote for a man of their own outlook they have been able to elect him only once; and on that occasion the conservative candidate defeated himself. As a third-party nominee in 1924 the elder La Follette fought a brave campaign in which there was never a chance of his success. In 1928 liberals had an admirable candidate in Alfred E. Smith, but neither his record at Albany nor his liberal views were sufficient to conquer the combined hostility of snobbery and deep-rooted religious fears. They won a great victory in 1932, but it is only fair to admit that any reasonable Democratic nominee would have won in 1932. The later victories of Franklin Roosevelt were in a profound sense liberal victories; they brought out the progressivism of the plain people in America even more remarkably than the revolt of 1912 which sent that very moderate liberal, Woodrow Wilson, to the White House. But it is difficult for the outsider not to feel that one of those periods has been reached in American history in which the unattached voter, fatigued by a long experience of crisis-leadership, is now once more anxious for a quiet time. Because both major party machines in America are concerned only with organizing victory and not with the promotion of ideas through victory, they respond with eagerness to the demand for a quiet time. That means that they will choose candidates who are the best safeguards they can find against the danger of an exciting Presidency. Only evidence, in the next two years, of an electorate made angry as it was made angry by the great depression would persuade either of the parties to risk a liberal candidate.

In my view, therefore, it is important for American liberals to realize that political parties in the United States are not organizations to promote ideas but loose federations of machines for getting enough votes to enable the parties to lay their hands on the spoils. Ideas are of value to them only in the proportion that they are likely to increase the votes that can be obtained. A liberal group, on this showing, interests the machines to the degree that they believe it has the power to attract to their side voters who, otherwise, might be indifferent or hostile. They give it attention as they give attention to any other pressure group—the utilities, the N. A. M., the Roman Catholic church, or the P. A. C. And this means that in neither party has the American liberal any permanent spiritual home. He is welcome there just in the degree that he is judged to have importance for the specific occasion on which he demands influence.

THE MACHINES FEAR IDEAS

It follows from what I have said that there is little direct relation between the social forces at play in the United States and the political institutions through which they must express themselves. The absence of this direct relation weakens at every turn the power of ideas in American political life. The major parties are afraid of ideas. They prevent the smooth functioning of the machines. They make the hold of the machines upon the voters both difficult and uncertain. They disturb the relation between the machines and the interests. They bring into the political field—they even bring into high office—citizens who under the rule of "normalcy" would not dream of activity in Washington. They make politics interesting, and the more interesting politics are the less strong is the power of the machine over the electoral mind. Wendell Willkie could never have seized the Republican nomination at a time when great issues were not at stake. Thus it is the purpose of the machines to prevent, if they can, the emergence of great issues and to obscure them if they emerge. The American liberal, therefore, has all the power of the major parties arrayed against him. His objective is to obtain exactly what they seek to deny. He is urging that political action be made proportionate to social need. But when he does this he is inviting a politics of policy as a substitute for the historic politics of maneuver, which keeps the markets contented, the politicians regular, and the voters confined within the channels that the party bosses have found by experience to be manageable. American liberals are thus permanent rebels against the routines of action that it is the function of parties to impose.

I am arguing that the American liberal is anxious for what Bagehot called "thinking government," and that the whole ethos of the American party system is to safeguard the existing interests in the United States against the dangerous possibilities of thought. Republicans and

Democrats alike want a President with whom they feel safe. To them, a liberal President, a liberal Congress also, are of the nature of intruders. They are welcome only in a crisis, when the parties have somehow to compromise with ideas and to accept unwonted innovation. They are always unwelcome if the parties feel any confidence that they can control the electorate within the framework of a traditional routine in which the results cause a minimum of social disturbance. The vital fact is that American parties are the brokers of votes and not the brokers of ideas. It is only in a storm that they turn to the pilot who is prepared to take the ship of state to port by an uncharted route.

Both major parties at the present time are lulled into a mistaken expectation of a quiet epoch in the next years partly by the self-confidence which comes from the general realization of American power, and partly because they believe America is fatigued with the immense effort of the last fourteen years and would welcome relief from the burden of thought. The one thing that alarms them is the prospect of a President who might compel them again to large-scale innovation. It is only necessary to remember their unease with Mr. Roosevelt after 1934, their deep unhappiness with him after 1936, to realize that he was forced upon them by the electorate as a leader whom they accepted with regret. They never ceased to feel the discomfort of the voyage and the risks to which their pilot exposed them.

"NO SHORT CUT TO POWER"

I do not believe that it will be a quiet epoch in the next years in the United States. Forces have been unleashed in the world which will everywhere compel fundamental reorientations of policy. It is quite unthinkable that the United States should be unaffected by their influence for the simple and central reason that the New Deal was the incomplete expression of their American operation. And since the two major parties will resist the effort to resume the New Deal at the point where President Roosevelt was compelled to slow down its development, I do not think the liberals will be able to influence their policy until crisis once more makes it evident that this is disproportionate to the situation. No doubt liberals will try hard, until 1948, to use the Democratic Party, in the belief that it can be forced to accept the obligation to resume the Roosevelt tradition. I am confident that they will fail. More, I am confident that they will learn from this failure what the British Labor Party learned between 1900 and 1918—that when the basic objectives of the two parties between which an electorate must choose are the same, the electorate has no real choice. Thus deprived of the power to choose, it cannot secure either the men or the measures which its situation requires. It is then driven to a realignment of parties so that the institutions of representative democracy may work with genuine effectiveness. To postpone unduly the making of that realignment is to risk disaster of a very serious kind.

Anyone who looks at America today must see, I think, that the present party system cannot adequately cope with the three major problems of the United States. It cannot effectively integrate the United States into the new world organization. It cannot solve the problem of the disparate hold on well-being of the South compared to the North and East. It cannot obtain for labor its proper status in the national economy. Even if it be said that each of these is, in a full way, a long-term problem, each of them also is one in which it is urgent that a real beginning should be made. How remote the existing parties are from any grasp of the first issues was well illustrated by the American government's decision to oppose Sir John Orr's great scheme for an international food board, and its sudden abandonment of its important part in the vital system created in the war for the state purchase of food supplies; these, with the abandonment of price control, are a major blow to international economic recovery. The general anxiety of both Republicans and Democrats to get back to an uncontrolled market economy makes it more difficult than ever seriously to plan for large-scale improvement of conditions in the South and the West. It needs no prophet to foresee that, despite the era of strikes through which America is now passing, the labor movement, realistically regarded, is likely to be on the defensive until the next depression breaks down that simple-minded faith in the economic American way which even Philip Murray has been persuaded to profess.

I do not believe, therefore, that American liberals can use the present party system to implement their principles in any profound or continuous way. It is geared to other purposes. It is lacking in that relation to ideas which is of primary importance for any organization which does not want to live from hand to mouth. The collapse of liberal effectiveness in the Democratic Party in the brief interval since President Roosevelt died ought to convince the left that there is no short cut to power. To believe that the Democratic machine can be recaptured for a continued New Deal is to believe in miracles, and belief in miracles is political escapism of the worst kind. Those, therefore, who want a political party which can give to the United States the opportunity of showing its readiness, both domestically and internationally, for great experiments have got to build one on a new foundation. They have got to make organized labor the core of a progressive alliance round which can gather all who have realized the danger of a retreat from the plane to which Mr. Roosevelt had raised the issues he had to meet. If they rely upon makeshifts which are now showing their deep unreliability, the next crisis may find them unprepared for what may be the most momentous internal struggle since the Civil War.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Still Around the Corner

THE Stock Exchange celebrated the Republican victory by falling flat on its back; not for two months had prices been marked down so drastically in a single session. It seemed an unkind way of greeting old friends, and Wall Streeters with red faces hastened to explain that the election results had been discounted in advance and that, as so often happens, confirmation of "good news" encouraged profit-taking. Moreover, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "brokers believed that a Republican Congress was apt to have deflationary economic ideas. While this was regarded as constructive eventually, it might have temporary market reverberations." In other words, the advent of the Republicans to power will not ameliorate the recession or depression of 1947 which Wall Streeters regard as definitely foreshadowed by the bearish behavior of stock prices in the past few months. It may even make it worse, and this possibility leaves the financial community torn between its traditional loyalty to the G. O. P. and its natural dislike of having to go through the wringer.

Warning investors against impatience, a bulletin issued by the brokerage house of Buckley Brothers points out that "we are in for a period of change, and that takes time." It goes on to give a summary of the probable effects of the incoming Republican tide: "An end of the President's war-time powers; a return to conservative fiscal policies, ultimately a balanced budget, reduced income taxes, and the elimination of excise levies; little change in tariffs, farm legislation, and foreign policy; a return to state and local governments of housing, health, and social problems; a minimum of business regulatory legislation; and a revision of labor laws on an equitable basis for management and labor." This is a program for a period of "normalcy"; it seems to have little relevance to the problems facing us today.

The subject about which the triumphant Republicans are talking most freely is the fiscal question. They are promising us both lower taxes and a balanced budget, though there seems to be some difference among them as to which of these desirable objectives should have priority. Representatives Martin and Knutson, both powerful voices in the new House, think that Congress should proceed to cut taxes immediately it convenes and then go on to trim the budget as much as possible. Senator Taft more cautiously advocates balancing the budget first, suggesting that expenditures can be cut from $41½ billion to $25 or $30 billion.

Republican propaganda has spread the idea that huge amounts of the taxpayers' money can be saved by sacking unnecessary "hordes of bureaucrats" and ending lavish spending in Washington. Actually, a large proportion of government expenditure is of contractual nature and cannot easily be reduced. Debt interest, for instance, absorbs $5 billion annually, and it will not fall much below this figure for many years, even though a program of debt reduction is undertaken. The Republicans cannot reduce it and may even increase it, for their financial backers are clamoring for a change in the Treasury's cheap-money policy. Another inflexible item is veterans' benefits, which, with 1948 in the offing, the Republicans will not squeeze below the present total of $6 billion. Nor can they economize on social-security benefits—$1.2 billion for 1946-47—which are likely to rise rather than fall next year, particularly if the anticipated recession comes along.

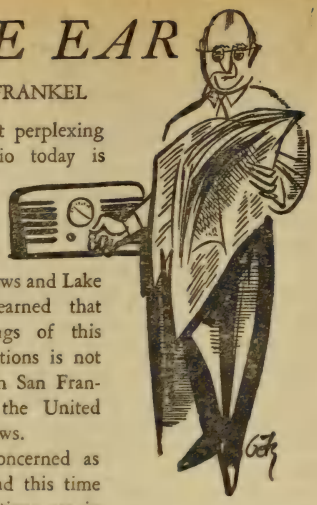
In an outline of a $25-billion budget which he gave at a press conference on November 7, Senator Taft conceded the figures given above for interest and veterans and apparently forgot social security. He allowed $2 billion for "general government expenses"—the judiciary, the departments, Congress, and so on—which is approximately the amount provided in the current budget as revised last August. His big economies would be at the expense of the army and navy, for which he proposed $8 billion compared with $18.5 billion in the current year. That left a balance of $4 billion for tax refunds, foreign loans, and "such aid as we may give to agriculture." This last item accounts for $1.2 billion in the current budget. It could be reduced if commodity prices are maintained, but should they slump—and there are signs they are already slipping—the government's statutory undertaking to support farm prices at 90 per cent of parity for two years after the end of hostilities must involve a heavy liability for the Treasury. Will the Republican Party, with its big contingents from the farm belt, repudiate this undertaking?

The fact is that Senator Taft's budgetary program depends on the extent to which he and his colleagues succeed in imposing their slimming diet on the armed forces. Of course, the present bill for the army and navy is swollen by non-recurrent items such as terminal-leave pay, and under any circumstances will be smaller next year. But the service chiefs appear to be thinking in terms of a permanent outlay of $14 to $15 billion, and while they might take somewhat less, a slash to $8 billion could only be made over a pile of brass-bound corpses. It cannot be denied that they would have a lot of logic on their side. Certainly the Republicans are contradictory when they talk of maintaining present foreign policies unchanged and make drastic cuts in service expenditures. For American foreign policy today rests on the assumption that the only language Russia understands is that of "the big stick," and unless some way of improving relations with the Soviets can be found, Republican hopes of combining a balanced budget with drastic tax reductions are likely to go a-glimmering.

This is not to say that the budget cannot be balanced at all. It should, in fact, be possible to bring federal expenses sufficiently below revenue receipts to permit abolition of most of the excise taxes and moderate relief to income-tax payers. But despite the Republican majority, the tax burden is destined to remain much heavier than in pre-war years, and, in particular, it is unlikely that corporation levies will be appreciably reduced. A dim realization of this fact, perhaps, kept Wall Street from singing "Happy Days Are Here Again" on November 6. The kind of prosperity of which its denizens dream is still around the corner.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL



PERHAPS the most perplexing question for radio today is what to do about the U. N. For since the U. N. came, first, to Hunter College and then to Flushing Meadows and Lake Success, radio has learned that broadcasting the doings of this modern League of Nations is not the cinch it was out in San Francisco when anything the United Nations did was big news.

The U. N. is as concerned as radio, for if radio—and this time networks and local stations are in the hopper together—could only learn how to handle the peace as well as it did the war, the future of the U. N. would look up. The industry and the international body agree that there is not enough broadcast time, not enough penetrating comment, not enough listening, but they differ about how the blame should be apportioned.

To radio the U. N. is an audience killer. It offers nothing but talk, and windy talk, with boring translations to boot—especially now that the General Assembly has been broken down into its committees and is deliberating at Lake Success. Radio is therefore limiting its coverage to short takes interpolated in regular news broadcasts. Once the Assembly reconvenes as a unit at Flushing Meadows, radio will return its microphones to the rostrum and carry as many of the important speeches as its ability to forecast their content permits.

Radio is not satisfied with the situation and intends to do something about it—just how soon depends on listener reaction. Right now the amount of complaint from the radio audience is not enough to spur the broadcasters into haste but enough to keep them unhappy.

To the U. N. the problem is one of getting its story to the American public. They provided broadcast facilities—and saw them utilized—at San Francisco, Hunter College, and Flushing Meadows, but Lake Success is something else again. Here the radio booths overlooking the committee rooms and the chambers of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have not been utilized to the full.

When I went out there last week, WNYC, the city-owned New York outlet, was carrying a play-by-play account; WMCA, the New York independent, was recording and re-creating its evening half-hour program whenever it felt developments warranted; and Mutual had equipment on hand for airing innocuous words at the end of its daily musical tribute to the U. N. Aside from that, NBC had John McVane, an experienced news hand, covering the committee meetings and feeding takes to regular newscasts; Mutual had a man on the spot; CBS had two men assigned whom I did not see; and ABC had no one around.

In the view of the U. N. the broadcasters are sidestepping responsibility by applying news standards to U. N. doings and ignoring the wealth of background, informative, and human-interest material that is available. "If only radio would face up to its obligation," wailed spokesmen of the international organization, "put its imagination to work, and do a broadcasting job comparable to what it did in the war."

To this radio answers: "We would like to cover the U. N. as we did the war, but the broad basic appeal is not there; it has to be cultivated, and we haven't the staff, the funds, or the time to do that." Some radio men apologize for the situation as follows: "Every newspaper in the country gives a considerable amount of space to the U. N. If we insist on using news-coverage standards, then we should match the staffs and time devoted to U. N. by the press. This we are not doing, and we must face it. So long as network radio does not want—and you can't blame them—to sign a blank check for the staff required to provide the coverage needed, and so long as network radio refuses—as do NBC and CBS—to use the recorded re-creation technique pioneered by WMCA, then radio's field clearly consists in explaining and interpreting the U. N.'s daily accomplishments."

On Tuesday, November 26, NBC will start a weekly series about the U. N. along these lines. Each program will dramatize one activity of the organization, with the final five minutes given to Andrew Cordier, executive assistant to Trygve Lie, for an interpretation of the week's events.

This week, also, Norman Corwin and high program executives of CBS are lunching with U. N. officials to discuss a way out of the impasse. Corwin will only suggest and advise, not produce or write. Nevertheless, his influence will be felt.

Meanwhile the U. N.'s plans for domestic short-wave broadcasts, similar to the service it now offers the rest of the world, have been blocked by the Federal Communications Commission. For economic reasons the FCC cannot permit the U. N. to operate a domestic short-wave transmitter without permitting Press Wireless to do likewise; that in turn would raise hob with American Telephone and Telegraph, which now provides point-to-point communications by wire. But the FCC is actuated by political considerations as well. The Soviet Union is now using short-wave frequencies for point-to-point communication within the U. S. S. R. Unfortunately radio waves do not stop at political borders, and these Soviet domestic broadcasts are the subject of an international conference now meeting in Moscow. To approve U. N. short-wave broadcasts in the United States would cut the props from our protests in Moscow. However, the United Nations has an office in Geneva, Switzerland, and it is not inconceivable that a short-wave transmitter will be erected in Geneva to receive the U. N.'s current short-wave programs and re-beam them to the United States for use by domestic radio stations. This will take a bit of doing, for a wave length will first have to be obtained.

WORTH HEARING

INFORMATION PLEASE (CBS, Wednesdays). Still the adult quiz show of radio. And commercials that do not grate.

WORLD SECURITY WORKSHOP (ABC, Thursdays). Your chance to be a critic. What do *you* think of this new series?

TELEPHONE HOUR (NBC, Mondays). Week in and out this is one of the finest musical programs in radio.

EXPLORING THE UNKNOWN (MBS, Sundays). If you don't care for Winchell on Sunday nights try this. Dramatizations of scientific and engineering developments.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Guns and Butter

ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY. By Donald M. Nelson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

WITH twelve million of their huskiest workers in the armed forces, the people of America came close to doubling the national production in four years. By what means did they do it? What knowledge did they gain of the processes of industry? What was the full story of this incredible achievement? If any human being can tell us, it should be Donald Nelson.

In 1940 the value of goods and services produced in the United States was about $100 billion; in 1944, $200 billion. In the teeth of all the experts, who said we must choose, we produced *both* guns and "butter" ("butter" in a highly symbolic sense). Output of civilian goods changed its character somewhat, but the total did not fall, while output of war goods was almost as much again.

This miracle was due to many causes. Citizens worked longer hours; some millions of women, youngsters, and oldsters came out of the home, the school, and the Florida sunshine to go into war plants. Patriotism made many of us work harder and better; our work was directed to a goal, instead of being just work. In 1940 there had been nearly ten million unemployed, generally regarded by our best people as bums and loafers. They formed a great pool of man-power for shipyards, aircraft factories, and atom-bomb plants, as well as the armed services. How these men fought and worked! At last their country needed them!

But perhaps the most important reason of all was the lucid brain work which organized the men, the materials, the plants, the power grids, the transport system, into one great industrial team. We won both wars, East and West, as Hanson Baldwin is never weary of pointing out, not by our superlative generalship, courage, or cunning, but by literally overwhelming our enemies with shot and shell, a rain of steel and lead more dreadful than anything hitherto known. Where they sprinkled it on us, we let loose a continuous cloudburst on them. American mass-production destroyed them in the end. Without a miracle of planning, however, the result could not have been achieved. Furthermore, it was planning without, in most cases, ownership or operation of the plant—something logically impossible to the ideologists on the right and on the left.

The War Production Board was the central planning agency, and Donald Nelson was its head during the critical years. His book is a clearly written and invaluable record for all time. When a tycoon or a banker says to you, "We can't do this," or "We can't afford that," hand him a copy of "Arsenal of Democracy" to help him raise his sights. This country can do anything it wants to do, materially and financially. The only question is, do we really want to do it?

Can we seek any peaceful end with an equal determination and unity? The war exploded all the old limitations of economists, bankers, and business men which had so crippled us in the 1930's. Now the boys are trying to force industry back into their artificial strait-jackets, but I doubt that they will succeed.

Like a modern Cincinnatus, Donald Nelson dropped his hand from the telephone set at Sears Roebuck to rush to Washington and lead his country's industrial armies. It was a job to kill most men in a month, not only because of the size of the undertaking, but because of the so-called "Battle of Washington." You would not believe the fights they got into, egged on by the press, which believes that nothing is news unless there is a fight in it. (This journalistic first principle may some day cost us our democracy.)

Donald Nelson tells us how he smoked his pipe and calmed the battlers down. The secret of his success is fairly plain. First, he likes people and trusts them. Second, he seems to have the kind of mind which looks all around a given problem and gets the major characteristics in before coming to a decision.

He liked nearly everybody—his staff, Congress, the President, the dollar-a-year men, the bureaucrats, labor leaders, farmers, the navy, scientists, the British, the Russians, Mr. Stalin, even Charlie Wilson of General Electric. But one important exception runs through the book. He did *not* like the heavy brass in the War Department. He felt that these gentlemen did not understand mass-production, did not know what could be done and what could not, and took considerable satisfaction in depriving civilians unnecessarily of goods. Mr. Nelson describes his running engagement, and gives them this parting shot—a bull's-eye, if you ask me:

> It seems to me that this experience provides the final, clinching reason why control over the nation's economy must be kept in the hands of civilians at all times . . . our whole economic and social system will be in peril if it is controlled by the military men.

STUART CHASE

The Children of Light

THE STORY OF THE FAITH. By William Alva Gifford. The Macmillan Company. $5.

IT IS manifest that scientific realism will not save the world. The viper is as real as the dove, and it is a truth that the wolf devours the lamb. These are noxious truths, which must not be allowed to prevail; they have to be conquered by higher truths. Such a hierarchy of values is the core of religion, and such a religion, not business, politics, or science, has alone the power to heal and guide us. A book like William Alva Gifford's "The Story of the Faith" is more than mere information; it is a challenge, to the dogmatic and the undogmatic alike. For unless our faith is revived, darkness threatens us all. And it cannot be revived unless it be purified.

The first 174 pages, in this volume of 622, seem to me wholly admirable. They sum up the story of the faith from earliest Judaic times to the Council of Nicaea. The faith was fully formed by 325; indeed, it was arrested. All further developments were explanations or regressions. In 325, as Gifford puts it, "Christians, who had so recently won the right to live, lost the right to think." By that time also the church had "come to terms with the world." The next 400 pages are the history of the churches, and since the churches are of this world, the history of medieval and modern Europe. This was perhaps inevitable; it certainly is to be regretted. We have little use for another elementary textbook of war and diplomacy. Why give a compressed and distorted account of Napoleon's career? Twisted facts abound, and, even worse, stale interpretations. In the fight against Austria "Piedmont found support in the little kingdom of Sardinia," and Cavour is apparently a "Sardinian," not a "Piedmontese." "To the Arabs, Allah's gift of Palestine has been confirmed by 1,200 years of *unbroken* occupancy." Well, the first Crusade was at least a strange interlude. "Spain is romantic, devoted to the past, submissive to authority." (Amen! says romantic Franco.) But Germany, France, England were romantic also. There is a revolutionary as well as a reactionary aspect to romanticism. Shelley and the third Lamennais were no less romantic than De Maistre or the first Lamennais. "The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the Western world, are the Protestant era." This ignores the tremendous prestige of Catholic France at that very period. "[In Babylon] the exiles were as insignificant numerically and socially as the Jews of modern New York." The insignificance of the New York Jews is perhaps the most startling discovery in the book.

A young lady read Renan's "Life of Jesus," breathlessly, "to see how it would end." I had the same feeling with this volume. It started with a magnificent promise: in the last chapter, The Valley of Decision, would the author bring us a definite message? Alas! The answer is equivocal. Gifford destroys the faith of the fundamentalists—who, by the way, are not all millennialists. But he has no substitute, except Rousseau's Confession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar, made a little more respectable with a touch of Kantism. He spurns theology and ecclesiasticism; yet he concludes that the churches are indispensable. Then let us seek our guidance in the churches, not in undogmatic religion.

The true lesson of the book is contained in a quotation from Marcus Aurelius: "Never value anything as profitable to thyself which compels thee to break thy promise, to lose thy self-respect, to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to act the hypocrite, to desire anything that needs walls and curtains." It is the highest merit of this well-meaning and hesitant book that in many of its pages it is not unworthy of such an ideal.

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Versailles

THE CARTHAGINIAN PEACE, OR THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MR. KEYNES. By Etienne Mantoux. Oxford University Press. $4.50.

THIS book was completed in the summer of 1944, the year one Before the Atomic Bomb. Its author was killed on active duty in Austria in April, 1945, at the age of thirty-two. Lord Keynes, whose treatise on "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" is the subject of Mantoux's critique, died in the spring of 1946. Because of these facts Mantoux's book assumed more of a historical than a contemporary interest even before its date of publication. Nevertheless, it is important. It is an intelligent, factual, and illuminating appraisal of the Treaty of Versailles, and of Keynes's attack upon it, in the light of subsequent events.

As between Clemenceau and Keynes, Mantoux preferred Clemenceau, and he wrote this book in the hope that in the peace treaty after Hitler's war the ideas of Keynes, so influential after the Kaiser's war, would not prevail. They haven't. Were Mantoux still living, and were he now to inspect the severed carcass of the German Reich, he would find little to justify his earlier fears, though he might well find grounds for new ones.

Mantoux believed that it would have been impossible for the Allies to make a peace so generous and just as to win the acceptance of the Germans. For them defeat was bitter; they were enraged by the frustration of their ambitions. It was the task of the peacemakers, first, to make the Germans pay for the damage they had done, and, second, to curb their power so that they could not try again to conquer Europe. These two objectives might have been accomplished by the Treaty of Versailles—had it not been for Keynes and the widespread acceptance of his views.

Mantoux examines these views in detail. He shows that many of Keynes's prophecies were mistaken; that the treaty

did not, as Keynes maintained, "reduce Germany to servitude"; and that the Allied bill for reparations, enormous as it was, could have been paid. It must be said that Mantoux's arguments and statistics are persuasive, supported as they are by the gigantic fact that Germany recovered sufficiently within a generation to start another war.

But was Keynes wrong in his main thesis, and Clemenceau right in his? The answer, perhaps, is that if we assume a world of sovereign states, each looking to its own strength and pursuing its own interests, then men like Clemenceau, or Cato, are the safest men to follow—if they are on your side. (A Carthaginian peace—not the first but the second one—would be easy to carry out with the aid of the atomic bomb.) But if we assume that the future of mankind is not a hopeless one, and that it may still be possible to organize the world for peace, then we need more men with the intelligence, good-will, and wit of John Maynard Keynes.

The human race may survive the errors of its idealists but not the realism of its cynics. G. R. WALKER

Retrospect and Reality

SELECTED POEMS. By Raymond Holden. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

NOTHING IS A WONDERFUL THING. By Helen Wolfert. Simon and Schuster. $2.

IT IS not an altogether satisfying experience to look through the wrong end of the telescope at Mr. Holden's thirty years of versifying. Anything in retrospect is ultimately saddening or ironical or both. In the case of Raymond Holden the ironic note has seldom been absent—except, perhaps, when he was writing his "Early Poems 1917-1927." Here he showed a lyricism that was charming because it was fresh and he was awake to the landscape around him. He committed a grave folly when he forsook these green pastures for the philosophical waste lands he wandered into later. The sonnets and poems which followed were more often fastidious than inspired. Resigned instead of challenging, solemn rather than profound, his verse has practically dried up. The progress Mr. Holden has made in technical skill by pruning, snipping, and balancing each word and line has finally resulted in his paring his art down to a flexible handicraft.

Mrs. Wolfert could benefit by a few elementary lessons in technique from Mr. Holden, but her narrative poem about New York's East Side has a driving power that makes his book look pale and sickly. Only someone very close to this unending struggle with squalor and a hostile environment could write with such uncompromising realism about these people. She knows almost instinctively the peculiarly rich idiom of the Jewish neighborhood speech. Yet it might have been a greater artistic achievement for Mrs. Wolfert had she not strayed so far from the conventional verse pattern. Probably she expects the sheer force of her ideas to move readers who do not usually read poetry; but those who do read poetry are certain to deplore Mrs. Wolfert's flashy tricks, her double-barreled words and similes, and her clumsy efforts at alliteration and assonance: "Beneath her flanks the planks creak." RICHARD MCLAUGHLIN

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MACMILLAN

FICTION IN REVIEW

FOR some years now John P. Marquand has occupied a very special place among our novelists. Practically single-handed he has held the line immediately behind a possible first rank of current fiction. Without himself ever transcending the high-grade-commodity level, he has done a great deal to raise our standards of what a literary commodity can be. Without ever urging us to think that his novels are themselves "important," he has done more than any writer of our time to close the dangerous gap between important fiction and popular fiction. But now, with his new novel, "B. F.'s Daughter" (Little, Brown, $2.75), for the first time one has an awareness of Mr. Marquand's own sharp sense of the divisions among the social-intellectual classes, and of himself as a spokesman for the embattled majority. There is a new note of defensiveness, not only in Mr. Marquand's satire of the long-hairs, but also in the main argument of his story. "B. F.'s Daughter" is a study of what constitutes adjustment for a typical modern woman: one may be perfectly willing to accept the traditional sexual values for which the book pleads and still be disconcerted by the shoddy terms in which these established values are cast and the identification Mr. Marquand makes between domestic traditionalism and traditionalism in all departments of thought. One can scarcely believe that Mr. Marquand means to imply what his book so plainly does imply—that thinking in any direction to the left of dead center is aberrant, unreliable, or immature; of such a thoroughgoing conservatism one feels that its advocate has really let himself be pushed too far by the minority forces. As a matter of fact, even the technical telling of Mr. Marquand's story betrays an uncertainty about his own position. The novel skips around in time in a fashion that is both confusing and useless. And there are pages and pages of empty "bright" talk which are disturbingly reminiscent of that other uneasy champion of unhappy millionaires, Philip Barry.

Although Polly Fulton, the heroine of "B. F.'s Daughter," is the daughter of a very rich industrialist, she has many of the traits of the contemporary ideal of young womanhood. And very pleasant traits they are too. She is intelligent, spirited, humorous, warm-hearted, independent, generous, competent, and loyal. But Polly is also, like so many nice modern girls, utterly confused as to what to do with her life. In natural revolt against her upbringing, she marries, not the steady sensible Bob Tasmin of her father's choice, but Tom Brett, an erratic intellectual and New Dealer who she supposes will introduce her to a whole new field for her energies and make her feel useful. It turns out, however, that she has little outlet for her energies except in dominating her husband. When, with the outbreak of the war, Tom comes into his own on the Washington front, Polly is left high and dry; as to the busy, successful Tom, he finds his docile secretary much more comforting than a spirited wife. And even Bob, whom Polly meets again, refuses to give up his well-ordered if unexciting marriage for the sake of love for a former sweetheart. At the end of Mr. Marquand's novel Polly is a very sad girl, but she is at least wiser to the extent of having learned that a woman's only happiness lies in the traditional sphere—in a home and children and acceptance of the way of life set down for her by a strong-willed man.

Because Mr. Marquand has such a flair for social observation, the story of Polly Fulton is of course never as dull as this summary might suggest. For instance, the sections of "B. F.'s Daughter" that describe life among the high military are expectably pointed and amusing, and in general the book has a good quota of its author's usual happy reporting of how things and places look and how the social animal behaves. But dull indeed, and dismal too, is Mr. Marquand's projection of the brand of domesticity that will cure Polly's restlessness—all a matter of playing a good game of bridge and golf, of joining one's husband for nice walks in the country with the dogs, of (no doubt) voting Republican if that is what your husband's boss is voting. For there is no question that the twin virtue to traditional domesticity is political conservatism. Working out his sexual theme against the background of a larger social pattern, Mr. Marquand makes it clear that just as submissiveness to a strong man is the desirable female attitude, so the acceptance of a paternalistic rugged individualism and a regard for gentlemanliness are the desirable social attitudes. How could the daughter of a great industrialist be expected to submit to a poseur and a windbag like Tom Brett? But how could a college professor, a writer, a New Dealer be anything but a poseur and windbag? Evidently Mr. Marquand knows which political side the young women of America should be on if they wish to get over their growing pains and come to a healthy, wealthy, and wise maturity.

It is interesting that another recent novel, Elinor Rice's "Mirror, Mirror" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.75), which

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also is about the problem of a modern woman, should also weave its sexual theme together with a political theme. In Miss Rice's novel, however, the heroine's background is not one of wealth and free enterprise but one of poverty and socialist idealism: Mona Biro is the daughter of immigrant worker parents; *her* revolt is to break with the family idealism and herself discover the golden American opportunity. Mona is the very prototype of modern career women and the very essence of female narcissism; she makes a great success of dress-designing. Like Polly Fulton, who carries with her into maturity a father-figure in the person of Bob Tasmin, Miss Rice's heroine carries with her the father-figure of Toby Lang. Toby is a left-wing playwright; even after he marries Mona, he still likes to talk with Mona's old socialist father about things as remote from the fashion world as the Spanish civil war. But neither his radical impulse nor his writing impulse is strong enough to resist the pressure of his wife's large earnings and her willingness to indulge his every luxurious wish even at the cost of his manhood. There is no principled resolution in "Mirror, Mirror," as there is in "B. F.'s Daughter"; there is no definition of the positive values a woman should seek in her life. But there is at least this much accord in the two books —that Miss Rice, like Mr. Marquand, assures us that a woman cannot buy her happiness as so many men can, and that the female domination of a marriage has within it the seeds of its own destruction.

The relation of Mona and Toby in "Mirror, Mirror" is a much more dynamic thing than the relation of Polly and Tom in "B. F.'s Daughter": as fictional characters should, these two central figures in Miss Rice's novel take their story into their own hands instead of merely standing for the various attitudes their author would explore. In fact, the fault so endemic to all the major portions of Mr. Marquand's book, of treating the people as personifications of ideas—I had almost said, as personifications of political parties—is present only in the early sections of Miss Rice's book, where Mona's reality as a little girl is sacrificed to a kind of schematic representation of the budding of a female narcissist. More important, however, than this point of dissimilarity is the difference between Miss Rice's approach to the writers, would-be writers, and other assorted "intellectuals" whom Mona and Toby know and that of Mr. Marquand to Polly Fulton's Village friends. Miss Rice gives us satire, too, but satire born of sympathetic knowledge, not of self-protectiveness.

Victoria Lincoln's three stories, "The Wind at My Back" (Rinehart, $2.50), will disappoint the readers who enjoyed her successful novel, "February Hill." It may also disappoint admirers of Miss Lincoln's sketches in the *New Yorker*, because the new stories have a preciousness and self-consciousness that one has not usually noticed in her short fiction. Although each of the new stories has a young girl or young woman as its featured character, the volume is less representative of contemporary writing *about* women than of contemporary writing *by* women. Too carefully styled, too delicate in its perceptions, too thin in its narrative materials, "The Wind at My Back" is another instance of the exaggerated sensibility that is such a large part of women's current effort in literature.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IN THE past repertory theaters have been a good deal like third parties—everybody talked about them, occasionally they even got started, but in America at least they usually haven't amounted to much. The improbable, however, sometimes happens, and The American Repertory Theater, Inc., looks quite a bit more promising than most such enterprises. Cheryl Crawford, Eva Le Gallienne, Margaret Webster, and Walter Hampden are not theatrical innocents. They seem, moreover, to have sound financial backing, and what may be even more important, there are certain signs that the time is ripe.

For reasons which I do not pretend to understand, a large playing public has suddenly decided that all old plays are not necessarily beneath its notice. After at least a quarter of a century during which any man or woman unwilling to be regarded as provincial held firmly to the opinion that everything except the latest hit was merely educational and therefore exclusively for children who get sent rather than for adults who buy their own tickets, Shakespeare, Shaw, and various dramatists in between have been enjoying real runs. No doubt the wonderfully publicized visit of the Old Vic Company helped somewhat by calling attention to the fact that in London self-respecting people admit to an interest in Sophocles or Shakespeare; it seems not impossible that "John Gabriel Borkman" will be witnessed by spectators who, five years ago, would as soon have thought of spending an evening playing a few rubbers of Lotto.

The new company has established itself in the roomy old playhouse on Columbus Circle where the ballet was recently housed. When these words were written it had already offered two productions, and a third will have been put on view by the time I get into print. The two seem sufficient warrant for certain conclusions: the plays will be competently directed, as well as competently acted and decently mounted; but no attempt will be made to confine the choice to those on the short list of first-rank masterpieces. Certainly, at least, neither "Henry VIII" nor "What Every Woman Knows" belongs on such a list, though both are just as certainly worth seeing by anyone with reasonably catholic tastes.

The former, as everyone who ever took a course in the history of the drama has been told before now, was written after Shakespeare had officially renounced the practice of his rough magic and deeper than ere did plummet sound had sunk his book. Much of it—including Cardinal Woolsey's big speech, "Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness," was almost certainly not written by Shakespeare but by that theater-wise hack John Fletcher, and the intention of the whole was to appeal to the already old-fashioned but still eager appetite for historical pageantry. Considered intellectually, the play is a segment from that serialized Child's History of England which had been running for a generation, and there are even certain touches which suggest "1066 and All That." But Miss Webster, the director of the present production, is an old hand at reanimating the effects achieved by dramatists practicing stage tricks no longer in fashion; with the aid of costumes and settings rather more elaborate than is usually expected of repertory companies, she makes the whole a spirited and picturesque peepshow. The form or formlessness of the chronicle history is always a bit trying to the modern spectator, who finds it difficult to relax and to take things as they come instead of unconsciously resenting the failure of the play to satisfy his expectations in the matter of unity and climax, but with a little readjustment he can get a good deal of what early seventeenth-century audiences got. Romantic history is still more picturesque and satisfying than scientific history, and the figure of Henry himself—a comically wilful bad boy who never learned to distinguish between his patriotism and conscience on the one hand and, on the other, his determination to satisfy his simple sensual desires—is still an engaging as well as sinister figure that gives Victor Jory an opportunity to run away with the acting honors in this performance. Miss Le Gallienne and Walter Hampden as Catherine of Aragon and Cardinal Woolsey have harder tasks. Noble, long-suffering queens and ambitious churchmen cast down from high place simply do not fascinate us so much as they did the Elizabethans.

"What Every Woman Knows" seems to me to include some of the best and some of the worst of Barrie. The whole of the first scene, in which the loving brothers of poor ardent Maggie tie up a man for her, is as full of comic invention and sly humor as any modern bit I can think of, but the play as a whole does not quite live up to the extravagant promise of that opening. Every subsequent development is not only expected but presented with unnecessary explicitness, until one begins to wonder why what every woman knows should be told either to her or to anybody else quite so many times over. The character of the Comtesse de la Brière, played with a good deal of animation and charm by Miss Le Gallienne, has no other excuse for existence than that of crossing the *t's* and dotting the *i's* which have been crossed and dotted at least twice before. One begins to wonder, indeed, if the arguments which used to go on between the modernists and the traditionalists over the relative merits of Barrie and Shaw were not really occasioned less by the opposing convictions of the two men than they were by the fact that the one seemed to have more faith than the other in the quickness of his audience. Sentiment and humor are as acceptable to most of the sophisticated as satire and wit. But Sir James, in this play at least, seems to be making the ancient Victorian assumption that in the theater it is necessary not only to say a thing three times but to underscore it at least twice.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THIS year's Pepsi-Cola show at the National Academy, its name changed to "Paintings of the Year," was a great improvement over last year's. But it was of necessity—as any attempt to present contemporary art wholesale must be—a relative failure. There is simply not enough good painting being done in this country to stock a respectable large-scale show out of current production.

The mistake of largeness arises from a more fundamental error, which is that of attempting to be representative, of refusing to be "prejudiced" or to select and back specific tendencies. True, the outright academic work that made such a fiasco of last year's show was excluded, but the catholicity of taste within "modern" painting that governed this year's effort served only to place its

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failure on a somewhat higher level, not to diminish it. It was overlooked that there are tendencies toward decay and retrogression inside "modern" art itself which are little less inimical to high art than the confessedly academic thing.

The show of "Fourteen Americans" (actually fifteen) at the Museum of Modern Art suffers, if to a considerably lesser degree, from the same error. This, I think, causes the unfortunate total impression it leaves—an impression disproportionate, however, to the number of deserving artists included. At least half of them—Gorky, Hare, Roszak, Tobey, MacIver, Price, and even Motherwell—have to be taken seriously, whether for good or bad. I myself hold greater or lesser reservations with respect to each of them and get full satisfaction from rather little of their work, but it remains that they are among the relatively few people upon whom the fate of American art depends at the moment. And the fact that they make up half this show would seem to stamp it unambiguously with a definite and chosen direction—toward the abstract in the line of Matisse-Picasso, or the abstract as the freedom to invent "poetically" in the way of Klee or Giacometti. And yet somehow this is not at all the impression one carries away. The presence of such artists as Sharrer, the ineffable Pickens, Tooker, Culwell, Aronson, even of the abstract painter Rice-Pereira, the sculptor Noguchi, and the gifted draftsman and cartoonist Saul Steinberg—whose drawings are surprisingly strong on their own terms—blunts the point, either because, as in the case of the first four or five, their tendency is ultimately academic or because, as in the case of Rice-Pereira and Noguchi, they adulterate the good tendency by faking it. And the inclusion of Steinberg, good as he is in his limited way, seems almost a last-minute gesture of despair: for even if he were much better he would still be relatively unimportant in terms of modern art.

The net impression left by the "Fourteen Americans" show is of a kind of shabbiness, half-bakedness, a lack of seriousness and independence and energy, the fault of which lies more with the person who selected and arranged the show than with the artists shown. Whoever he was, he seems altogether devoid of personal taste—more reliant on tips than on his own judgment.

It is precisely personal taste that furnished the auspices of the Metropolitan's show of a group of contemporary American paintings bought by the State Department for exhibition in South America and elsewhere. In my opinion it was the best group show of this nature to be held in New York for years. Disagreement with many of his inclusions and omissions does not abate my admiration for the way in which J. Leroy Davidson of the State Department handled his job. Obviously, he realized that the cultural situation in Latin America is such that its connoisseurs of modern art are more likely to be impressed by daring and plastic originality than by the American "scene" or our home-grown surrealism; and that it was up to the State Department to show people whose taste is oriented toward Paris that we too keep abreast of the advances in art. Whether he wanted to or not, Mr. Davidson had to take a definite and bold line, and therefore a good half of his show goes determinedly in the direction of the abstract.

But Mr. Davidson's exhibition does not make the point of being advanced merely for the sake of being so; in proportion, there is almost as much bad advanced or abstract painting as there is any other kind. Mr. Davidson also has a taste, a personal and definite one, that accords with the line he took. Though he shows many bad pictures by poor artists, he shows enough good pictures, even by mediocre artists, to more than make up for them. And at least there is some relation to be discerned between the bad and the good; they are not thrown together helter-skelter by a jury the only connection between whose members is one of time and place; they have an organic relation to each other that is enlightening in itself. Mr. Davidson's exhibition is in a way a remarkable accomplishment, and its moral should be taken to heart by others who control the public destiny of art in our country.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

VICTOR takes the opening of the Metropolitan Opera season as the occasion for the release of a large number of operatic recordings. One is *Eri tu* from Verdi's "Ballo in Maschera," sung by Leonard Warren (11-9292; $1). This is one of the times when Warren is content not to bawl but really to sing and to phrase with discretion and taste; and the splendor of his voice ravishes the ear. On the reverse side is the Credo from Verdi's "Otello," which Warren sings with more, but not excessive, power. Another excerpt from "Un Ballo in Maschera," the third-act *Ma se m'è forza perderti,* and *O Paradiso!* from Meyerbeer's "Africaine" are excellently sung by Jan Peerce (11-9295; $1). Zinka Milanov's phrasing and style in *Casta diva* from Bellini's "Norma" are superb, but the performance happens to be one of the occasions when her voice is not under control and is therefore clouded by tremolo and not securely on pitch. On the reverse side of the record (11-9293; $1) she sings *Suicidio!* from "La Gioconda." Blanche Thebom's voice is opulent in Waltraute's Narrative from Wagner's "Götterdämmerung," which I find myself disliking as much this time as the last for its Wagnerian portentous mumbo-jumbo (11-9296; $1). For this excerpt Frieder Weissman produces the Wagnerian orchestral ebb and flow satisfactorily, but he imparts no force to the accompaniments for the Italian excerpts. The performances are beautifully reproduced, except for the almost inaudible woodwind (?) figuration in the transition from the introductory recitative to the beginning of *Casta diva;* and my copies of Waltraute's Narrative and *O Paradiso!* suffer from wavering pitch. On another single (11-9294; $1) are the Anvil Chorus from Verdi's "Trovatore" and the Bridal Chorus from Wagner's "Lohengrin" excellently sung and performed by the Victor Chorale and Orchestra under Robert Shaw, and excellently reproduced.

A volume called "A Treasury of Grand Opera" (Set 1074; $4.85) contains additional recordings—some previously issued, some new—of an excerpt from each of seven operas. There are the Prelude to Wagner's "Lohengrin," superbly performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony; *Il mio tesoro* from Mozart's "Don Giovanni," sung without musical style by James Melton with an orchestra under Breisach; *Ritorna vincitor* from Verdi's "Aida," cut and somewhat hurried to fit on one side, beautifully sung by Milanov with an orchestra under Weissmann; *Un di felice* from Verdi's "Traviata," well sung by Peerce and Albanese with an orchestra under Weissmann; the Habanera from Bizet's "Carmen," acceptably sung by Gladys Swarthout with chorus and orchestra under Leinsdorf; the Soldiers' Chorus from Gounod's "Faust," well-sung and performed by the Victor Chorale and Orchestra under Shaw; the Prologue to Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci," sung by Warren with an orchestra under Weissmann. When the "Lohengrin"

performance was issued I mentioned that it was recorded with liveness and brilliance on top but with insufficient body down below and with automatic limitation of volume, so that the climax did not have the depth and massiveness, nor the entire performance the organic proportions, that they have on the older record of Toscanini's performance with the New York Philharmonic. The other performances are well-recorded.

Another set (1073; $3.85) offers several excerpts from Russian operas sung by Kipnis with an orchestra under Berezovsky. They are Prince Gremin's aria from Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin," the Song of the Viking Guest from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Sadko," the aria of Prince Galitzky from Borodin's "Prince Igor," the Miller's aria from Dargomijsky's "Russalka," and a bit of the Inn Scene from Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" (with Anna Leskaya and Ilya Tamarin)—to which is added Mussorgsky's "Song of the Flea." The music is enjoyable; but in the arias there is much mouthing and chewing of the big bass sonorities, and in "The Flea" there is dramatic over-emphasis and distortion to the point of horrible caricature. The orchestral parts are well-done, and the performances are excellently reproduced.

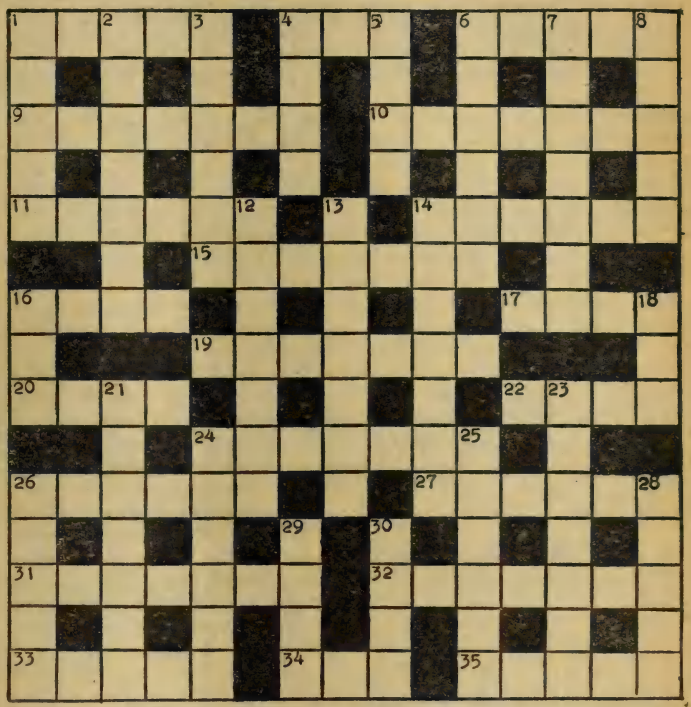
On one side of a Victor plastic record (18-0053; $2) Koussevitzky shows how *he* plays Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever." The pace is a little faster than Toscanini's; and after the brilliant opening the quiet passages are done with the orchestra's characteristic refinement of sonority and execution that is right for Ravel but a little odd and amusing in Sousa; but the Koussevitzky thumb-print on the performance is the huge retardation introducing the concluding statement. On the reverse side is "Semper Fidelis." The recorded sound of the performances is magnificent, but clouded by reverberation.

Why Glazunov's ballet suite "The Seasons" should be recorded I don't know; but it has been by Dorati with the Dallas Symphony Orchestra (Set 1072; $4.85). Performance and recording are good.

Columbia has issued a set (648; $3.85) of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 13 ("Pathétique") played by Serkin. The feeble, dull sound of the piano as it began to come from the first record was almost unbelievable; and so was Serkin's performance—his lack of power even in the introduction, his fleet-fingered rattling off of the fast movements, his inability to create any phraseological continuity from one sound to the next in the melody of the slow movement.

Crossword Puzzle No. 188

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Scotch liquor—very warming
4 Is he a self-starter?
6 No part of an austerity garment
9 Winged words (3 and 4)
10 He rated Shylock
11 Any numeral
14 Brides in ruins
15 Nil desperandum is never this
16 German who is four-fifths of the crew
17 Fair and square
19 Bedecked
20 A jerk
22 Stubborn thing
24 Chemists' rejoinders
26 Damage
27 Award for promotion or disgrace
31 Plant of slow growth, apparently
32 Used for raising and lowering the Stars and Bars
33 Literary Beau
34 A shilling each way
35 Responsible for some of the mounting costs of house-building

DOWN

1 Our best friend in life, but one we rarely trouble to cultivate
2 They advance backwards
3 Warmed up
4 Deeper than a bay
5 A vital matter
6 The author of your being
7 Supply with nervous energy
8 Social celebrities who make beastly kings
12 What Rufus was hunting in the New Forest? (3 and 4)
13 He doesn't waste a crumb
14 Literary productions containing no unassimilable facts?
16 "With a ---, ho, and a --- nonino" (*As You Like It*)
18 Biddable old man?
21 Small pincers
23 Associated with forty thieves in the *Arabian Nights* tale (3 and 4)
24 An eddy
25 You must surmount them if they cross your path
26 To travel thus would seem to make a new man of you
28 His family tree is not great, though of greater age
29 Food for a butterfly
30 Small fat river-fish

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 187

ACROSS:—1 GRAPH; 4 STARK; 7 ASPHALT; 10 ERNES; 11 ULTRA; 12 HUDDLED; 13 TEXT; 16 FREE; 18 PLUMP; 20 GAMBLE; 21 BARRED; 22 GRIPPE; 24 GAZEBO; 25 SIREN; 26 ADDS; 28 SATE; 31 TOFFEES; 33 NIOBE; 34 ALONG; 35 RELOADS; 36 RUN IN; 37 HODGE.

DOWN:—1 GUEST; 2 ANNEX; 3 HASH; 4 STUD; 5 ALTAR; 6 KNAVE; 8 PUDDLE; 9 APLOMB; 14 ENGAGED; 15 TOMMIES; 16 FARMERS; 17 ENDMOST; 18 PLOPS; 19 PAGAN; 23 EIFFEL; 24 GENERA; 26 ABNER; 27 DROWN; 29 ALOUD; 30 EAGLE; 31 TERN; 32 SASH.

Letters to the Editors

For Further Information

Dear Sirs: We woodworkers are grateful to you and to Dick Neuberger for bringing our forestry program and the aims of the Hook forestry bill to the attention of *Nation* readers (issue of October 5).

Those who want to know more about it should write to us or the national C. I. O. for the C. I. O.'s new pamphlet, "America's Log Jam and How to Break It" (32 pages, illustrated, 15 cents).

ELLERY FOSTER
Research Director, International Woodworkers of America

Portland, Ore., October 12

Begging the Question?

Dear Sirs: That Mr. Krutch (*The Nation,* October 26) should call O'Neill's less laudatory critics "detractors," and should think of their remarks as "grumbling," is—in the strictest sense—impertinent. It is as if I should retort that many of O'Neill's *most* laudatory critics are his old colleagues and personal friends.

The real issue is not joined in Mr. Krutch's article. Mr. Krutch assumes that the gifts O'Neill possesses are central and that those he lacks are peripheral. This is to beg the whole question. Those of us who find O'Neill something much less than great would say that he has all too many of the peripheral gifts and perhaps none of the central ones. The question, clearly, is: what is central and what peripheral? Can a playwright with the faults which Mr. Krutch, Mr. Nathan, Mr. Young, and Mr. Atkinson find in O'Neill really be a very good playwright?

I should be happy to try to answer these questions myself had I any chance of getting my answers printed by *The Nation.* ERIC BENTLEY

Minneapolis, October 28

"Who's Who" Explains

Dear Sirs: My attention has been brought to the statement in the column entitled In the Wind, in the October 19 issue of *The Nation,* that Joe Louis Barrow is not included in "Who's Who," but that James Joseph Tunney has been listed since 1938.

Just to keep the record straight, I should like to point out, first, that the policy of "Who's Who" has always been not to include those whose prominence is due solely to their physical prowess. That is why Joe Louis Barrow has never appeared in "Who's Who." You will note that Jack Dempsey was never sketched, nor was Babe Ruth. . . .

As for Mr. Tunney, he appeared in 1938 only when he had become chairman of the board of a large corporation of national reference interest. Incidentally, I understand that Mr. Barrow is scheduled for a current issue of "The Monthly Supplement to Who's Who."

WHEELER SAMMONS, JR.
Assistant Publisher, "Who's Who"

Chicago, October 30

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Men and Coal

THIS is being written on the eve of The Showdown. For that is the way the issue is being described by the American press. If one man can successfully challenge the authority of the state, then the very basis of law is destroyed and with it the solid foundations on which our society rests. So, at least, argue those who feel that, whatever the wider issues, the immediate one is the United States of America versus John Llewellyn Lewis.

Such is the talk in the streets this week-end as the lights go down in the great cities, as the fires in the steel mills are banked and the railways cut their schedules, as the shadow of industrial paralysis creeps over the land. But even those who hold most grimly to this opinion have doubts. The "wider issues" insinuate themselves into the picture and destroy its clear outlines. The miners, recalling years of misery and terror in the coal fields, give unquestioning loyalty to the man who has led their battles and won their victories. Fifteen million trade unionists, with little love for Lewis, unite in condemning the government for making use of the injunction which, years ago, the Norris-LaGuardia Act outlawed as a weapon to force settlement in a labor dispute. The heads of the great industries whose production depends directly on coal count the costs of shutdown in the coming weeks. And men and women with wider imagination estimate in terms of human life the effects of stopping coal exports to the desperate people of Europe. The truism that clapping Lewis into jail, or fining the U. M. W. $200,000 for each day the strike continues, or occupying the coal fields with the army will not mine one ton of coal confronts Mr. Truman and his Cabinet with a responsibility which will not be discharged even after the courts have had their say. In the end, the issue is not merely the United States versus John L. Lewis; it is also the issue of men and coal.

"It is time for the American people to ask themselves some searching questions about the coal mines. In any rational view of the matter the mines exist not to give wages to miners or profits to owners and operators but primarily and chiefly to provide an adequate and regular supply of coal for public and private needs at a minimum cost of production and distribution." These words from *The Nation* of December 13, 1919, were written in the middle of the devastating post-war strike in the year John L. Lewis first took command of the United Mine Workers. Now, as then, the responsibility of the government cannot be reduced to the simple enforcement of law. It must include that of getting back into operation the coal mines on which so much of our national life and the life of other nations depend. We admit that the character and actions of John L. Lewis have not made it easy for the government to assume that responsibility. But we believe, just the same, that the government must not permit his menacing bulk to block the vision of its wider duties. We believe that the injunction technique was a mistake. And we also think that the authorities should be devoting their best effort to discovering means by which negotiations can be resumed. This may involve immediate loss of prestige to an Administration already humbled by its licking at the polls. But until miners and operators talk across a table the paralyzing impasse will remain.

There is one way in which the Administration can more than retrieve the immediate loss of face. The editorial in *The Nation* of twenty-seven years ago made the tentative suggestion that nationalization of the mines was the only logical solution of the perennial coal crisis. Now, with the record of those twenty-seven years behind us, and with the experience of the past six months of nominal government ownership of the mines, we urge this solution with more confidence. If the government took over the mines permanently and brought the whole industry under a Coal Authority, it would be forced to accept responsibility for continuous operation. This would entail the establishment of machinery for labor negotiations and arbitration to meet reasonable demands for improved conditions in the mining communities. True, as long as John L. Lewis was head of the union, negotiations between the Authority and the miners would not be easy. Lewis is as pugnacious, as arrogant, as unreasonable a labor leader as has ever taken the center of the national stage. But most of his qualities are a reflection of the lust for profits and the callous disregard for human life that has characterized the majority of the coal operators whom he has battled for nearly half a century. In dealing with a National Coal Authority which itself should include representatives of the workers, the character of the negotiations would inevitably change and

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 189
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Lewis's dictatorial hold would be loosened. For the major concern of the Authority would be to bring health into a sick industry, to see that the conditions of life in the coal towns at least meet those of other industrial centers, and to guarantee the constant availability of a fuel which, for some years to come, will remain the nation's chief source of power. If the present crisis hastens this ultimately inevitable conclusion to the grim story of coal, then the price the country will pay in the next few weeks will not be in vain.

The Shape of Things

THE SPANISH ISSUE WILL COME BEFORE THE General Assembly of the United Nations sometime next week. But diplomatic trial balloons are already being floated in the corridors, and it is apparent, as we declared last week, that the United States has now supplanted Great Britain as leader of the do-nothing bloc. This does not mean that Mr. Bevin has undergone a fundamental change of heart, but in view of the strong opposition at home, he is not averse to letting Tom Connally take command of the forces resisting positive action by the United Nations. We believe that the American delegation's attitude on the Spanish question does not reflect the sentiment of the overwhelming mass of the American people. For that reason, the Nation Associates and the Friends of the Spanish Republic have presented a memorandum to the president of the General Assembly and to the various delegations, requesting severance of diplomatic relations with Franco and recognition of the Spanish Republican government in exile. The document points out that last March the governments of Great Britain, the United States, and France felt there was sufficient reason to issue a joint declaration calling upon the Spanish people to remove Franco from power by peaceful means; that last summer a subcommittee appointed by the Security Council unanimously proposed adoption of a resolution recommending that diplomatic relations with the Franco government be terminated by each member of the United Nations, should the regime still be in existence at the time of the next session of the General Assembly. The Assembly is in session and the Franco regime is still in existence.

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NO COUNTRY HAS MORE TO LOSE BY THE division of the world into hostile ideological blocs than Czechoslovakia. Politically, it must maintain the close alliance with the Soviet Union on which its security depends, but in order to prosper it needs world markets for its technically advanced and specialized industrial economy. The dearest wish of the Czechs, therefore, is to build a bridge between East and West, and the commercial agreement they have just signed with the United

States may be regarded as a tentative approach to such a structure. This agreement is, primarily, a statement of principles in which both countries pledge themselves against discriminatory treatment of each other's trade. It includes a statement by Czechoslovakia approving the general tenor of American proposals for expansion of world commerce on multilateral lines, and a promise to compensate American citizens for property nationalized under Czech laws. It is to be followed by negotiations for a comprehensive treaty of friendship and commerce. The Prague government would hardly have signed a document of this kind against the wishes of the Soviet Union. Yet it seems in violent contradiction with the principles hotly sustained by Soviet representatives at the Paris conference when they attacked American proposals for non-discrimination clauses in the peace treaties. However, it would probably be a mistake to assume that the Soviet Union is irrevocably opposed to multilateral trading. The kind of bilateral agreements which it has signed with its neighbors have immediate political advantages, but they tend to isolate Russia economically and restrict its commercial exchanges to countries which can produce few of the things it needs. In the long run, the Soviets have more to gain from worldwide trading relations than from monopoly within their own sphere. Perhaps the Czech-American treaty points to a growing appreciation of this fact.

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WHEN THE MOSLEM LEAGUE AGREED A FEW weeks ago to nominate representatives to serve in the Indian interim government, it was possible to hope that a communal truce would prevail while India took the next step toward its goal of independence. Unhappily, this hope has already been completely dissipated. As our New Delhi correspondent, Shiva Rao, explains on another page, the Moslem ministers have entered the Cabinet only to prevent it from functioning successfully. They refuse to recognize Nehru as Prime Minister or to accept the principle of joint responsibility; Jinnah, the head of the Moslem League from whom they take orders, has announced a boycott of the Constituent Assembly due to meet next month. The breakdown in the administrative structure has been appallingly illustrated by the bloody Hindu-Moslem riots which have been taking place in Bengal and Behar provinces. The governments of these provinces appeared unable to take effective action; the central government remained paralyzed by its divisions. Both sides, when not accusing each other, tend to blame the British in general and the Viceroy in particular for the situation. Mr. Rao, a Congress sympathizer, supports Nehru's charge that the British have formed a "mental alliance" with the Moslems. Jinnah accuses the Viceroy of "appeasing Congress." Short-sighted British imperialists, like Churchill, are gloating over the mess in the belief that a breakdown of law and order will make possible a British comeback. They are wrong. Britain has not the resources to reimpose its rule in India. If the current effort to transfer power peacefully and constitutionally fails, the British will have no alternative but to pull out of India, lock, stock, and barrel.

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LANDLORDS IN SEVERAL WESTERN STATES have launched a somewhat inverse "strike" against current rent ceilings by locking up their empty houses until rents are boosted. As a publicity stunt, the "strike" (or is it a lockout?) may have its merits. But as an economic weapon it is hardly to be taken seriously. Existing laws protect tenants against eviction, and the number of empty houses—as anyone knows who has looked for one—is not large enough to provide very effective bargaining power. The strike is, however, a subsidiary feature of a well-organized and apparently well-financed drive by realty interests to force through a 15 per cent increase in rent ceilings. Although a recent government survey shows that as a result of full occupancy and reduced services landlords are enjoying profits from 25 to 43 per cent greater than before the war, some of the property owners apparently regard this as small change compared with the profits that they might be making if all controls were lifted. As long as the present acute housing shortage exists, a "free market" in housing might conceivably push rents to two or three times their present level. It is perhaps natural that the recent Republican victory, and the sharp trend toward decontrol over the bulk of the economy should have caused landlords to cast a lustful eye on the fleshpots that decontrol would give *them*. But if rents, which constitute approximately one-sixth of the average family's living costs, are pushed up, the pressure for higher wages will be so much the greater—a prospect that not even a Republican Congress will relish.

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CHANCES ARE, THE POWERS THAT BE WILL make short shrift of Private Gorth Merrill, and nobody but Private Merrill's parents and Private Merrill himself will ever think about it again. Private Merrill seems to be a non-conformist; in a tiny A. P. dispatch from Manila carried in several papers last week, news of his non-conformity was brought to the attention of an American reader here and there. The soldier, "whose home address was not given . . . was severely wounded while fighting beside Hukbalahap guerrillas" who were resisting a Philippine Army military police raid on a guerrilla hideout at Sapangbalen. The sketchy dispatch leaves details to the imagination. In lieu of further information—and it is to be expected that the military will clam up—imagination can place Private Merrill in any of many roles ranging from ardent freedom-lover to just plain

shack-lover (roped into somebody else's fight by mistake). At any rate, the important words in the A. P. dispatch are that the American was *fighting beside* guerrillas; the G. I. *Ubermensch* attitude—in islands where that attitude is devastatingly manifest—appears to be strangely absent in the case of Private Merrill, and it is with a small tingle of admiration that we read of this American whose ruggedness seems not neurotically splashed away.

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, November 23

THE relatively cordial atmosphere of committee discussions was clouded this week by mutual recriminations among the Big Three about the policies they have pursued since the end of hostilities. Mr. Molotov, addressing the Political and Security Committee on November 20, made a genuine attempt to meet the views expressed by Mr. Austin in his speech of October 30: in a revised draft of his resolution requesting information about United Nations troops abroad he agreed that this information should cover not only troops in friendly countries—notably Greece, Egypt, and China—but also those in former enemy countries, which include Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland, where Russian forces are stationed. It should be recalled in this connection that the presence of Russian troops in former Axis territories —in addition to Germany and Austria, where troops of Britain, France, and the United States are also stationed —was approved by the Allies at the time of the armistices. The peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, now being drafted by the Council of Foreign Ministers, provide for withdrawal of occupying troops ninety days after signature. Mr. Molotov, in his resolution, also asked for information concerning air and naval bases maintained abroad by the United Nations in both friendly and former enemy countries. Information about armed forces maintained by the United Nations at home, in which Mr. Austin had expressed interest, should, according to Mr. Molotov, be considered only when the General Assembly takes up his proposal for disarmament.

Unfortunately, Senator Connally, who replied for the United States, had not acquainted himself with Mr. Molotov's revised draft, and he delivered an old-fashioned, oratorical address denouncing Russia's actions since the war all over the globe. This gave Molotov the opportunity to question, in a long-winded statement on November 22, the motives of the United States, and Britain as well, in not furnishing the information he had called for about troops in friendly nations. He proposed that the nations in whose territories such troops are stationed should furnish information. On the previous day Mr. Bevin had declared that Britain would accept the Soviet proposal for a public report on all armed forces maintained abroad by the United Nations, but only on condition that it be included in a plan for disarmament and for the establishment of an international police force —and introduced a resolution to that effect. Mr. Molotov, who was supported by M. Parodi of France, answered that since discussion of disarmament would necessarily be protracted, this represented an attempt by Britain to shelve his request for immediate information about United Nations troops aboard. Efforts were being made over the week-end to reconcile the Russian and British resolutions.

The whole discussion is shadow-boxing. Both Russia and the Western powers know pretty accurately the size of their respective forces abroad. Some of the remarks made by Molotov on November 22 created the impression that he welcomed the chance to put the United States and Britain on the spot, as tit-for-tat for their previous criticism of the presence of Russian troops in Iran. Moreover, Russia, which is strong in land armies and weak in air and naval forces and in industrial capacity to produce the atom bomb, would like to see a public confrontation of the striking strengths commanded by the Big Three. While Mr. Molotov contends that the feeling of unease now existing throughout the world would be alleviated by information about United Nations troops abroad, it is difficult to see how anything short of general troop withdrawal would help, and this in turn would require genuine agreement among the great powers.

The debate about future machinery for the distribution of food supplies to countries in need, precipitated by LaGuardia's proposal for the creation of an International Emergency Food Board and by indications from Washington that the United States would prefer bilateral negotiations to a new international agency, has had the unexpected effect of producing a conciliatory atmosphere. Poland, Yugoslavia, Byelo-Russia, and the Ukraine have vied with one another in demonstrating their fervent appreciation of the aid they have received from UNRRA, and have expressed their gratitude to the United States in terms so glowing that some observers thought they verged on the abject. Typical of the tone of these speeches was a statement by Mr. Rajchman of Poland before the Economic and Financial Committee on November 18, in which he said that UNRRA had "indeed set the example of international solidarity among free peoples" and had been "a curtain-raiser of unusual efficiency." In an attempt to reconcile national with international action Philip Noel-Baker of the United Kingdom suggested on the same day that member nations receiving or contributing relief use the U. N. secretariat as a clearing-house for information and coordination.

C. I. O. Tightrope Act

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Atlantic City, November 22

COMMUNIST penetration is not the most important problem confronting the hard-pressed American labor movement, but only a wilfully blind observer or a particularly barnacled trade-union bureaucrat will deny that it has been the chief issue at the C. I. O.'s eighth annual convention. A new drive for wage increases was formally launched here, with Philip Murray making it clear that demands will be moderate and that the C. I. O. has no thought of "jeopardizing the economy." And there was a noteworthy sense of responsibility in his conciliatory plea to management to "be gentlemen, [to] sit around the bargaining table and in the spirit of good faith and in the interest of our national economy arrive at mutually satisfactory wage agreements without resorting to strike." But in the off-the-floor sessions, where all too much of the real business of these conventions is done, the caucusing has not revolved about wage demands or strategy to offset the anticipated wave of anti-labor legislation. It has been concerned first and foremost with the left-right struggle that has plagued the C. I. O. from birth.

Philip Murray's approach to this problem appears to be based on three objectives, each more or less incompatible with the other two. As strongly opposed to communism as a pious Catholic well might be, but at the same time fearful of an open split in his organization, he has attempted simultaneously to reduce the influence of the fellow-travelers, to soften the blow by hamstringing their only serious opposition, and to convince the public that the whole issue exists only in the dreams of a congenitally vicious press.

To achieve the first of these cross-purposes Mr. Murray lost no time here in setting up a committee that was to frame a resolution disavowing Communist influence in the C. I. O. To prevent a fight on the floor, and perhaps to convey to the public a picture of internal harmony and unanimity, he took the strange course of appointing to this committee three of the most determined anti-Communists in the organization and three diehards from the opposite side of the aisle, including, fantastically, one self-avowed member of the Communist Party. There is no question that the three left-wingers—Abram Flaxer, Michael Quill, and Ben Gold—would have spurned the "compromise" that finally emerged from this committee if they had not been fearful of even more drastic treatment on the floor. Clearly on the defensive, they agreed with surpassing irony to "resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or any other parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the C. I. O."

Similarly, the left, to use an arbitrary designation, has had to swallow changes in the rules governing C. I. O. industrial councils, which will find it all but impossible in the future to indorse, or to vote contributions to, such "front" institutions as the Win-the-Peace Congress. The activities of the councils will henceforth be subjected to close and persistent scrutiny by the top layer of C. I. O. officialdom. And finally, I have reason to believe that the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee will soon undergo a drastic pruning of the budget, with a number of its leading left-wingers deliberately selected for forced retirement. If the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, which is slated to merge with the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Arts and Sciences, does not change its name, C. I. O.-P. A. C. will in all likelihood move its headquarters away from New York.

These are sizable gains for the anti-Communist forces in the C. I. O., and their leading figures are solidly in agreement that the resolution can be made a powerful weapon in combating party influence on the local level. It is not as strong a statement as they would like to have brought forth, but it will clearly make anti-communism, though not witch-hunting, respectable in trade-union circles.

While a number of right-wing delegates felt let down by the mildness of the resolution and neutral observers gasped at the spectacle of known Communists voting to resent their own interference, Mr. Murray clearly felt that he had bestowed more than enough blessings with his right hand and proceeded from that point on to employ only his left. His chief opportunity came with the election of the nine C. I. O. vice-presidents. Normally this is a mechanical matter, with nine predetermined nominations, unanimous voting, and a general rush for the station. But this time there were complications.

It was a foregone conclusion that Walter Reuther, who was elected president of the United Automobile Workers after the last C. I. O. convention, would be given the vice-presidency held by his predecessor and embittered rival, R. J. Thomas. At the same time Reid Robinson, president of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and, like Thomas, a favored son of the left, was doomed to go —not for political reasons but because he had tried to borrow $5,000 from an employer in the industry with which he was engaged in bargaining. If Murray really wanted to make the convention a leftist rout, he need not have lifted a finger. Reuther would have replaced Thomas, and Robinson's place have gone to O. A. Knight, the

middle-of-the-road president of the Oil Workers' Union.

Whatever his reasoning, Murray chose not to let the convention take this course. At the zero hour the hitherto disconsolate left-wingers came up with a formula that was bound to appeal both to his passion for compromise and his sense of personal loyalty. They agreed to withdraw Robinson and to vote for Reuther—neither of which they could really avoid doing—if the other vice-presidency went, not to Knight, but to R. J. Thomas. The effect would be twofold: the left would lose only one vice-president instead of two, and Reuther's elevation would be offset in an unprecedented way by the equal honor accorded to a subordinate officer of his own union.

Murray not only found this arrangement satisfactory but crushed all resistance to it by threatening to support Thomas against Reuther if a choice were forced on the floor of the convention. With U. A. W. left-winger George Addes also a member, Reuther now finds himself outvoted by his own union colleagues on the C. I. O. executive board, while back home his effort to consolidate his position as president will hardly be helped by Murray's open indorsement of his rival.

Murray's handling of this episode painfully illustrates what appears to be a premature hardening of the C. I. O.'s institutional arteries. Except for George Baldanzi's courageous but brief flare-up in the last hour of the convention, debate has been kept off the floor with an angry determination that recalls only the tradition of the United Mine Workers. On one occasion Murray practically forbade debate, "because that has already been taken care of in the course of three days' discussion" in the executive board, and asked instead for "a rising vote of thanks" to the board. He got it—but not willingly. One thing that distinguishes this convention from A. F. of L. conventions is that many C. I. O delegates still have the spirit to resent this curious approach to trade-union democracy.

In any estimate of the left-right struggle in the C. I. O. the Reuther-Thomas election must be weighed against the anti-Communist resolution and the change in rules governing industrial councils. My own belief is that a net gain has been registered by the anti-Communist forces, which for the first time have brought concerted pressure on the semi-receptive Mr. Murray. But the real story of this convention will be apparent only after the delegates have returned home and demonstrated the extent to which they mean to implement the anti-Communist resolution in their respective locals.

Showdown on Lewis

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, November 24

IF JOHN L. LEWIS is beaten he will drag labor's house down with him. That is the only certainty in the coal drama on the eve of the courtroom scenes. But it may also be the major clue to the outcome. For there is still grave doubt whether this Administration is prepared for the kind of atomic war against unionism required to crush the United Mine Workers. Nor is it clear that the Republican majority has achieved real unity of purpose in the business of anti-labor legislation. Lewis may be forced into momentary retreat, he may suffer indignities and even drastic legal reprisals pending appeal to the Supreme Court, he may provoke a Congressional rampage against labor; as the struggle wears on, the miners may endure payless weeks, the nation may grow cold, dark, and irrational. But the miners' president, whose gaze has been fixed on the history books for a good many years, has new assurance of immortality. He has triumphed over his bitterest labor enemies, compelling them to rally to the miners' cause. He has stolen the national and labor shows. He has reasserted his power to paralyze, frighten, and confuse the country for the eighth time in five years. At sixty-six these are the compensations that feed the Lewis ego.

The only defeat that would hurt John L. Lewis would be the destruction of the union dynasty which is his life's work. Crippling financial penalties—in the Danbury Hatters tradition—legislation outlawing the closed shop and the union welfare fund, and other measures repealing hard-won labor gains may conceivably emerge from this tragic war. But the Administration is inhibited by a guilty conscience and a respect for some liberal virtues. It is spiritually divided, looking for a way out. Neither the President nor most of the men directing day-to-day activity in the case are union-busters. You can find no long-range battle plan here.

Proposals to try to starve out the miners by suspending credit at the company stores have so far been vetoed; there is considerable opposition to the idea of imprisoning Lewis. Much of the Administration's strategy is being improvised from day to day. I suspect that Lewis is similarly playing this one by ear. In such a setting, of course, anything can happen; as bitterness deepens, moves that are now looked upon with horror may seem like routine acts of war. But coal is involved as well as men. No homes have ever been warmed by heat emanating from Capitol Hill, and no living editorial writer has yet produced a chunk of coal.

Labor is certain to reach new depths in middle-class popularity polls. But Lewis has always been impervious to that danger. Does big business prefer a long, costly war against unionism to production for profit in the here and now? There is probably far less unanimity on this point in business ranks than is generally imagined. As the days pass, that question may become the key to the settlement. Already one hears rumors of union peace feelers to the steel magnates who own the captive mines, and to individual operators.

On this bright Washington Sunday, with the President back at the White House, nearly all prophecies are futile. The impact of the strike is just beginning to be felt. Only as its consequences become clearer will the real decisions be made.

WHERE IT ALL BEGAN

The paradoxes in the conflict are grotesque and familiar. Once again the nation's most distinguished Republican labor leader becomes the *cause célèbre* in what the editorial writers describe as a test between law and anarchy. The Administration's stand against Lewis is deprived of a large measure of its economic justification by the total collapse of price controls; yet the *Mine Workers' Journal* crusaded against the OPA as cynically as any tory paper. On the other side of the fence, "Cap" Krug, generally credited with chief responsibility for the government's "tough" policy toward Lewis, is also remembered as the man who started the cycle of decontrol months ago when he scuttled "L-41," the order channeling building materials into low-cost housing. It was Krug, then directing the War Production Board, who also rejected a long succession of pleas from the War Labor Board for imposition of sanctions against employers defying WLB orders.

Amid all the contradictions on both sides of this dispute—to say nothing of the private operators, whose zeal for free enterprise is matched only by their recurrent belief in salvation by government—the crucial one is the record of Administration policy on price control. It both explains the sense of guilt in many government agencies and provides a moral basis for Lewis's revolt. Krug opened the gates when he terminated L-41; the President made disaster inevitable when he capitulated to the steel industry last winter in its fight for price increases. Chester Bowles and others told Truman what that action foreshadowed. Their prophecies were borne out. Industry got the signal for a concerted assault on a tottering price structure, and the Administration never recaptured the initiative.

Some government apologists now explain that the ultimate decontrol decision reflects a popular mandate. But the fact is that the government lost popular support for price regulation only because the fight was half-heartedly and belatedly carried to the people and was sabotaged behind the lines by Civilian Production Administrator Small and other Truman associates who appreciate a friendly smile from big business.

Then came Lewis.

In May, after the government's seizure of the mines ended the spring strike, Krug signed an agreement with the U. M. W. which the union organ characterized as the most important achievement in the miners' annals. It established the long-debated welfare fund as well as other major advances. Interior Department officials now contend there was no idea at that time that the government would stay in the coal-mining business for any long period. The agreement would remain in force until the operators and Lewis sat down and worked out the terms of a peace settlement. If this was what they expected, it was a wishful thought. The operators were still divided, backward, and astigmatic. Ex-Senator Burke, who represents the Southern coal bloc, was in no mood to accept the changes registered in the Krug-Lewis pact. The government stayed in the coal business.

While it is easy to exercise retroactive wisdom, there is reason to believe that failure to return the mines was a blunder. Krug, however, is said to feel that sudden abandonment of the mines would merely have precipitated a strike, forcing another government seizure; and that the merry-go-round would have creaked to the same end.

In any case, the Administration errors that occurred between October 22 and Election Day cannot be explained away. On October 21 Lewis suddenly and ominously served notice that he proposed to "renegotiate" the Krug contract on November 1. He cited impending changes in the government wage policy, charged violation of the existing accord, and invoked the ten-day reopening clause, which, the U. M. W. contended, still carried over from the previous company-U. M. W. agreement. Krug's attorneys held that a clause in the government-signed accord stating explicitly that the agreement was to remain in force for the period of government possession superseded the earlier point; they held that Lewis could not unilaterally abrogate the pact.

While lawyers wrangled, politicians assumed command. Election Day was approaching; the White House decided that a coal strike had to be avoided at virtually any cost. The precise nature of the assurances given Lewis—whether by Dr. John Steelman or some other White House medicine-man—is not known. But the President himself announced flatly that there would be no coal strike. A flurry of inspired stories indicated that the truculent Krug was out of the picture and that Steelman, who had done business with Lewis in the past, was in charge. It has even been suggested that the dismissal of O. John Rogge, who had started roaming around the country delivering speeches on Lewis's curious pre-war connections with the oil magnate, William Rhodes Davis, was partly designed to keep the miners' leader from stirring up trouble on the eve of the election. Lewis re-

mained silent, letting some of his henchmen go through the motions of conferences with Krug's subordinates. The meetings were futile. In West Virginia the district leaders of the union continued to snipe at Senator Harley Kilgore, a White House favorite. But there was no strike. The Adminstration took its Election Day beating in a setting of industrial tranquillity.

Then the Administration's personality changed. The amiable Dr. Jekylls who had persuaded Lewis that patience would bring its rewards became violent Mr. Hydes roaring for his scalp—or at least trying to pretend that was their mood. Krug, whose stand at least had the merit of consistency, was restored to eminence. By that time, however, Lewis had good reason to believe that if the Krug method failed, the Administration would once more become a house divided. Krug's proposal for a sixty-day truce to permit negotiations between the miners and the operators was vulnerable. Anyway, by the time the truce expired, Congress would be in session; Lewis could hardly fail to read significance into the time-table. At the Interior Department officials assert they had received solemn assurances from Burke that he would bargain "in good faith." Lewis's skepticism on this point does not seem exaggerated. The Krug formula offered Lewis no assurance that even the gains of last May would be preserved.

Admittedly it is questionable whether any steps short of total surrender could have averted a strike. Men who have known Lewis long feel that the timing of the strike —to coincide with the C. I. O. convention at Atlantic City—was no accident. Virtually the same drama was enacted in 1941 when Philip Murray was presiding over a C. I. O. convention for the first time and Lewis blanketed the proceedings with the captive-mine strike. Lewis is still playing for big labor stakes.

THE PRESIDENT SAYS NO

Few men here pretend that the contract-termination issue involved in Lewis's clash with Krug is the heart of this dispute. Lawyers differ on the merits; in any event the potential cost of a prolonged strike would have overshadowed the most momentous legal quibble. The President's final decision was dictated by simple, instinctive, and unprofound emotions. Like most decent Americans who believe in trade unionism, he was weary of "showdowns" with Lewis, weary of being pushed around, by others as well as Lewis, convinced that capitulation now would mean a new crisis within six months. Indeed, the reasons for standing up to "Big John" were strong and plausible once the elections were over.

The decision was finally reached at a White House conference on November 13 at which Krug and Clark Clifford, the President's legal aide, argued for resistance. Steelman dissented. As far as anybody can determine, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach was not asked for an opinion. There is, however, no indication that Schwellenbach fought for the privilege of taking on Lewis in mortal combat. Two days later the White House released Truman's letter to Lewis. The answer came swiftly; the contract would be terminated on November 20.

The President's subsequent deep-sea diving in Florida waters is easily subject to caricature, as is his handling of many aspects of the conflict. Yet it is infinitely simpler to write about Lewis than to negotiate with him; and to project long-range solutions for the coal industry than to find ways of dealing with its day-to-day problems. Nationalization is still the only cure for the sickness of coal that makes any sense. But it is obviously not the way out of the present deadlock, with Republican Lewis opposing the project as firmly as Democrat Burke. I have some doubt, too, whether the most flagrant example of labor totalitarianism—the U. M. W.—affords a solid bulwark for an experiment in democratic socialization.

TRIUMPH OF SHOWMANSHIP

There is a sad magnificence about Lewis's performance, despite the backwardness of his economic thinking, the arrogance of his demeanor, the monolithic rigidity of his union. His arrivals and departures have again become theatrical events, and he rarely falls on his face. The stage is his own once more; from it he imparts the sense that his enemies are Lilliputians and that he is the personification of justice. There are moments when the play becomes so completely the thing that the dimensions of the struggle he has provoked seem almost unreal.

The government obtained its restraining order at 2 p. m. on Monday the eighteenth, after Attorney General Clark had filed a petition resurrecting the notorious doctrine of the Debs case. The deadline for compliance was midnight of the following Wednesday. For the next forty-eight hours there was almost pathetic hope in many places that Lewis would back down. Men recalled the precedent of 1919 when Lewis bowed to an injunction, proclaiming that he would not fight his government, "the greatest government on earth." From Key West came word that Truman was resolutely fishing. There would be no appeasement, no peace gestures, no deals.

But in Atlantic City the C. I. O. was unhappily rallying in opposition to the injunction move. In Washington William Green protested against the government's course. Lewis must have found solace for long years of abuse and exile in the headlines Wednesday afternoon: "A. F. L., C. I. O. Back Lewis." Throughout the day the mine leader again cloaked his movements in mystery. Then, although the phalanx of reporters and photographers keeping an all-day vigil had never seen him enter the Mine Workers building, he emerged in late afternoon. He greeted the throng with a single word: "Gentlemen." Amid exploding flashlight bulbs and the familiar whirring of newsreel cameras, he strode to his limousine and drove off in the twilight.

He retired to his home in Alexandria for the evening, giving no final answer to the question that shadowed the Capital. As time wore on, his answer became painfully apparent. It was officially announced by the miners when they walked out at midnight.

He had nothing to gain by surrender, nothing to lose —at that stage—by defiance. Now it was the government's move again. Late on Thursday the show-cause order was issued after a long day of feverish activity. Lewis was still at home in Alexandria, his house surrounded by curious bystanders and exhausted journalists. He stayed inside, delaying his reappearance until Friday. By then the build-up was complete. John L. Lewis leaving his home in Alexandria was a front-page picture. So were the photographic records of Lewis entering his headquarters, Lewis strolling through the streets to the Carleton Hotel, with a parade of onlookers, reporters, and photographers behind him. In the Carleton lobby an elderly lady rushed up to him. Lewis swept off his black hat, bowed, and thanked her for her good wishes. The crowd was still pursuing him when he returned to his office after lunch, striding along like an aged matinee idol out for a constitutional.

As this is written, the stage is set for his courtroom appearance. Although unforeseen changes in the script may conceivably cancel the performance, people are already preparing to descend on the District Court in large numbers. Among government lawyers there is sharp dispute as to the validity of the injunction case. The surviving liberals here have diminishing enthusiasm for the project. "Injunction granted" sounds like a throwback to an earlier, uglier time.

Psychologically Lewis remains on the offensive, despite tough talk from "high Administration officials." Everybody knows that there must be a revision of wage scales in the next few months; they merely regret that Lewis is leading the procession. The more enlightened Administration members know that the behavior of Congress is unpredictable. At least one official remarked, "We may not like what Congress does any more than labor will." Meanwhile, all the familiar and remembered accompaniments of a coal crisis are repeated, like a faded newsreel —the conservation measures, the brown-outs, the freight reductions, the rumors.

As the play unfolds, one inevitably reverts to the earlier questions: Is this the showdown that some sections of industry and finance talked about over highballs during the long Roosevelt nightmare? Are the barons of big business more class conscious than the most orthodox Marxists, convinced of the inevitability of the great class struggle and eager to rush to the barricades? Are the coal operators the front-line troops in a labor-capital civil war? Is Lewis prepared for martyrdom as the climax of his career, leading the armies of labor into all-out savage conflict? At this moment no one here knows the answers, but the uncertainty indicates that a deal may still be made. There have been surprise endings to the Lewis plays before.

Wanted, a Bandwagon

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 22

CAPITOL HILL is comparatively quiet these windy days as the victorious Republicans beat the bushes in search of a bandwagon. It must be a special kind of bandwagon, one which will still look shiny and attractive two years from now.

In their conferences the G. O. P. Senators and Representatives have agreed at least on one point: their party was not swept into power by any program or policy or clever strategy. The election was simply the answer to the poster "Had Enough? Vote Republican." This same slogan could conceivably be borrowed by the Democrats in 1948, and the Republicans are only too unhappily aware of it. They must find some way of holding all the dissatisfied groups, which include Jewish, Catholic, and Negro voters, labor, farmers, veterans, small business men. Meanwhile, the G. O. P. has borrowed and adapted to its own uses two rather fashionable devices—the iron curtain and the John L. Lewis "wait-and-see" approach.

The man who first saw and understood the G. O. P. dilemma is Senator Taft. He listened to the clamor of confused voices from the Hill and then lectured his colleagues behind closed doors about two things. First, they should restrain their impulses to issue statements and hold press conferences; and, second, they were warned, for God's sake, not to commit the party to a definite program this early in the game. Conditions might arise which would make it impossible to save nine billion dollars or cut taxes 20 per cent across the board. That would make the Republicans look silly.

The leaders have tried to hush up the intra-party conflicts. The big fight over Taft's candidacy for floor leader was carefully squelched on the advice of Taft himself. Taft will divide the G. O. P. direction with Wherry, the majority whip. Taft will concoct the strategy, and Wherry will drive his forces into action. The guarded truce between the two will continue.

One fire the Republican command has not put out is

that started by the conservatives to keep Senator Aiken of Vermont out of a key committee chairmanship, and the refusal of the spunky, white-haired liberal to take this lying down. Aiken is in line for either the Agriculture or the Labor Committee leadership, but the dominant conservative group would prefer to let him languish as chairman of the Committee on Pensions. Taft may take the Labor Committee for himself largely because he realizes that labor legislation is one of the trickiest issues his party will have to face.

This morning there was an outbreak of statements from Republicans—and from Democrats—urging President Truman to call a special session of Congress to enact labor legislation. But none of the real G. O. P. strategists entered the lists. Representative Clare Hoffman and Senator Joe Ball have become the two most outraged anti-labor figures on the Republican side of the aisle. Another voice was that of Representative Clarence Brown, who is actively campaigning for House majority leader. His opponent, Charles Halleck, answered coldly that he might recall that Congress last session wanted to pass the Case bill, which Halleck wrote, and was blocked by the President.

Halleck, who roughly corresponds to Senator Taft in the House, does not want a special session of Congress. The Republicans just don't want to be put on the spot so soon. They would much prefer to have Harry Truman be a public target for sixty days more. If he can manage to sour labor on the Democrats once and for all, so much the better.

The Democrats have not even begun to lift a bloody head from the election returns. The President is one of the few members of his party who take a cheerful view of the country. Mr. Truman is relieved by the election and a decision he has made—not to run in 1948. He feels that he is freed of much responsibility and all political pressures and can do as he wants to. This was indicated last week-end when the Administration decided to get tough with John L. Lewis, completely reversing its previous stand. Dr. Steelman, who was inclined to play ball with Lewis, was shoved aside. (Perhaps he is being saved for a rainy day.) The man who guided Mr. Truman's decision on coal was Clark Clifford, the aggressive and clever St. Louis lawyer who wrote the so-called Truman labor bill last spring and the President's speech denouncing A. F. Whitney. Truman and Clifford went even farther than Secretary of the Interior Krug, who only wanted to show John Lewis that he couldn't loud-talk the government into reopening the contract.

The President, in common with many small-town politicians and business men, feels personally irritated by "big business" and "big labor." While for a time this spring he was fascinated by the dramatics of John Lewis, he is now angry at him and has given the signal to go after him hammer and tongs and throw him in jail if necessary. The President, however, has a history of retreating under pressure, and if the country suddenly decides three weeks from now that it wants coal more than it wants Lewis's head, Harry Truman may become convinced that is what he wants, too.

Right Face in Japan

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

AN INNATE desire for collectivist solutions never lies very far below the surface in Japan. People of all classes now believe that in a country so devoid of natural resources considerable socialization is the sole alternative to a resumption of the old imperialist drive for export markets. Even the owners of industry, fearing unlimited competition for severely limited raw materials, for a time supported the nationalization of basic industries. Socialism, it is thought, will be able to strive for a maximum importation of raw materials rather than money profit, and for a higher standard of living for the people.

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At first the Supreme Commander's staff (SCAP) tolerated this view. But suddenly, about May 20, 1946, the complexion of occupation policy was changed. MacArthur denounced the relatively mild hunger demonstrations before the Imperial Palace, even though he had been directed to permit the people to overthrow their old rulers by force if they so chose; a security blackout was clamped down on GHQ; war-time hush-hush was revived. Routine reports were classified as secret, and if they so much as mentioned socialism, communism, or leftist political tendencies among the Japanese, they were suppressed by "a command decision based on the delicate nature of the existing situation." Even more formidable was the barrier erected against our Allies: Dutch, British, and Russian routine requests for information were turned down on the pretext of lack of personnel. In the last week of October all SCAP "conferences," including those with Japanese, were classified as secret, and Amer-

ican newsmen were limited to the use of official hand-outs.

Simultaneously, American personnel was drastically purged. Individuals were haled before the G-2 chief, General Willoughby, and asked whether they were Communists. Reserve officers who had months to serve under the War Department's discharge plan were suddenly ordered home, to their own joy. Civilian employees had to be eased out by more devious methods. Before this happened, SCAP personnel had been broadly representative of all shades of American political opinion. But the replacements were to a large extent either experts "borrowed" from the National City Bank, the big silk companies, and other business concerns with a heavy stake in Japan or young pirates of whom the *Wall Street Journal* wrote, "Military government is rapidly becoming a training ground for Americans who plan to go into business in Japan." By July the number of paunchy, sack-suited, panama-hatted executive types in their middle fifties whom one met in downtown Tokyo gave one the illusion that the local branch of the United States Chamber of Commerce was in session. British, Dutch, and Chinese—not to mention Russian—trade representatives were noticeably absent. Such is "equality of economic opportunity" in action.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

About this time SCAP ceased to issue directives of any importance, for the reason that all directives must be debated before the Allied Council for Japan, where they are subject to criticism by General Derevyanko and the brilliant British representative, J. MacMahon Ball, both of whom wield an educative influence on Japanese public opinion even though they are powerless to alter SCAP policy. This influence is so strong that the reactionary Burton Crane, in his dispatches to the New York *Times*, has begun an underhanded campaign to have Mr. Ball replaced. Instead of issuing formal directives, staff officers now merely intimate the Supreme Commander's desires to conservative Japanese officials.

In July, in the course of an attack on a Soviet twenty-two-point proposal for a new labor policy, bumbling George Atcheson, Jr., made his now-famous anti-Communist statement. When Mr. Ball insisted that the Soviet proposal was "designed for the good of the people" and denied that it contained "any signs of Communist propaganda," Mr. Atcheson was forced to admit that he had expressed only his personal opinion; but the damage was already done. Like clockwork a Diet member denounced Communists in the trade unions, and Welfare Minister Kawai replied that although the government cannot exclude Communists because it is not allowed to control the unions, "the views of Mr. Atcheson will be respected." He added that he was optimistic about the economic future because *"the imminent growth of unemployment* would increase the industrial reserve army and automatically check the outbreak of labor disputes."

In scores of lesser matters the tide of reaction was evident. The sudden conservatism of SCAP-controlled Japanese newscasts after May 22 was widely remarked. The Japanese press, which had been well to the left of the public, took note of SCAP-inspired tokens and portents and veered obediently to the right. The case of *Yomiuri* was notable. The liberal editorial committee which had taken over the management of the newspaper from Matsutaro Shoriki, now awaiting trial as a war criminal, was in turn forced out by SCAP on the pretext that Allied press control hinged on "responsible ownership." The tightly organized employees struck for the reinstatement of the committee. To our shame and to the irreparable damage of the people's opinion of the occupation, Tomin Suzuki, the chief of the committee and one of the most brilliant writers in Japan, was brought before a mediation meeting arranged by SCAP in handcuffs and chains, with the bruises and cuts of obvious police brutality evident on his head and face. Responsibility did not lie with SCAP's Labor Division, whose able chief, Theodore Cohen, scathingly reprimanded the police officials; it lay with those SCAP agencies whose actions suggested to the police that their old anti-union methods were once again in order.

LABOR AND PRICE CONTROL

SCAP's entire labor policy, which had previously transmuted 300,000 house-broken company unionists into more than 3,000,000 militant and well-organized workers, was on the verge of collapse. On four occasions between June and September MacArthur cracked down on strikes and demonstrations. As a protest signed by a number of unions put it, "We cannot but feel that GHQ is supporting the suppression of the right to hold public meetings and the right to strike." Without changing the letter of any directive, labor policy was so effectively reversed that on October 9 Old Japan Hand Burton Crane, representative of a group of Americans in Tokyo who would like to see restored the feudal conditions which worked to their personal advantage before the war, was able to cable the New York *Times*, "Government circles are beginning to feel that General MacArthur is not really opposed to their taking steps to check improper union action." Charges by Socialist members of the Diet that the government is supporting the

capitalists in labor disputes are now a frequent occurrence. The morale of labor is shaken.

Nor is the SCAP-inspired reactionary tone of government policy confined to labor questions. The appointed Shidehara interim government had inaugurated in February a strong deflation and price-control policy which would have worked if it had been backed by a vigorous drive to restore production. But the conservative Yoshida government which was installed in May, after the election, appointed an avowed inflationist, Tanzan Ishibashi, as its Finance Minister. On May 4 Mr. Ishibashi, in a shrewd political bid for the appointment, had proposed to relax the key controls over corporate finances. After his appointment he said he would follow a policy of "reflation," a word which certainly has no meaning when the starting point is inflation. He showed his true colors on October 22, when without relaxing the stringent controls on consumer incomes he permitted the official retail price for rice to rise to 90 yen a bushel. On August 9 he had said that "the way to stabilize prices is to stabilize business first"; that is, business is to have everything it wants in order to obtain increased production, and let the consumer look out for himself.

This is not just the Japanese equivalent of the destruction of the OPA by reactionaries; it actually paves the way for the recovery of the industrial tycoons, the Zaibatsu, whom we are pledged to destroy. For although their top holding companies have been strait-jacketed by SCAP, as individuals and through dummies they are free to speculate in stocks of raw materials, which sometimes change hands three times a day, and in industrial properties. This is exactly the method whereby the Krupps recouped their fortunes in Germany after the last war. A true deflationary policy would have pushed the Zaibatsu, who are greatly hampered by the huge indebtedness they were forced to assume in order to finance war production, into bankruptcy in law as well as in fact; and this in turn would have facilitated the redistribution of their industrial empires along desirable lines. Ishibashi's inflationary policy, however, is rapidly increasing the value of their assets in proportion to their debts and enabling them to escape bankruptcy. Thus even though technical liquidation of the eleven largest Zaibatsu trusts is being forced—slowly—by SCAP, the old Zaibatsu families will accumulate an enormous kitty in cash or cash equivalents which can be put to work after ten years. Furthermore, the war profiteers, who were much more closely connected with Japan's militarists than the well-publicized Mitsuis and Mitsubishis, are untouched by SCAP directives. It would be interesting to learn why the investigation of a contractor named Ando, a "new Zaibatsu," who was alleged to have bought his way into SCAP favor, was labeled top secret and suppressed.

Another key Japanese who has a hand in making economic policy is a ridiculous little man by the name of Keinosuke Zen. His job, exceedingly difficult under the circumstances, is to do nothing. On paper, as chairman of the Economic Stabilization Board, he has complete and dictatorial powers over Japan's economy. He was appointed in May by the Yoshida Cabinet in order to suggest to the people that the previous Cabinet's policy of inaction would be reversed. But Zen has proved to be a master at stalling. First he proclaimed himself merely a go-between; then he blocked the appointment of the other members of the board; and finally he announced that he could not act until certain bills—introduced into the Diet only on October 11—had been passed. Meanwhile he passed his time writing enlightening articles for popular magazines which explained that under socialism a farmer would have to share his cow and his wife, and that common laborers and trained technicians would receive the same daily wage. Mr. Zen appears to be in the good graces of SCAP.

MACARTHUR AND THE ELECTIONS

Some American progressives feel that this trend is due principally to MacArthur's engineering of a general election at an early date, before the parties suppressed by the militarists had a chance to reorganize their machinery. MacArthur's action, in turn, they attribute to his innate reactionary disposition. Their analysis overlooks the dramatic purging of Hatoyama, the man slated to head the conservative government, at a time calculated to give maximum assistance to the Socialists, and shows a misunderstanding of the political situation in Japan. The people, always amenable to authority and already beginning to worship MacArthur, were reluctant to organize any opposition to the appointed Shidehara government, which appeared to have SCAP backing. In order to help the people acquire a rudimentary sense of political responsibility, it was imperative to instal an elected government, no matter how reactionary, at the earliest moment. The people had to learn that they had only themselves to blame for the inadequacies of their government.

It was clear that a conservative government would be returned, for the spirit of feudalism is deeply ingrained in the numerically dominant rural prefectures. But it was also clear that any party coming to power would soon fall into disrepute with the electorate. The problems of food, shelter, clothing, and inflation cannot be solved within the time limits imposed by popular patience, and *any* party empowered in 1946 will be thrown out in 1947.

The conservative parties knew this all too well. Criticism of MacArthur runs afoul the fact that these parties during six long weeks in April and May tried to evade the responsibility of forming a conservative government and even tried to entice the Social Democrats into a coalition. They thereby intended to play upon the feudal instincts of the Japanese, who like the seeming unanimity

of the "family-council" method of decision and habitually strive to avoid open parliamentary debates. The Socialists hung for weeks on the verge of consent. Had they accepted, there would have been no parliamentary opposition, decisions would have appeared to be as unopposed, "unanimous," and authoritarian as formerly, and the people would have learned nothing of democratic methods. The present upsurge of political consciousness, attested by the wave of political strikes, would have been circumvented. When the Socialists decided to go into opposition, MacArthur issued a statement specifically praising this move as a major step toward democracy. It was the last progressive action taken by SCAP.

The Yoshida government has failed miserably, in spite of the alleviation of the people's lot by the good luck of a bumper rice crop and a benevolent attitude on the part of SCAP toward imports. Since its political weakness is already manifest, the real test of SCAP intentions will come early in 1947. There is much talk that, following anticipated gains by the Socialists in local elections, a new national election will be held then. If SCAP maneuvers to prop up the Yoshida government and to put off the elections in the name of "order," the degradation of occupation policy will be finally demonstrated.

PARTIAL SOCIALIZATION ESSENTIAL

SCAP's thin defense, of course, will be the international situation. But though it may try to justify its anti-red moves on the ground of short-term strategy, any opposition to moderate socialism in Japan can lead only to disaster. Japanese industrialists themselves have testified that in default of the tightest sort of planning, government controls, and bilateral trade agreements, the scarcity of raw materials and other pressures will soon strangle free competition. Free trade is an impossibility in Japan. And using the antics of the Russians as a pretext to avoid rationalizing the Japanese economy is stupidity of the first order.

We have three possible choices: the present expensive policy of maintaining the Japanese as our wards and supplying them with whatever raw materials they need—a policy which has led to alarmed Chinese forecasts that Japan will become the greatest manufacturing and trading nation in Asia, as well as a military bulwark against the Soviet Union; the Byrnes policy of free economic opportunity, which will lead straight back to the struggle for export markets out of which the war arose; and a policy of fostering a planned, partially socialized economy which will seek to raise the standard of living of the Japanese people and eliminate imperialistic pressures.

The American Political Scene

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

III. The Return to Reaction

London, November 10

IT HARDLY required the great Republican victory in the recent election to convey to an observer of American politics that the Roosevelt epoch had closed, and closed, in T. S. Eliot's classic phrase, "not with a bang, but a whimper." The liberals left Washington after Mr. Truman was in office, first by twos and threes, then in droves. The "raucous voices" in both parties made themselves heard with a vigor and self-confidence they had not dared to display since the great depression. There was a new wave of anti-Negro feeling in the South. There was obviously a new incentive for the crude purveyors of anti-Semitism; Gerald L. K. Smith and his like had begun, very clearly, to feel that a fresh opportunity had come their way. The men who had founded the old Liberty League began to renew their contacts with one another. The National Association of Manufacturers issued propaganda obviously built upon the assumption that the initiative was returning to their hands.

There are, I think, three outstanding ideas which dominate the American social consciousness at the moment. The first is the conviction that America is in a position virtually to dictate the policy of the world. That is born partly of the natural exuberance brought by victory and the knowledge that American productive capacity was so large a factor in the common triumph, and partly of the knowledge of America's unequaled technological skill in an age when such skill is the key to economic advance. Partly, again, it is the result of the pretty plain fact that the swift recovery of other nations from the war depends upon American aid; without this aid the very existence of European civilization is insecure. The profound conviction that the center of world destiny is now in the United States finds symbolic recognition in the decision to place the headquarters of the U. N. there.

At long last America is really free from dependence on Europe. This has sharpened the nationalism of a

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people which has always suffered from a feeling of inferiority to Europe. Freedom from that inferiority gives a widespread sense of an indispensable authority it is no longer possible to challenge. And that sense is deepened, if a little uneasily, by the fact that the American government is the sole possessor of the atomic bomb. Hiroshima and Nagasaki hardly made a greater impression on Tokyo than they have made in Washington.

BUSINESS TAKES CHARGE

A self-confident nationalism is, then, the first great feature in the contemporary pattern of American thought. The second is a willingness to go back on a good deal of the Roosevelt experiment and try once more what the business men can do with a largely uncontrolled economy. Whether this reaction would have occurred if President Truman and his supporters had decided to defend the Roosevelt heritage it is difficult to say. But they abandoned it at the outset by liquidating the rationing system almost immediately after the defeat of Japan. Once they made the choice, the Democratic Party ceased to have either an attitude or a policy by which it could be distinguished from the Republican; it was easy therefore for the voter to throw his weight on the side of the party to which Mr. Roosevelt and all his works had been anathema.

In abandoning the Roosevelt heritage Mr. Truman made the shaping of the post-war economic policy of America the concern of business and not of Congress. The business view was the simple one that the more unimpeded was the mechanism of the market the greater would be the national prosperity, and, as usual, that labor's share of well-being would be properly decided by the play of supply and demand in the market. Hence the hostility to the Kilgore bill; hence also the enthusiasm, to which Senator Taft has given such frequent expression, for amendment of the Wagner act. But dependence upon a market economy in a period when demand was immense and supply necessarily small brought about a wave of strikes which had the twofold result of breeding hostility to the labor unions among large sections of the public and arresting the process of reconversion, thereby continuing the irritation of short supplies. Far too few Americans have realized the speed and the depth of Mr. Truman's abandonment of a controlled economy. They attribute to control the ills and inconveniences which are actually the outcome of the policy so long preached by the Republican Party, the authentic guardian of the business interests. With the Republicans dominating both houses of Congress, and with a President who now, on economic matters, has no effective difference with the Republicans, the business man is, in fact, reinvested with the authority that he lost in 1932. And he has also a renewed faith that it ought broadly to be used for what is so curiously called "free enterprise." Economically, business will seek ways and means of returning as rapidly as it can to as much as can be found of the climate of 1929. Mr. Hoover, so to say, is back in power.

VANDENBERG OVER BYRNES

The third outstanding feature of the political landscape is the character of American foreign policy. Though this is a joint affair of the two parties, in its continuing definition Senator Vandenberg will now count for more than Mr. Byrnes, for through his chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations he will dominate the process of ratifying the results of negotiation. Mr. Byrnes, to put it bluntly, must agree with Senator Vandenberg or find himself reduced to futility. American foreign policy will therefore continue to be anti-Russian in its major inspiration. It will refrain from assisting all governments which it believes to be within the orbit of Russian influence, as in its recent rebuff to Czechoslovakia over a loan. It will be hostile to any move, such as Mr. Bevin recently proposed, to socialize the key German industries. Even though the fact is inescapable that no viable German democracy is possible without that socialization, America will resist it with all its influence, political and economic alike. The dualistic policy in China will continue until the failure of General Marshall's mission can no longer be denied; at that stage all America's support will be thrown to General Chiang Kai-shek, which will mean keeping China divided and maintaining in power, partly on doctrinal and partly on commercial grounds, the corrupt and reactionary elements of the Kuomintang. I fear that a policy of deliberate abstention from action against General Franco will prevail; 1948 is too near for either party to risk the loss of the Roman Catholic vote.

Moreover, it will be increasingly difficult, I suggest, to persuade the American government to active economic cooperation on an international basis. For all practical purposes, it has already torpedoed the promising and imaginative scheme by which Sir John Boyd Orr proposed to safeguard the future against famine. It has restored free competition, with its grave potentialities for disaster, in the realm of food purchases by foreign nations in America. In the International Trade Conference all its emphasis has been on free access to markets, whereas other members have stressed need for full employment. And its own attitude to bases for strategic purposes stands in significant contrast to its suspicion of the Russian search for security and its urging that other nations put their colonies under the direction of the Trusteeship Council of the U. N.

It is difficult to survey the prospect for the next two years in America without concluding that there will be either the virtual paralysis of government or a de facto coalition government in which the Republican Party will be the senior partner. The consequence of the turn Mr. Truman gave to events is therefore to enthrone conservatism in office. What he has done, in practice, is to

expel the liberal elements in the Democratic Party from any share in authority. They can only hope to stage a return to influence if a serious catastrophe occurs. That is not outside the range of possibility, since the danger of inflation is very real. And if there is inflation, neither Mr. Truman nor the Republicans have any sort of coherent policy to deal with its consequences at home, much less abroad. No doubt there would be frenzied improvisations to meet any domestic crisis, but it is difficult to believe that the politicians now in office would feel that the foreign repercussions of such a crisis were America's concern. Here, at least, they may well invoke the unhappy precedent established by Mr. Roosevelt when he wrecked the World Economic Conference in 1933.

CONSERVATISM IN THE SADDLE

Conservatism is firmly in power in the United States at a time when the rest of the world is overwhelmingly moving leftward. It is all too clear that those in authority in Washington view with dislike, even with alarm, this leftward trend. That was made evident when so representative a figure in American big business as Bernard Baruch warned his fellow-citizens against any financial support for socialist experiments in Great Britain. It is clear, again, in the absence of any deep feeling in America at the outcome of British policy in Greece. It is manifested in the MacArthur policy in Japan, which has not only made the occupation of Japan virtually an American monopoly, but has been careful to develop constitutionalism there as a political form with, as yet, few if any signs of economic substance behind it.

Whoever is being encouraged to look forward to effective authority in a future Japan, it is certainly not the common people. Not the least reason for the retention of the Emperor is that his very existence as a constitutional monarch screens off, as it were, the Japanese workers from any real hope of power in the foreseeable future. It is to the Japanese right and center, barring of course the ardent militarists, that General MacArthur has lent the weight of his support. The real battles for democracy in Japan will only begin when the American occupation has come to a close; and when that occurs, business Japan, stripped no doubt of most of its military potential, will be intrenched pretty firmly in power. To put it succinctly, Republican America is being matched by Republican Japan. The one has a beaten President; the other has a beaten Emperor. As much as possible, the occupation seeks to mold Japan in the pattern that a good Republican in Kansas or Michigan would approve.

Nor is it unimportant to watch the growing alliance between big business and the General Staff in Washington. That appears supremely, of course, in the economic relations built around the development of atomic energy. But it is inherent in the power of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs, headed by the very reactionary Admiral Leahy, to by-pass, with the consent of the President, the civilian Secretaries to whom each of them was previously subordinate. In matters of vital secrecy I suspect this will mean that, with the consent of the Republican leadership, President Truman will give the Joint Chiefs of Staff their head, and there will be less of public discussion of their most urgent activities than has ever happened before in peace time. And since all these activities require pretty close liaison with steel and chemicals and oil and the like, but not, very notably, with labor, a relationship for the future will be built which is bound to have repercussions far outside the area of international affairs and of security from military aggression. That is an important portent. The alliance of the armed forces and big business makes it difficult to strengthen the liberal element now in any country.

Caricature by Seligson
Senator Vandenberg

It is, moreover, notable that all the key industrial states are now in Republican hands. That means an immense access of strength to business in the administrative implementation of its come-back. It means that the general pattern of state policy in economic matters will be set by influences which go directly back to the outlook of the N. A. M. On any showing, this is a grim position for the liberals; perhaps it is still more grim for the labor movement. For in the next two years both John L. Lewis and Philip Murray are going to find little willingness to meet their demands. All the would-be nominees for the Presidency in 1948 are going to vie with each other in insisting that militant labor be taught its place; and I doubt whether Mr. Truman has either the initiative or the imagination—even if he could get the support—to emerge as the champion of labor claims against a solid business phalanx that is in a position to wreck any effort he might make to recover the liberal heritage he so wantonly threw away after the Japanese defeat.

WAITING FOR 1952

I am not arguing that there is not plenty of real liberalism in America. I am arguing only that in the eighteen months since Franklin Roosevelt died it has lost the power of strategic initiative. It has to fight a costly rearguard action against an enemy which not only has won the first round of the battle but is supremely confident that the second is already in its hands. It has, further, to fight in the knowledge that the very men

have deserted it for whom, in the next two years, it might have hoped to organize a fighting chance of victory. Historical analogies are dangerous things. But I see no reason to believe that Henry Wallace has any greater chance of mobilizing the liberal forces for a great battle than Woodrow Wilson had almost thirty years ago. The crucial date for a liberal revival is, on all the obvious chances, 1952; but the speed at which the shadows darken around us make waiting for 1952 a graver matter than waiting for 1932 was in 1920.

We are back at the Old Deal when circumstances have made its central principles almost painfully obsolete. I wish I could see more clearly how much chance there remains for American liberalism after men like Senator Vandenberg and Senator Taft have given their energies for the next years to applying those principles as a policy despite their obsolescence. American liberals would do well to gird up their loins. For it is something more than a fair guess that, if they have the courage, they may have to battle for a Lord who will stand for more than a mythology that has long ceased to edify. At least they must be acutely aware that a dead past sits triumphantly where, less than two years ago, the emerging future excited the hopes of the whole world.

India in Travail

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, November 19

INDIA has lived through some months of unparalleled Hindu-Moslem conflict. First came the extensive riots in Calcutta in the middle of August, in which it is estimated 5,000 people were killed and about three times that number injured. The riots synchronized significantly with "Direct Action Day," observed by the Moslem League throughout India. The Hindu and Sikh retaliation during the late stages of the riots caused an unexpectedly large number of Moslem casualties.

The campaign of hatred and violence then spread to the remote districts of East Bengal, where the Hindus form a small minority of the population. For a week or more in the first half of October Moslem gangsters had the Hindus at their mercy. One cannot say how many were murdered, for it is easy to throw bodies into the rivers and canals of that waterlogged region. Estimates vary from the 200 or fewer reported by the British governor of Bengal to 5,000. Large numbers of Hindu women were "converted" and abducted after the murder of their husbands and sons.

These occurrences in Bengal drove the Hindus in other parts of India into a dangerous mood of despair, and nowhere was indignation stronger than in the neighboring province of Behar. Every year a considerable number of Behari workers go to Calcutta and Bengal for employment, and hundreds must have died during the August riots. Hardly a town or village in the province was unaffected. As Nehru explained last week in the course of a deeply impressive statement, the Beharis waited patiently for weeks in the hope that the higher Bengal government or the Central government—especially the latter since it contains the Congress Party leaders like Nehru—would do something. But nothing happened beyond the appointment of a commission of inquiry at Calcutta, which proceeded with an astonishing lack of vigor.

Other things are troubling India. Nearly a million men have been demobilized in the last twelvemonth, and only a small fraction of them have found work. These men—peasants in peace time—had better food and clothing during the war than they had ever known before. Some of them were found among the gangsters looting and raping in East Bengal. Having been recruited from all over India, these men are now scattered through the country.

The ministries functioning under the control of the Congress Party have held out the promise of almost immediate abolition of the "Zamindari" landlord system prevailing in various parts of India—a system which permits absentee landlords to extort vast incomes from a backward peasantry through the agency of unscrupulous middlemen. There is much talk of collective farming of peasant-owned land and of education, housing and medical relief, and other amenities. The peasant grasps little of this except that the landlords and petty village tyrants, whom he detests but has patiently endured, are doomed to disappear within an extremely short time.

The outstanding fact of the Indian situation is that the prestige of the governing classes has diminished almost to the vanishing point. Officials who have run the British administration of India for decades must terminate their contracts with the British in a few months. Probably the majority will prefer to retire rather than continue in the service under greatly altered conditions. These men's hearts are no longer in their work; they are packing up

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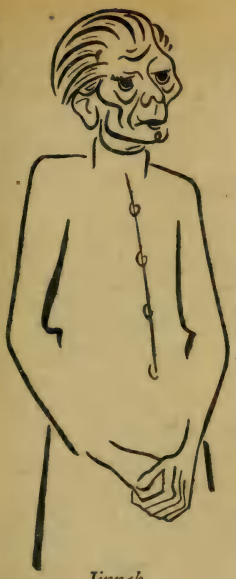


Jinnah

to leave India—literally or figuratively. Many of them have sent Nehru and thousands of his followers to prison more than once, and it is inconceivable that they could now conscientiously serve his government.

The problems of Nehru and his Cabinet are stupendous. They have undertaken the administration of India after six years of an exhausting war during which the country was run with an iron hand by the British Viceroy with the aid of the British civil and military services and such Indians as were willing to cooperate. Nowhere else in the world have the rebels of yesterday been called upon to assume charge of the government of their country and to run it with the instruments which have resisted them all these many years.

And this is not the whole picture. It was the Cabinet's and Nehru's declared belief that the substance of political power had passed into their hands and that the Viceroy's authority had correspondingly diminished to something like that of the Governor General of Australia or Canada. Before Nehru had time to consolidate his position, Lord Wavell hastened negotiations with Jinnah in order to bring the Moslem League into the Cabinet. The Viceroy assured Nehru that Jinnah would cooperate with the Congress leaders in both the Cabinet and the Constituent Assembly. Jinnah himself has kept out of Nehru's Cabinet, but he nominated five members on behalf of the Moslem League—one of them strangely not a Moslem but an untouchable from Bengal. From inside the Cabinet they have repudiated Jinnah's assurances conveyed through the Viceroy. They refuse to recognize Nehru as de facto Premier, maintaining that under the existing constitution the Viceroy is the real head of the government. They do not feel bound by the conventions which Nehru has been striving to establish. In fact, they don't consider it a coalition government at all, as Jinnah frankly revealed last week. The League's nominees joined the government, he said, as sentinels to watch over Moslem interests from the inside, since they could not afford to intrust the administration of the country to the Congress Party.

Jinnah wants absolute and immediate Pakistan, with an exchange of populations if necessary. Someone asked him what would happen in the country during the next six months if he did not succeed in achieving Pakistan. "You've seen what is happening and that will continue," he replied, unmoved by the ghastly events in Behar and Bengal.

Social, economic, and political unrest is rapidly increasing as a result of the stresses developed by the war and its aftermath, an administrative structure which is plainly unequal to dealing with this unrest, a government divided into two halves—Congress and the Moslem League—incapable of acting together because of their fundamentally different ideologies. Many are asking whether this strange experiment will last. The Viceroy has shown greater solicitude for the prestige of the provincial governors and of himself as Viceroy than for the welfare of the Indian masses. British labor may have decided to transfer power to the Indian people, but such a transfer must take place through the Viceroy, the governors, and the British civil and military servants—men who, with few exceptions, subscribe to Churchill's conception of the British Empire. Lord Wavell was Churchill's choice for the vice-royalty of India, made under dramatic circumstances at Washington on May 19, 1943.

The word sabotage has been used by the nationalist press here to describe the British imperialist attitude toward the Labor Cabinet's plans. Churchill is openly encouraging India's minority leaders to adopt a defiant policy. A formidable combination of vested interests is fighting with skill and without scruples to prevent the swift and peaceful transfer of political power — the landlords, the British privileged classes both official and commercial, some of the Indian princes, Moslems like Jinnah. Designing men are exploiting the social and economic unrest for their own unworthy ends. It is possible that India may be plunged into civil war despite the efforts of Gandhi and Nehru.

To prevent such a catastrophe the Labor Cabinet must send a new Viceroy, one more capable of translating its policy into concrete action than Lord Wavell, one more understanding of social democracy than a professional soldier can be. It is impossible to turn back at this stage. If British Labor wants to retain India's friendship, it must go forward rapidly and remove all those, however high placed they may be, who cannot accept its principles.

Caricatures by Seligson

Nehru

UNESCO Gets to Work

BY A. G. MEZERIK

NEARLY every day the papers I read and the radio I listen to feature the United Nations. I would have guessed, with all the coverage the U. N. has been getting, that only characters like Lil Abner and Lester Jeeter were unaware that the United States is a member of the United Nations. But Mr. Gallup's survey tell me I am wrong. Thirty per cent of Americans, it seems, almost one out of every three, do not know this country is part of that well-publicized world body.

Of course none of the 30 per cent are *Nation* readers. *Nation* readers, if polled, would know the answer to that one, but would they be just as well informed about UNESCO? I have conducted a private "man in the street, bar, office, and living-room survey," only to find that my best friends can't tell me what it is. Some announce that the synthetic word stands for United Nations Economic and Social Council—which it could but does not. My lowbrow drinking companions recognize it immediately as a competitor of Nabisco. Almost no one knows that this is UNESCO month, or that UNESCO is the international organization which is to undertake the staggering burden of teaching—not just telling—the world the aims of the U. N. and its specialized agencies. Indeed, it is much more than that—for UNESCO is designed to be the ideological arm with which the world builds peace, as the United Nations is its extremely shaky security arm. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a big mouthful, but if it is ever permitted to do its job, and turns out to be capable of doing it, there may really be peace on earth.

When the international exchange of scientific information is under discussion, as now with UNESCO, everybody is cordial and cooperative, but a glance at the record is discouraging. Julian Huxley, executive secretary of UNESCO, has been on an almost fruitless quest for international organizations with which his own could work. Among the engineers he found no worldwide group; the engineers have never been able to form and hold together an organization transcending national boundaries. Jealousy is often given as the reason, but look a little deeper and more sinister reasons appear. Engineering has long been the handmaiden of monopolies and large corporations, and engineers will tell you that in the desire of corporations to control trade secrets and processes lies the real reason for their lack of international organization.

Engineering has had military and strategic connections, too, and those may provide a corollary reason. The physicists working on the atomic bomb have felt the heavy hand of the military. Talk of worldwide exchange of information by scientists and engineers is indeed optimistic in the face of military demands for strict isolationist curbs. As science becomes of strategic significance, scientists are restrained by law, by economic pressure, and by appeals to patriotism from exchanging the results of their studies with scientists in other countries.

When the Nazis decided to use science as the keystone of their aggressive effort, they blacked out the right of German scientists to share their achievements with foreign specialists. This action was generally condemned, but the Allied victory has not changed the world picture for the better, and today all scientists who look beyond the confines of their own laboratories are greatly concerned about the future. They realize that science will not move forward without the benefit of communication across national borders and that if held tightly within national walls it will never help build the peace.

The idea of UNESCO dates back to the London meettings of the Allied Council of Ministers of Education during the war. These ministers saw that the rehabilitation of devastated educational institutions would be an international job and made plans for a permanent organization. But the idea could be implemented only by the new United Nations Organization. The U. N. thus came into the picture before its own charter had been signed. The preparatory group of UNESCO was invited to meet in San Francisco just before the United Nations meeting, and here UNESCO took form. Groups concerned with the arts and information were included with the educators, but the scientists, who felt the greatest urgency, had still no place in the proposed organization.

Joseph Needham, the eminent British scientist, had been for some time urging the establishment of an international body of scientists, with the goal of exchanging scientific data. Needham was stationed in China, doing work of great importance for that country's war effort and its future scientific development, but he came to San Francisco and made an eloquent case for scientific participation. He was ably supported by Harlow Shapley, the Harvard physicist. These two, with Julian Huxley, Henri Laugier, and others, carried the ball across the goal line. Archibald MacLeish, who was the leader of

A. G. MEZERIK is the author of "The Revolt of the South and West."

the United States delegation at the UNESCO meeting in San Francisco, took on the job of getting the name and the idea approved by Congress.

UNESCO next moved to London. Last June it entered into a draft agreement with the United Nations which outlined its scope. Its first assembly is now being held in Paris.

UNESCO can include countries which are not members of the United Nations. The United States became formally a member on July 30, when President Truman signed a Congressional resolution authorizing its permanent participation. This step must be taken by at least twenty of the forty-one countries which signed originally, if UNESCO is to become permanent. Signatures have been dribbling in, slowed by diplomatic snafu, political exigencies, and translation difficulties.

The big job which UNESCO proposes to do falls into three divisions. In the field of the creative arts, the aim is to enable people in every part of the world to jump national barricades with their cultural contributions, for these are the tools for the understanding of national character. In science and learning, UNESCO will seek standardization of scientific symbols and techniques and precise translations from one language to another. The third part of UNESCO's task is to inaugurate practical measures to spread science and learning. One such job might be the preparation of scientific textbooks, usable everywhere and not only by persons who intend to become scientists but by those who want to know their way about in a world where science is supreme. Similarly world history books, free from nationalism, have been suggested by educators. But such demonstrations would be few, for UNESCO is designed to be mainly a coordinating, facilitating, and planning body.

UNESCO already plans to call conferences on scientific problems in which one nation can get the benefit of scientific help from the others. Mexico has recently asked for a conference on the conservation of non-renewable natural resources. Consider also what UNESCO could do in promoting an international approach to zonal problems, as proposed by Dr. Huxley. The Arctic zone goes around the world, and how to fight extreme cold is the common problem of all the people who live in it, no matter what their nationality. Dr. Huxley maintains that there should be a common attack on the problem throughout the entire zone. The diseases of the tropical zone pose another such challenge. In some arid zones the need for water crosses national borders.

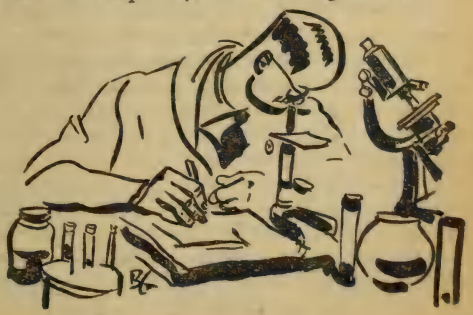
With UNESCO pointing the way, the international TVA's about which so much has been written could really come into being. Huxley, Needham, and their colleagues are also equipped to study eugenics, psychology in relation to politics, the use of natural resources, and the cure of cancer or tuberculosis. An international organization, allocating a sizable sum properly and planning a worldwide attack on disease, could save the world much pain, money, and wasted effort.

Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., in describing UNESCO's many possibilities, has spoken of astronomy. Astrophysics and astronomy are essential to the whole world, but most of the observatories are in the Northern Hemisphere because the wealthy countries are there. Laugier pointed out that rich countries have big telescopes, medium-sized countries have medium-sized telescopes, and small countries use spyglasses. He went on to ask, "If Tahiti proves to be a location where a very large observatory is necessary, shall the world community be denied the use of this facility because Tahiti's budget is small?"

If all this is as logical as it sounds, who would try to stop UNESCO? I have mentioned the monopolies in this country, which for all their kindly words may gun for the organization. And I have spoken of the militarists and the power politicians everywhere. With disease germs and atomic bombs of tremendous military importance, there is very real danger that the big nations will block any international scientific cooperation. With the Republican Party in power in the United States, these worries are doubled, for the Republicans have traditionally embraced both monopolies and isolationism.

Any increase of isolationism here will have an effect on Russia and the countries in its sphere. None of them have as yet joined UNESCO, and it is obvious that Russia's entry is dependent on the general policy of the United States and Britain. UNESCO is one international organization which Russia should cherish, for it is spending a higher percentage of its national income on science than any other nation. Russia also publicly recognizes that the application of science to industry is cardinal to the success of its Five-Year Plan. UNESCO can be the mother of this kind of knowledge, and I am hoping—but not betting—that the Soviets will come in.

It is UNESCO month here—our State Department has so designated November officially—and it is UNESCO month in England, France, and other countries. May there be a UNESCO month ten years from now, with a world population dancing in the streets in celebration of victories over poverty, disease, and ignorance!



The People's Front

THE results of the recent elections in France and Italy are further confirmation of the point I have been making in *The Nation* since the liberation, that whatever zigzags it may make on the way, Europe is going left.

Other European elections in the past six months have led conservative American observers to report, a little precipitately, a reversal in the trend, a return to "normalcy." An elaborate article in the July *Fortune*—which must itself have cost a fortune in time and money—put the final touches on this diagnosis; it marshaled figures and arguments to show that Europe is fed up with its one year of socialist experimenting and is turning its eyes toward the admirable economic order which prevails in America under the benevolent guidance of "free enterprise."

Now *Fortune's* expensive little popgun has backfired. The French people voted left. The Italian people voted left. In France the Communist Party was the only party of the government coalition that increased its popular vote—5,475,955 votes this time as against 5,203,046 last June, raising the number of its seats in the Assembly from 148 to 166. The latest Italian elections on November 17, coming on the heels of the Socialist-Communist gains of the previous Sunday, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Communists; at Leghorn they received 59 per cent of the total vote, thus securing control of a key municipality.

Both in France and in Italy reaction mustered all its forces in an attempt to rout the working-class parties. The French right had an electoral fund worth more than any number of undevaluated francs in the form of support from General de Gaulle, whose prestige is topped in French history only by that of Henry of Navarre and General Bonaparte. The Catholic church worked hard to return Georges Bidault's Popular Republicans as first party of France. The M. R. P. succeeded in keeping its 160 seats in the Assembly, but its popular vote dropped from 5,589,130, in the June 2 elections, to 5,033,430. Without the help of the hierarchy it would surely have come off worse. A conservative French paper, *l'Ordre*, commented, "The church saved the M. R. P." This time there was not even a pretense of neutrality on the part of the clergy. *La Croix*, organ of the Vatican in France, whose masthead carries a crucifix and the motto *"Adveniat regnum tuum,"* abandoned its ecclesiastical tone to warn Frenchmen that if they voted left they would, on the one hand, forfeit their chance of heaven and, on the other, American credits. In Italy Pope Pius all but stepped from the altar to the rostrum to direct personally the campaign for the right-wing parties. Yet in neither country were these warnings enough to sway the people.

It is true that the French Socialist Party emerged a heavy loser. This was no surprise to those who had followed closely the debates at the last two Socialist congresses. In the long run it was impossible to maintain an equilibrium between the left and the right wings of the party without losing on both sides. Those Frenchmen who have formerly voted Socialist but are now apprehensive of the steady growth of the Communist Party seem to feel more protected under Herriot's *Rassemblement des Gauches*, which is openly anti-Communist but at the same time a staunch defender of secular education. On the other hand, many militant rank-and-file Socialists who accept the necessity of a single working-class front find the Communist Party, which has called unceasingly for unity of action, more to their taste. But even the decline of the Socialists, which is fundamentally the result of their elderly, anemic approach to public questions, does not alter the fact that, viewed as a whole, the French vote of November 10 was a decisive blow to reaction.

In Italy the interesting thing this time was to see the effect of the unity pact between the Socialists and Communists. One of the principal arguments of Saragat and Treves, leaders of the right-wing Socialists, was that close collaboration with the Communists would ruin their party's electoral chances. Actually where the parties ran combined slates on November 10, they improved their position and led in five of the main cities—Rome, Turin, Genoa, Florence, and Naples. The Christian Democrats, whose victory last June was taken as a sign of a right turn in Europe, dropped from first place to third in Rome, from second to fifth in Naples. Apparently in Italy the clerical reactionaries are not satisfied, as they are in France, to support a center party like the M. R. P. Impatient with De Gasperi, from whom they expected a firmer stand against the left, they have now gone all out for the neo-fascists of the Common Man Front. But in spite of the considerable gains of that party, Italy came out of the test with the left parties strongly intrenched.

Now France faces the difficult problem of readjusting its coalition government to conform with the election results. The Communists would have a right to claim the premiership, but they are not likely to insist on it at the risk of seeing a government formed without them. They will probably demand important portfolios and may insist that if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not given to them, it go to a man—say, Pierre Cot—whose views on foreign policy meet with their approval. The Communists and Socialists together do not hold a majority in the Assembly, and therefore a joint Cabinet, as proposed by the Communist Party on the day after the elections, will hardly materialize. The only possible alternative to the present tripartite coalition would be, I think, a return to a kind of limited popular-front government including the three major parties and the Radicals. Such a solution might bring Herriot out of the opposition as President of the Fourth Republic.

The problem is not so immediate in Italy, since the recent balloting there was for municipal posts only. But it is clear that the victory of the Socialists and Communists will have repercussions on the composition of the Italian government before many months.

DEL VAYO

[*In an early article Mr. Del Vayo will discuss the causes of Socialist decline in Europe.*]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prices and Tariffs

TARIFFS are devices to make imported goods more expensive and so temper the winds of competition to domestic producers. Although each particular import duty assists a comparatively small number of producers and is paid by a large number of consumers, generations of propaganda have put over the idea that tariffs benefit the whole nation. The onus of tariffs, it is widely held, is borne by those foreigners who find their cunning schemes to make cheap goods available to Americans thwarted. It follows that any reduction in tariff rates is a favor to such foreigners and should therefore never be made except as a *quid pro quo*. On this basis, in fact, the State Department will shortly negotiate for a mutual reduction of trade barriers with eighteen other countries, negotiations in which concessions by one party will be weighed against concessions by others.

I am not criticizing this procedure. It is, perhaps, the most hopeful method of beginning the gargantuan task of lowering trade barriers throughout the world. But in these days of shortages and soaring prices it does seem rather strange to me that there is not more agitation for whittling down import duties, not for the sake of foreign nations but for the sake of the hard-pressed American consumer.

Let us look, for example, at the case of the three major non-ferrous metals—copper, lead, and zinc—which are raw materials for a host of industries. All these metals are in short supply in relation to current demand, and, not surprisingly, domestic prices jumped to the world level when ceilings were abolished on November 7. However, for the moment this imposed a new ceiling, since the Metals Reserve Company, a government corporation which was exempt from paying duty, continued to buy foreign metal for resale at local prices. Now the company has announced the cessation of its operations, which means that future imports will have to bear the prescribed duties. Theoretically, this could mean a two-price system with consumers paying more for foreign than for domestic metals, but in that event bidding for the cheaper material would soon force quotations up until they equaled foreign prices plus duty.

A two-price system in a free market is not, in fact, practical, and it seems certain that within a very short time American producers of metals will be obtaining the benefit of the added duty. Two large mining companies have already moved halfway to this goal by raising their quotations for copper from 17½ cents a pound to 19½ cents, and a further jump to 21½ cents appears imminent since the excise duty on foreign copper is 4 cents. In the case of lead the American Smelting and Refining Corporation, which has mineral interests both here and abroad, has already lifted its quotation for New York delivery to 11.8 cents a pound, which compares with the OPA ceiling of 8¼ cents. The new figure represents a price of 10.25 cents for foreign metal at Gulf ports, plus duty of $1^{1}/_{16}$ cents and transportation costs.

Since most of the big metal producers are already making satisfactory profits, the higher prices they can now obtain, thanks to protective duties, are so much velvet. But what advantage will be gained by the community at large to compensate it for added costs on automobiles, electrical and household appliances, housing materials, and other goods which require appreciable quantities of non-ferrous metals? Domestic production of copper, lead, and zinc will of course be stimulated. High-cost mines, which can operate only when prices are above normal, will be reopened. But no matter how high prices may go, domestic supplies will not be sufficient to satisfy domestic needs, and large imports will still be necessary. In the first ten months of 1946 American consumption of copper amounted to 990,000 tons, of which over half was of foreign origin. Lead consumption for the whole year is estimated at 870,000 tons, even though under allocation many users are not receiving nearly all they need, while domestic production is not expected to exceed 350,000 tons.

The United States was exceptionally well endowed by nature with metallic ores, but in the course of 150 years of economic development these resources have been drawn upon very heavily. They are no longer extensive enough to provide for the needs of industry when it is operating at anything like capacity, and to an increasing extent we must depend on imports. Why, then, should we penalize ourselves and hasten the depletion of our metallic reserves by making foreign metals artificially expensive. This is a matter of great concern to the consuming industries and is disturbing even some of the large producers. The big copper interests, for instance, are not happy about a rise in price to 21½ cents; they fear that consumers may turn to substitutes—aluminum, magnesium, plastics, stainless steels; that they may be "priced out of the market."

A temporary remedy for the situation is available. Under the Tariff Act of 1930 the President has the power in an emergency to suspend the collection of import duties on a particular commodity. He might well use this power in the case of lead and zinc. Whether he has the legal authority to abrogate temporarily the excise duty on copper is uncertain, but that move would be equally desirable. Indeed, there are a number of raw materials supplies of which could be improved or cheapened or both by the suspension of import duties which hamper their entry. In spite of a desperate shortage of vegetable oils, reflected in the high price and scarcity of soap, imports of such commodities as cottonseed oil, cocoanut oil, linseed oil, and peanut oil are impeded by the tariff. Another example is soda ash, for lack of which glass factories are closing down; the duty on this material is equivalent to 25 per cent of the current price.

Of course, it may be argued that the suspension of any duties at this moment would weaken the hands of American negotiators in the forthcoming tariff talks. But that argument is based on the premise that we are always the gainers by our tariffs and the other fellow the loser. In our present situation at least, when we are concerned not with glut but with scarcity, to penalize foreign sellers of wanted goods is surely an example of economic masochism.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THE big surprise in radio—to both the broadcaster and the listener—is in television. Television sets are being sold, for immediate delivery, in New York City priced at $300, plus $50 for installation and a year's guaranty. And they are being sold so fast that the supply is about exhausted and stores are now taking orders. Sets are also obtainable in Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles, although it is probable that West Coast retailers have no more than token stocks since the big present and expected market is in New York City.

The television production center is still New York, where the television listener has three stations to choose from—NBC, CBS, and Du Mont. Two of the three stations offer programs, on an average, six or even seven days a week. Depending on the schedules, the listener can enjoy from twenty to forty hours of programming each week over NBC in New York; somewhat less over CBS and Du Mont.

What makes television a surprise is the speed with which it has caught the public fancy. Many a broadcaster, realizing the cost of television operation, had hoped Frequency Modulation would be the next development. A television station costs four times as much to construct and operate as an FM or AM station. In round figures an FM station can be built for about $50,000 as against the $200,000 needed for an investment in television. Since either FM or television will tend to kill the broadcasters' existing audience, they know they may have to switch to one or the other, and those with limited resources would naturally prefer it to be FM.

Most broadcasters foresaw a gradual shift to FM, a profitable decade with it, and then another gradual shift to television. Instead, FM is still struggling, and television, at least in New York, the largest single market, is here to stay.

Behind this mushrooming of television are a number of interesting factors, all of which have the broadcasters worried. The strongest shot-in-the-arm for television has been sports broadcasts. The baseball, football, and prize-fight telecasts have steadily built up listener demand. It wasn't so good when telecasts had to stick to their home towns, but this season NBC has been picking up games hundreds of miles from New York. The secret is in the micro-wave facilities developed by A. T. and T. Before these were perfected, television could carry programs beyond the horizon only by using another A. T. and T. device, the coaxial cable, which was and is fantastically expensive.

Coaxial cables run from New York to Philadelphia and Washington. A coast-to-coast coaxial cable was announced to be in the works some time ago, but no one anticipated prompt action, especially since such a cable reputedly costs $10,000 a mile to instal. Today we are told that a coaxial cable extends as far west as El Paso, Texas, and is due in Hollywood by spring. This is another cause of television's phenomenal spurt.

Radio men realize that only concerns with heavy financial reserves will go into TV. These are the networks, the radio-equipment manufacturers, and the movie makers. The few non-network stations that can afford to enter the field are those that are affiliated, by financial interest or philosophy, with those already in it.

Radio Corporation of America is in the field with NBC, its subsidiary. General Electric is in with its station in Schenectady, CBS with its station in New York, Paramount with its financial interest in the Du Mont firm in New York, Philco with its own station in Philadelphia. Paramount is on the scene in Chicago through its relationship with the Balaban and Katz movie chain, which owns and operates the most active single television outlet in that city.

ABC, the radio network, is also in the picture via working agreements with Du Mont, General Electric, and Balaban and Katz. Only Mutual, of the networks, has no TV station, but it is affiliated with the Chicago *Tribune's* WGN station, which for years has had a studio built especially for television. Others in the field are WLW, in Cincinnati, now owned by the AVCO Corporation, part of the Victor Emanuel empire, and WBAL, the Hearst station in Baltimore.

These are the people that can afford to build the stations, put money into the programs, use the coaxial cable—as radio stations now use telephone lines—and with the micro-wave facilities of the A. T. and T. pick up such stellar attractions as an army football game at West Point.

One need not assume from its operators that television will be bad, meaning a minor force for the best in cultural, social, and educational programs. But already its broadcasts are swamped with commercials—run at a loss, it is true, since the advertisers are experimenting, trying to find the most effective and palatable commercial plugs while the audience is still attracted by the novelty and limited in size. Even this does not mean that television must be bad. But look at the past as a guide to the future. The big guns in television are the same big guns that in radio have been most guilty of advertising excesses. TV is a new art, as well as a new technical problem. And the FCC has no handbook for television public service.

Now is the time to watch television and make your likes and dislikes known to the telecasters. And to the FCC, too.

WORTH HEARING

HOWARD K. SMITH (CBS, Sundays). Replaced Ed Murrow as CBS man in London and is almost as good. A keen, penetrating analyst in the liberal manner.

VICTOR BORGE AND BENNY GOODMAN (NBC, Mondays). A fine humorist and the dean of modern music in the popular taste. Commercials in good taste.

METROPOLITAN OPERA (ABC, Saturdays). Just to remind you. Worth the time of every listener.

SUPERMAN (MBS, daily). Social significance has been added to this killer-diller thriller. Lend me your ears and reactions.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Real China

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA. By Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. William Sloan Associates. $3.

AS THE group of suave Chinese pretending to represent "China" took their seats in the General Assembly of the United Nations, a book of epochal importance about the medieval-Fascist dictatorship which they represent was placed before the American public.

This book, "Thunder out of China," by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby, for years the China correspondents of *Life* and *Time* magazines, is the most incisive and enlightening study of present-day China to appear in many years. While other excellent books have been more restricted in theme, this one is distinguished by its much broader canvas, which embraces not only China but all Asia.

The book is superb reporting; some of its chapters have real literary excellence. Its vigorous pages are full of dramatic details of heroism, tragedy, compassion, humor, and scalding satire. All the elements of Chinese life are in turn unified and analyzed in the light of those social forces without a knowledge of which China appears as it did to most American officers and G. I.'s—a land of squalor, filth, and ignorance.

Understanding these social forces, the authors are preoccupied with the feudal oppression of the Chinese peasants who constitute more than 80 per cent of the Chinese population. In this book the reader, hitherto confused by American press dispatches from China, can watch the savage exploitation of the peasant by the Kuomintang dictatorship and the medieval forces on which it is based: landlords, usurers, gendarmes, tax collectors, merchants, and generals. During the Honan famine of 1943, which killed three million people, the reader sees Kuomintang generals strip the peasants of all their grain, horde it until the prices soar, then feed it into the black market. An American relief official had to buy this grain from generals at prices ten times as high as those in the United States, then give it back to starving peasants from whom it had been looted. But the Chinese government suppressed a newspaper in Chungking for four days for publishing the statement that there was a famine in Honan.

The two chapters on the Chinese Communists, who are today fighting for their lives against these Kuomintang generals and their dictatorship, tell an entirely different story. The entire Communist political thesis, say these authors, can be reduced to a single paragraph:

> If you take a peasant who has been swindled, beaten, and kicked about for all his waking days and whose father has transmitted to him an emotion of bitterness, treat him like a man, ask his opinion, let him vote for a local government, let him organize his own police and gendarmes, decide on his own taxes, and vote himself a reduction in rent and interest—if you do all that, the peasant becomes a man who has something to fight for, and he will fight to preserve it against any enemy, Japanese or Chinese. If, in addition, you present the peasant with an army and government that helps him harvest, teaches him to read and write, and fights off the Japanese who raped his wife and tortured his mother, he develops a loyalty to the army and the government and to the party that controls them.

The criticism of some of the Communist practices pales beside the pen pictures of the key men in the Kuomintang dictatorship. Here you see Chiang Kai-shek not as American reactionaries picture him but as he is, a medieval war lord who is convinced that he alone is China, and who hates and wages a war of extermination on anyone, from Communist to mild liberal, who believes that the Chinese people are China. The Chinese government, the Kuomintang armies, and the Kuomintang Party are Chiang's instruments; the national treasury is his private pocket-book.

There are terrifying sketches of such arch-reactionaries as General Ho Ying-chin and such anti-foreign, Hitlerian reactionaries as Chen Li-fu, who "sleeps untroubled by the screams of victims in Kuomintang concentration camps" where practices like those of Dachau, Belsen, and Buchenwald still prevail. The reader will revel in the savage and satirical picture of Dr. H. H. Kung, who, with his entire racketeering family, is hated by the Chinese people as a grotesque caricature of all the war was about. The Chinese, "with the most biting sense of humor in the world," delighted in the spectacle of the henpecked Dr. Kung, "gutlessly presiding over a Cabinet that reeked of corruption and indecision, surrounded by a kitchen council of cringing sycophants, [who] symbolized all the ridiculous decay they saw in their nation." Just as grotesque is the picture of the boasting buffoon, the American ambassador, Patrick Hurley, who went through devastated China giving a Choctaw war-whoop.

After V-J Day, write these authors, the American army, navy, and air force moved with swift precision to the defense of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. American marines stood side by side with Chinese traitors, Japanese troops, and Kuomintang armies against the Chinese Communist-commanded armies which had fought the Japanese throughout the war, and which the Kuomintang dictator and the American armed forces are now trying to exterminate. All Asia, they say, is now convinced that "America is the last great bastion of reaction, a nation that speaks of freedom while aligning itself with the old order which over a billion people of Asia are determined to destroy."

It is imperative for every American to read this book; its authors deserve the eternal gratitude of the American people, who believed that we fought the last war for the destruction of fascism, not for its preservation. AGNES SMEDLEY

Roosevelt

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW. By Frances Perkins. The Viking Press. $3.75.

WHILE very much that might have been contained in it is absent, Madame Perkins's memoir of her thirty-five-year association with Roosevelt is quite worth studying. But it must be studied; it is a bad book simply to read. The memoir is full of details of a portrait of Roosevelt and the New Deal, and therefore very interesting. But the tone is official, in a homey sort of way; the ideas in their moral-abstract quality are even more suited to the beginning than to the end of the thirty-five-year period; the total view of the late President is righteous and theoretically shallow. As for the style of the author—Miss Perkins seems to be a practical, energetic administrator whose larger view of life could be summarized in the admonition: be patient with misguided persons and try to do the right thing. (One gets from this book—and not only this one—the strong impression that the New Deal was, realistically, a very successful political adventure and, spiritually, a kind of Unitarian upsurge. Apart from the factor of practical politics, the religious element can hardly be overemphasized.)

Frances Perkins met Roosevelt in 1910, when she was a social worker just out of school and he a righteous young upper-class gentleman beginning a political career in a small way. Roosevelt's first political struggle was against "corruption." The direction of his political development was from moral arrogance toward social charm and tolerance. This movement was greatly facilitated by his attack of paralysis in 1921. ("Franklin Roosevelt underwent a spiritual transformation during the years of his illness.") Roosevelt gained a tremendous amount of psychic vitality because of his paralysis, and this expressed itself chiefly in the deep emotional effect he had on people, his charm, and his almost biological need for conversation—for mental exchange with others. He turned his "dependency component" into a hugely successful political principle. Although he was never very powerful intellectually, his need to partake of others' minds became primary and organic. His psychology was a paradox: he was a genius at stimulating others by allowing and inducing them to stimulate him. His need and love of being stimulated vividly and variously from the outside led him to foster great freedom of activity in his associates. In this process he not only drew the best from them but also afforded them a sense of their own creative importance, thus consolidating their loyalty to him. And he remained the reference point of their creativity: he was the queen bee. Talking about handling politically minded people, he once said to Miss Perkins: "Always ask their advice, whether you take it or not."

Roosevelt's excessive penchant for being enlivened by things outside himself is certainly an indication that he was repressing interior stimuli. The truly intellectual person is one whose inner life is by far the more active. To him, the theoretical framework of action and belief is obviously of extreme importance—almost, at times, a matter of life and death. But to a man of Roosevelt's type, the inner life is dedicated almost entirely to *unifying outside forces*, usually represented by individuals. He has no real theory; he has only facts, and then information concerning what others believe. Miss Perkins has this to say about the preliminary work of the New Deal: "At the President's request we steered clear of people who were too theoretical. . . ." And when John Maynard Keynes visited Roosevelt in 1934 he remarked to the author that he had "supposed the President was more literate, economically speaking." In the absence of a comprehensive theoretical context, the frame of Roosevelt's decisions was a very simple religious humanitarianism balanced by opportunistic political considerations.

When Roosevelt took office in the depths of the depression, he uttered his greatest words—"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." This is perhaps the greatest half-truth ever spoken. Nothing could have been farther from the essence of the period, nothing closer to the essence of the man.

DAVID T. BAZELON

Good Out of Nazareth

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN. By Ellis Gibbs Arnall. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

NO HONEST man should think it an easy assignment to review the writing of another man he likes and admires as much as I like and admire Ellis Arnall of Georgia: inevitably what critical faculty he possesses finds itself at painful strife with his affections. So let me say right off that the Governor's book is not perfectly organized and at spots is consciously "literary," and that with a microscope you can turn up an occasional—but inconsequential—misquotation. And then I can proceed to clap hands heartily.

I know what Ellis Arnall has done for Georgia; how far forward he led his state in his one four-year term, and how eagerly it came with him. His account of his progress is not boastful, but given with gratitude *and* with pride. Georgia may slip back a foot or two under another Talmadge regime snaked into power against the will—and the votes—of the majority by the undemocratic county-unit system, but most of the social and political yardage gained under the Arnall administration will not be lost, but will be the platform from which the state will resume, before long, its march into the twentieth century.

Arnall's book is discursive, wandering far afield from the author's own home town of Newnan into a world that exists, as the author clearly understands it must, in the Newnan-centered perspective of a Georgia boy who grew up to be a scholar and philosopher, as well as governor of his state and a national figure of continuing promise; but the discourse is entirely delightful, the thought-content solid and evocative, and the keenness of the author's perception accompanies his interests in their wide range.

Governor Arnall is a sincere conservationist, a sincere believer in democracy: "The collective wisdom of the people, if they are informed, is greater than that of any one man." He is, of course, a born Democrat, but also by conviction, since Jefferson, Mason, Jackson, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt were of that party: he believes Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt belonged in it, too. He is at some pains to present himself as a middle-of-the-roader, decrying the impracticalities of the extreme left and the extreme right. Boston, for

By Their Friends You Shall Know Them

Maybe Stepinac didn't pull a rope to hang a poor victim of the Ustachi—maybe he didn't personally share in the killing of innocent people nor maim and torture women and children—

But he can't wash his hands of it

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l'archevêque catholique de Zagreb présente ses vœux de Nouvel An à un criminel condamné à mort par contumace, en France, en 1933.

ARCHBISHOP STEPINAC GREETS THE ASSASSIN ANTE PAVELITCH

Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, Roman Catholic Primate of Yugoslavia, is here shown shaking hands with Pavelitch, head of the murderous Ustachi, on New Year's Day, 1943. He is conveying to Pavelitch the cordial good wishes for the New Year on behalf of Pope Pius XII, as recorded in the N. Y. "Herald Tribune" of February 21, 1943.

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some reason, epitomizes the point of view the Governor most abhors, and is the butt of many of the neatly turned phrases with which he tempers the sting of conclusions otherwise unrelievedly caustic.

Governor Arnall intends to build upon the good name he already has; in the coming year he will lecture in all the states. His book will introduce him to audiences he has not yet met, and those audiences, I am sure, will be predisposed to welcome him and hear him out. JENNINGS PERRY

The Planned Economy

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. By Barbara Wootton. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

THIS is an excellent little book—honest, courageous, logical, thorough, and admirably written. Mrs. Wootton neither underestimates her opponents' case nor tries to make glibness and rhetoric do duty for argument. She faces squarely the very important problem: can we plan and keep the essential freedoms? Her answer is yes, if we go the right way about it.

She starts from the proposition that the state exists "to make it possible for men and women to live their own lives in their own way." Power to plan production certainly gives the planner power over our private lives. "But power can be exercised in different ways and in different degrees. All extensions of power involve certain risks: some offer advantages also. If the advantages did not sometimes outweigh the risks, complete anarchy would be preferable to any government. . . . The critical issue is . . . knowing where to stop." That is the answer to Hayek, and the rest of the book is simply a carefully reasoned development of this theme.

In the course of that development Mrs. Wootton makes three very important points: (1) Planning does not necessarily involve socialism: the state can plan what is to be produced without necessarily doing the producing itself. (2) Neither war experience nor Russian experience is decisive on whether planning is compatible with freedom. "The first characteristic of war is hurry"; the second is "violent changes in the pattern of production"; the third is that "what people want to do ceases to count." None of this need apply in peace time. Russian experience also has but limited validity, not only because the Soviet system arose out of "the violence of revolution and civil war" and the history of the czarist empire, but because the Soviet government never even tried to establish a state dedicated to letting men and women lead their own lives in their own way. Russian experience proves "that it is possible to plan at least up to the Soviet level of efficiency in time of peace without recourse to universal industrial conscription"; but "the fact that there are no legal opposition parties in the U. S. S. R. proves nothing except that there are no legal opposition parties in the U. S. S. R." (3) It is not true that "public buying is a safe guide to public wanting. . . . What people buy and what they want are two different things."

Perhaps the most important chapters are those on freedom of collective bargaining and political freedom. For these are parts of the subject on which advocates of planning have said lamentably little. Both are crucial.

Mrs. Wootton is convinced that we cannot have planned production unless we have a "plan for wages"; without it we can't be sure that the right amount and kinds of labor will be available at the right time and place. But can we plan wages and keep free collective bargaining? Mrs. Wootton's answer is that unless the unions are prepared to work out an adequate, unified wage policy, or to practice traditional, sectional collective bargaining "with exceptional discretion" and "common sense," it will be necessary to substitute either statutory wage-fixing or arbitration, with the unions acting as "advocates" for the workers. Whatever method is adopted, wages will have to be settled on an entirely new basis, that of matching labor supply with the requirements of public plans. It would be interesting to have her comments on the discussion of wage policy under full employment in Mr. Worswick's chapter in "Economics of Full Employment" (Oxford Institute of Statistics), which provides a useful supplement to her own treatment.

The central problem of political freedom under planning is that "economic planning demands continuity, and political freedom appears to imply instability. . . . Nothing can alter the fact that we cannot both make effective long-term plans

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and continually exercise the right to change our minds about anything at any time." There is no space here even to summarize Mrs. Wootton's attempt to solve the problem. Opinions will differ about whether it is completely successful. But at least it faces the difficulties and constitutes one of the very few substantial contributions toward a solution. Any serious discussion of the subject in future will have to take account of it. The whole book, indeed, is indispensable to all who value freedom and refuse to believe that it must be bought by the poverty of the mass of the population.

EUGENE FORSEY

BRIEFER COMMENT

Old, Unhappy, Far-off Things . . .

THERE NEVER WAS a more delusive phrase than "strong silent men." The strong men of history have been not merely articulate: they have been voluble. It is the Coolidges that are dumb. "Winston Churchill's Secret Session Speeches" (compiled with introductory notes by Charles Eade, Simon and Schuster, $2) were deeds as well as words. The most impressive is the one of which we have no full record, but only Churchill's typewritten notes. It was England's darkest and finest hour. In the jottings there are no strokes of lightning, such as we expect in the public utterances. There is, however, one flash of impish Churchillian humor: "Steady continuous bombing must be regular condition of our life. . . . Learn to get used to it. . . . Eels get used to skinning."

The speech on Parliament and Air Raids, and the one on The Battle of the Atlantic are, in comparison, sheer routine reports. The Fall of Singapore makes us realize anew what we are now forgetting: that the Japanese blitz was even more spectacular than the German, and that the British collapse in the Far East was no less sudden and no less profound than that of France in the West. In seven weeks a third of Britain's battleships and battle cruisers had been lost or crippled. At Singapore a hundred thousand troops had surrendered to thirty thousand Japanese. Britain had lost one more gigantic battle; but it was not alone, and the war was finally won.

The speech on Darlan is wilfully ambiguous. The operations in Northwest Africa were under American direction, and "since 1776 we have not been in the position of being able to decide the policy of the United States." "They [the Americans] do not think much of him [Darlan], but they do not hate and despise him as we do over here." Churchill makes it quite plain that Darlan and Giraud claimed to be acting in the name and by the authority of the Marshal. "In fact, if Admiral Darlan had to shoot Marshal Pétain, he would no doubt do it in Marshal Pétain's name." Churchill promised also that we fully intended to doublecross Darlan. Perhaps Darlan would not have been so easy to doublecross. Had he lived we might have had to do in France what the British have done in Greece. Providence intervened, and Darlan was removed.

The utter confusion of this speech shows how vain are all the alleged "verdicts of history." We won. I still believe

Who are the "thieves in the night" in Palestine?

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SETTLERS LIKE JOSEPH?

"I shall join Bauman's terror gang. One can reach a point of humiliation where violence is the only outlet. If I can't bite, my wrath will bite into my own bowels. That's why the whole race is ulcerated in the bloodiest literal sense. Fifteen hundred years of impotent anger has gnawed our intestines . . ."

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MACMILLAN

that honesty—a temporary hindrance in North Africa—would have hastened victory in Europe, and made the peace less equivocal and precarious. We are still paying for the Darlan deal. But it cannot be proved. What was, was. You will never compel me to admit that whatever was, was inevitable and therefore right. ALBERT GUERARD

The Economics of Exploration

IT MAY SEEM like pedantic sadism to insist that the history of exploration should be regarded as part of economic history. Exploration is a romantic, exciting subject; economics has a long-standing reputation as *the* "dismal science." Nevertheless, from the time that the Minoans pushed their galleys into distant corners of the Mediterranean until the latest journeys of Admiral Byrd, the forces that have operated to induce men to sail unknown seas and break new trails through unmapped lands have usually been economic. This does not mean that most explorers have been spurred on by hopes of personal gain; the psychology of a Columbus, a Stanley, a Nansen is more complicated than that. But such men have been the instruments, conscious or unconscious, of drives which are essentially economic.

This idea is the thread which connects the stories of three classic journeys told by Jeannette Mirsky in "The Westward Crossings—Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark" (Alfred A. Knopf, $4). Vasco Nunez de Balboa sought "gold for the crown"—gold with which Charles V was to buy his election as emperor and to finance an effort to establish Spanish hegemony in Europe. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first man to cross North America from Atlantic to Pacific, sought "furs for the company"—the Northwest Company of Montreal, upstart rival of the mighty Hudson Bay Company. Lewis and Clark, commissioned by Congress to explore the Missouri Basin and break a trail to the Pacific Northwest, sought "commerce for the nation." In this last instance, it seems to me, the desire for symmetry has led to over-simplification. Indeed, Miss Mirsky herself makes it clear that Jefferson, who fostered the Lewis and Clark expedition, was inspired not only by thoughts of trade but still more by his desire to prevent his struggling democracy from being hemmed in by new European colonies, and to secure space as a safeguard against the development of feudalism and capitalism.

In her account of Balboa Miss Mirsky leans heavily, as all historians must, on the writings of Peter Martyr, and his eloquence gives a glow to the tragic story which is lacking in the other narratives. And perhaps distance lends enchantment too; so that Miss Mirsky tends to glide over the sins of Balboa and to exaggerate his virtues. By comparison the stories of the North American explorers may seem a little pedestrian. Here the historian cannot use an instructed imagination to supplement the original documents. Mackenzie, Lewis, and Clark all wrote full accounts of their travels, and no conscientious writer can embroider the plain material provided. What Miss Mirsky has done admirably is to give us summaries of Mackenzie's "Voyages from Montreal" and the Lewis and Clark "Journals," works which in the original make somewhat gritty reading. I found the account of Mackenzie's voyage up the Peace River and penetration of the Rockies the most fascinating part of the whole book. Mackenzie himself emerges as a remarkable man whose quiet will kept his expedition intact, despite incredible hardships, until its goal was reached, and whose firm diplomacy time and again secured essential cooperation from scared and sometimes hostile Indians. Miss Mirsky has done well to dust off his neglected saga and give it equal prominence with those of better advertised but no more daring travelers.

KEITH HUTCHISON

A Lot of Lowells

ALL THIS NEW ENGLAND PRIDE of ancestry seems, sometimes, a little parvenu—as if three hundred years were such a long time, as if no families in Europe went back a thousand, as if there were no such thing as the human race, with a somewhat longer genealogy. One is reminded of Raina in "Arms and the Man." "Our family is one of the oldest in Bulgaria—it goes back almost forty years. And people in our position, people of really *good* standing, wash their hands nearly every day."

Well, here are the Lowells, whether you like them or not, from Old Percival (1571—1645) to Abbott Lawrence

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(1856—1943). Mr. Greenslet, in "The Lowells and their Seven Worlds" (Houghton Mifflin, $4), writes of them with affection tempered by judgment, or vice versa. But all his fondness cannot make them seem more than admirable; not warm, not lovable, not particularly interesting. They had successful careers, in law, in business, in science, education, literature, arms, diplomacy; they made a lot of money, founded endowments, were given to good works, including the Lowell Institute, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harvard College. They traveled widely, they established towns; never philistines, they may have, some of them, been a little pharisaical. They produced many men, and one woman, of letters; they never produced an artist. Exemplary citizens, pillars of the community, respectable, affable enough—one or two may even have been charming—worthy, devoted, good; and yet, by and large, dull, dull, dull.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Model B and the New World

THE SIXTH AND FINAL REPORT made by Stuart Chase for the Twentieth Century Fund in a series dealing with post-war questions which face the United States is "For This We Fought" ($1). In some hundred pages Mr. Chase attempts to explore the larger national and international issues and to reach some valid conclusions, particularly from the point of view of the veteran. It is an enormous task, and of course Mr. Chase fails.

What he has given us is a hotchpotch of subjective interviews, selected quotations from attitude surveys, and brief summaries of vital statistics. He then jumps, with little connection with the preceding pages, into a trite chapter on the atomic age which is a brief survey of the disheartening features of present-day international relations. Next Mr. Chase distinguishes four possible economic systems and personally plumps for Model B—the Middle Way. He says that there is nothing inherently wrong with the capitalist system but that the era of free enterprise—the "trickle-down system"—must give way to planned capitalism. The function of government is to compensate for the inadequacies of the economic system. In the final chapter—mystically entitled "$E=MC^2$"—we are first regaled with a two-page summary of archaeological and anthropological data from 7,000,000 B. C. until the destruction of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. On that date the third great era of man commenced. (The other two commenced with the discovery of fire and the development of agriculture.)

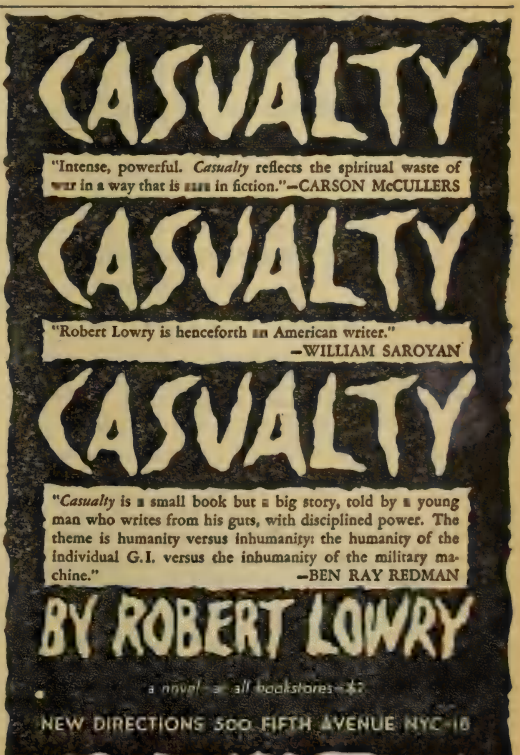
There are three ways, apparently, in which we can face our destiny. One is to send our Congressmen daily postcards inscribed: "$E=MC^2$—What are YOU doing about it?" The second is to send all the outstanding leaders of the world to watch the navy's experiments at Bikini. But the most important thing is to accept the Lilienthal report on Control of Atomic Energy. This third point Mr. Chase establishes in one and a quarter pages, of which one page is devoted to outlining the actual contents of the report, leaving exactly fourteen lines for his arguments in support of it.

The moral of all this is: the smaller the book, the less you can put into it; and this remark is no more trite than many made by Mr. Chase.

H. DAVID DAVIS

FICTION IN REVIEW

ISABEL BOLTON'S "Do I Wake or Sleep" (Scribner's, $2.50) is quite the best novel that has come my way in the four years I have been reviewing new fiction for this magazine. Small, entirely anonymous in the welter of current books, it might very well have escaped my notice had Edmund Wilson not called special attention to it in the *New Yorker:* the possibility of such an oversight will now become my reviewer's nightmare. Mr. Wilson's high praise prepared me, however, only for a work of exceptional talent. It did not prepare me—nothing but reading the book could—for the extraordinary process of revelation that Miss Bolton's novel turned out to be. Opening as a minor work of poetic sensibility, the kind of writing which Miss Bolton herself goes on to describe as achieved with the nerves rather than with the deeper centers, "Do I Wake or Sleep" gradually deepens to become a work of compelling insight; then the story progresses a bit farther, and the intelligence that one has hitherto noted simply as a restraining force upon poetic excess slowly proclaims its dominion over the novel's whole conception; finally one confronts the real novelistic shape and intellectual strength of the book, and recognizes the source of and response to a major fictional experience. I have no idea who Miss Bolton is: the jacket of the novel is provocatively uninformative. Whoever she is, she is the most important new novelist in the English language to appear in years. Whatever her literary apprenticeship, her book—it is a long novelette, really, rather than a novel—is the achievement of a fully matured artist.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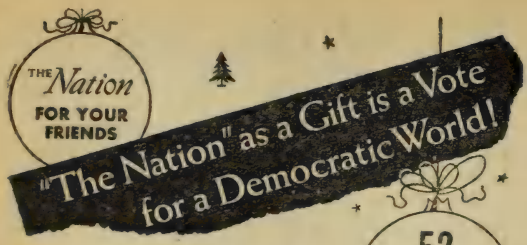

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And I say this despite the fact that "Do I Wake or Sleep" is not my favorite sort of fictional writing. It is a very closed book; to borrow a figure from music, its tone is covered—and I usually prefer a more open method. The method of Miss Bolton reminds me of that of Elizabeth Bowen at her best: there is the same privacy of approach to its materials in "Do I Wake or Sleep" as in Miss Bowen's "The Death of the Heart," just as there is the same scalpel-like precision of observation and expression, the same ability to make the most delicate differentiations between appearances and reality, the same fierce insight into human error held in check by a warm human sympathy. But one recalls that even at her best Miss Bowen has always suffered from a certain parochialism of the emotions; her intelligence, marked as it is, plays in her fiction only about the individual character and, so far, has never been able to relate the forces that move the individual with the forces that animate a whole society, whereas Miss Bolton is preeminently concerned—and most successfully—with this larger intellectual enterprise. Actually, Miss Bolton's closest affinity is with—I am afraid it must be said—Henry James. Not only in point of mutedness of tone, but also in point of subtlety and richness of perception and in the boldness with which it stands up to its final moral responsibility, "Do I Wake or Sleep" asserts its place full in the Jamesian tradition. Even its theme is a present-day statement of that theme dear to the heart of James—the relation of European and American culture.

There is a strong suggestion of James's Isabel Archer in Miss Bolton's Millicent, through whose eyes "Do I Wake or Sleep" is told. Millicent misses the charm and beauty of the James *jeune fille américaine,* but she shares with the heroine of "Portrait of a Lady" both the American energy of innocence and the American need to find importance in life by an act of dedication. When Miss Bolton's novel opens, Millicent, who earlier in life had rejected an English suitor on some impulse she has never understood, is about to make the saving gift of her love to Percy, an American novelist. She is not at all sure, however, that the gift is either advisable or welcome, for Percy too is looking for salvation through self-immolation, and he has just found a new object of his sacrifice in the person of Bridget, a beautiful European refugee. Even more guiltily than Millicent, Percy, being an American too, wants to spend himself for an ideal; his literary sensibility, indeed, is the other side of the coin of this nervous exacerbation. In the first chapters of "Do I Wake or Sleep" Millicent, Bridget, and Percy are dining together in the French Pavilion at the World's Fair. Over the table, against a background of the General Motors Building, the Futurama, and all the rest of the panoply of American success (the setting is a touch of genius), Bridget tells her friends the story of her life. She has only to reveal the fact that she has left a small daughter behind her in Europe for Percy to seize upon the rescue of this child as the culminating mission of his existence. Driven by her own sympathies and her desire to do anything she can to make Percy happy, Millicent tries to further this pursuit; in the next twenty-four hours, which are the whole period of Miss Bolton's story, she lunches with Bridget and Percy, she goes to the dressmaker with Bridget, she enables Percy to attend a cocktail party to which she and Bridget have been invited.

But accidentally she also introduces Bridget to a young millionaire who at once becomes infatuated with her and in whose favor Bridget makes her choice of champion. Level-headed, shrewd, experienced as only the European can be experienced in playing her feelings instead of letting them play havoc with her, Bridget knows just the sort of help she needs and just how to secure it. The story closes with Percy prostrated in failure and with Millicent facing the tragic necessity of having to turn her life inward instead of—romantically—outward.

But no more than a synopsis of "Portrait of a Lady" can suggest the complex meanings of the James novel, can a synopsis of "Do I Wake or Sleep" suggest its complexity and skill. There have perhaps been other modern American novels—though at the moment I cannot name any—that have given one as vibrant a pictorial impression of New York as Miss Bolton's novel does. But surely Miss Bolton's book is unique, not only for the cultural meanings it evokes with every stroke of its description of the city, but also for the way it demonstrates the human outcome of our culture, and the relation, in both human and social terms, of American and European culture. In a symbolic story like Miss Bolton's the temptation to either overstatement or oversimplification is enormous: Miss Bolton's ability to avoid either of these extremes is the mark of a beautifully disciplined mind and heart. If one waits, for instance, for the character of Bridget to dissolve in satire or to merge into the accustomed character of the glamorous European adventuress, one waits in vain: rather than diminishing, one's sympathies for Bridget only increase as she begins more and more to reveal the cool springs of her conduct. Or if one looks for the young millionaire of the novel to become a caricature of stupid American openhandedness, one has the agreeable surprise of watching his author endow him with all the frank sweetness possible to his kind. Just as there is no hint of chauvinism or of any other easy value in Miss Bolton's comparison of the Old World and the New, so there is no touch of malice or of any other form of self-hatred in her approach to the American personality.

Then there are the myriad wonderful details with which Miss Bolton fills in the main outlines of her drama of American self-discovery. As striking as her descriptions of New York and her use of the World's Fair are Miss Bolton's descriptions of meals, of the protocol of restaurants, of a newsreel, her portrait of a cocktail party (the scene with the little doctor asserting his professional importance in the midst of so much alcoholic indulgence is a minor miracle), her asides on literary subjects—on Whitman, on Hart Crane, on why a modern cocktail party would be an unsuitable subject for a Restoration comedy. From time to time I have been accused of anti-intellectualism in my reviews because I have spoken so sharply against the modern "intellectual" novel. What I have been speaking against, of course, has been the use of the novel as a crude vehicle for argument or as an exhibition-piece of the author's education. Obviously the proper play of intellect in a novel is something quite different from this, something highly desirable and one of the rarest things in the contemporary fictional world—and I recommend "Do I Wake or Sleep" as a beautiful instance of its virtues and charms.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

OF THE three plays now being offered by the American Repertory Theater "John Gabriel Borkman" will not, I suppose, prove the most popular. It is a tragedy gaunt as well as grim and almost totally devoid of the elements which contribute to "entertainment" in the ordinary sense of the word.

There is, for example, little that appeals to the eye and, except for the pathetic absurdity of the poet *manqué*, nothing remotely suggesting humor. The only two characters who have even the hope of anything to live for appear but briefly and soon flee from a stage given over to frustration and hate. The central character is unsympathetic; of the two women who come next in importance one is hateful, the other defeated and, spiritually, all but dead. Most of the action has taken place before the curtain rises, and it is only the disastrous aftermath which the audience is shown.

Yet for all that, "John Gabriel Borkman" is a better play than "Henry VIII" or "What Every Woman Knows" and for those willing to take it on its terms a more rewarding experience. Ibsen, even after he had passed the summit of his career, could still write plays more impressive than third-rate Shakespeare diluted with Fletcher, and his grim solidity promises long to outlast the famous whimsicality of Sir James. This particular play was written half a century ago by a man who was already old and who had never bothered to be in the slightest degree ingratiating; yet there are only a few moments when it seems old-fashioned rather than sternly timeless.

Indeed, Borkman himself is a curiously modern figure, and Ibsen is, in one way, so much ahead of his time that if the play were new it would undoubtedly be interpreted as an analysis of fascism. The hero-villain who lusts for power and justifies all the dishonesty of his means by the claim that his ultimate intention is to rule everything for the people's own good sounds very much as though he might have read some of the philosophical exponents of National Socialism; his whole attitude is less that of the nineteenth-century robber baron than that of the present-day tycoon. We meet him long after his downfall, but defeat has not changed him, and before he dies the whole of his character has been dissected before our eyes.

Ibsen is, to be sure, old-fashioned to the extent that he is a moralist rather than an exponent of economic determinism. John Gabriel is not the inevitable product of a dialectical process. He is, on the contrary, the classical hero of tragedy—a strong man doomed to destruction by a fatal defect which is, in this case, an inability to love. That defect is most dramatically revealed by his sacrifice to expediency of the woman he had chosen to be his wife; but this single act is no more than typical, and his damnation is the result, not so much of what he did, as of the character which made the action possible. Even today, however, not all playwrights are Marxists, and it is curious to note that S. N. Behrman's "The Talley Method" unknowingly rewrites "John Gabriel Borkman"—to the extent at least that both plays are about able men who are "proto-fascists" and who can justify their own ruthlessness because they are incapable of love.

"Borkman" is neither so rich nor so intricate in its working out as either "The Wild Duck" or "Hedda Gabler," but the famous retrospective method of its author was never more expertly handled, and the little scene in which the sentimental father comes limping in after the sleigh which was carrying his son out into the great world has run over his foot is typical of those curiously prosaic and yet curiously effective symbols which he loved to introduce. Moreover, the whole of the last scene, though old-fashioned in the staging which it demands, is dramatically right. John Gabriel, who has acknowledged defeat at last, is led by the woman who had always loved him to the rustic bench on a height to which as lovers they had been accustomed to come. But even in his last moments he cannot redeem himself, even with his sweetheart beside him, for he cannot really be aware of her presence; as he looks down he regrets only that the factories and ships spread out in panorama before him belong not to him but to others.

To my mind the best performances in the present production are those by Margaret Webster as the passionate, unforgiving Mrs. Borkman and by Ernest Truex as the pathetic little failure, Wilhelm Foldal. As John Gabriel, Victor Jory does not seem to get inside the role so effectively as he did when he played Henry, and Miss Le Gallienne's Ella Rentheim is, perhaps necessarily, somewhat monotonous for the simple reason that long-suffering heroines tend to become just that.

"Park Avenue," the Nunnally Johnson–George Kaufman–Ira Gershwin–Arthur Schwartz musical at the Shubert Theater, got rather tepid reviews, but I found it as entertaining as anything of the kind I have seen in a good while. It is true that the plot is only a very sketchy farce and, what is more serious, that the score is not especially good, but there are a number of very ingratiating performers, including Leonora Corbett, and an expert direction which manages somehow to avoid those sudden plunges into the vacuum of an air pocket which make most musical comedies a torture to me. I infinitely prefer Mr. Johnson's and Mr. Kaufman's gags (of which there are several very good ones) to the usual sentimental songs sung before a backdrop while the scene is being changed (of which there are, mercifully, none).

[James Agee's film column, which did not appear last week, will be in its usual place next week.]

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

DEBUSSY's "Pelléas et Melisande," whenever I have heard it in the past, has been too tenuous for my mind to get hold of—the fact being that much of the physical sound of the orchestral part has been lost on the way to my ear in the vast space of the Metropolitan, and the rest in the conversation which the Metropolitan's audience feels it may carry on when the curtain is not up. Not until the New York Philharmonic played excerpts in the superb acoustic conditions of Carnegie Hall recently could I hear what the orchestral detail sounded like and appreciate how marvelously beautiful and effective for its dramatic purpose it is. Or rather, I was able to do this at first, but after that the growing restlessness of the audience made it difficult for me to keep my mind on the music. I am inclined to ascribe that restlessness to the uncomfortable temperature of the hall; for it would be surprising if a sophisticated symphony audience, which is accustomed to hearing Debussy's orchestral music, found "Pelléas" uninteresting; and the performance was very beautiful, with the lovely sonorities produced by the orchestra under Rodzinski's direction, and the fine singing of Maggie Teyte and Raoul Jobin.

In Aaron Copland's recent works—like "Rodeo" and "Appalachian Spring"—one hears Copland's matured "modern" style, and an occasional integration of this style with American folk music or with the idiom of this music. They are the end of a development, of which the beginning is the Piano Concerto, composed in 1926 but performed in New York for the first time only recently. In this work one hears the big raucous noises of a first attempt at a "modern" style; and one hears phrases of hot jazz pianists, clarinettists, and trumpeters—phrases torn out of their original contexts and not integrated with the "modern" noises. The jazz phrases remain mere quotations, which astonish and after a while amuse one with their extraordinary accuracy; they succeed each other but do not develop; and that, in fact, is true of all the substance of the work, which is interesting only as part of the documentation of Copland's development as a composer. The performance by Leo Smit with the New York City Symphony under Leonard Bernstein was excellent; and so was the one of Haydn's D major Concerto, in which Smit's precisely executed sensitiveness occasionally produced fussy nuances in scale passages and phrases.

Not having heard Benjamin Britten's most recent opera I don't know whether it justifies the recent contention of a writer in the London *New Statesman and Nation* that one now had to speak not of Britten's talent but of his genius. If I were to judge by the violin concerto, composed in 1939, that Bernstein performed at another of his concerts I would not speak even of talent. There is not an idea in it that is worth anyone's attention—to say nothing of the superb skill wasted on its difficulties by Werner Lywen, the soloist in the performance.

The driving intensity which robbed Toscanini's performances last year of their normal plasticity has been less evident this year. It was not evident at all in the performance of Mozart's Divertimento K. 287 for two horns and strings, which was completely relaxed and plastic, and enchanting in its modeling of phraseological contours, at once so sharp and so fluid. On the other hand it seemed to me that his tempos for the opening and the coda of Brahms's Variations on a theme of Haydn were unusually fast; and this impression was confirmed when I played the Victor recording of his performance with the New York Philharmonic, in which the slower tempos gave the opening a repose, and the coda a gravity and spaciousness, that I preferred to their restless urgency in the broadcast performance.

The manifestations of fatigue or boredom in the playing of the Budapest Quartet the past two or three years are gone this year: the group has been in top form. In broadcast performances the perfection has included tone; but at the Y. M. H. A. the violins have sounded harsh and wiry. For some time I had been wondering whether the auditorium wasn't excessively resonant; but one evening recently I tried the experiment of cupping my hands around my ears, and discovered to my surprise that the sound of the violins became fuller and—as it did so—clearer and smoother. It began to look as though the harshness came not from too much but from too little resonance. And as it happened an engineer I know who has an ear for musical sound (which is not standard equipment for radio engineers) mentioned that he had heard the Budapest Quartet at the Y. M. H. A. and had not liked its sound in the unresonant auditorium.

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Letters to the Editors

Asks Child-Labor Ban

Dear Sirs: The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution has now been ratified by twenty-eight states. Eight more must ratify before the amendment becomes valid. It is a national disgrace that it is not already in force.

The amendment itself does not attempt to regulate child labor. It very properly leaves that to Congress. The exact wording is as follows:

SECTION I. The Congress shall have the power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

SECTION II. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to the legislation enacted by the Congress.

I give below the states which have ratified. If your state has not done so, apply pressure to your state officials for an immediate referendum. Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. LLOYD W. MAFFITT

Wapello, Iowa, November 2

Recommends Workshop

Dear Sirs: As a subscriber to *The Nation,* I read with interest this past spring of a Workshop in Intercultural Education to be held in Los Angeles under the supervision and direction of Dr. Stewart Cole. After attending this workshop for a period of seven weeks in the summer, I realized the importance of its services. I met with some thirty-five men and women of various majority and minority groups from all parts of the United States—all of different religions and ethnic ancestry. All of us were deeply concerned with the problem of intercultural living. As a result of my experience I am convinced that in this type of workshop lies the solution of the problem of how people can learn to live together and respect one another. We learned to recognize and face minority problems; we lent ourselves to a scientific study of prejudices that stand in the way of a free intercultural association, and we sought for concrete means whereby the mutual respect of neighbors could be attained.

Surely this Workshop in Intercultural Education, if it is not the sole way in which one can be prepared to act responsibly as a world citizen, is the best that I know.

WILLIAM J. NORTON

New Brunswick, October 30

Scientists Appeal

Dear Sirs: The Federation of American Scientists asks public help. . . .

We need $10,000 immediately to clear the expenses of our fight for civilian atomic control last summer—expenses which involved personal sacrifices on the part of a number of people. The Council of the F. A. S. has voted to ask our membership and friends to contribute to this emergency fund and enable us to continue.

JOHN H. RUSH, Secretary-Treasurer,
Federation of American Scientists

Washington, November 18

Writers Can Win $1,500

Dear Sirs: The Tamiment Social and Economic Institute announces an annual essay contest, awarding $3,000 in cash prizes to the five undergraduate college students submitting the best essays on the theme "Roads to Industrial Peace." There will be a first prize of $1,500, a second of $750, and three third prizes of $250 each.

All undergraduate college students are eligible. A contestant may submit but one essay, which should be between 5,000 and 8,000 words. The contest closes April 25, 1947, and all communications should be addressed to Tamiment Institute Contest, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

LOUIS WALDMAN

New York, November 15

Says Negro Vote Shifted

Dear Sirs: My paper says the C. I. O.-P. A. C. elected only 78 of 344 candidates it supported. Behind the Republican victory, however, are less than 3,000,000 votes. The figures, in round numbers, are 18,000,000 to 15,000,000.

My estimate is that at least 1,500,000 of the votes won by the Republicans were cast by Negroes, and that these votes previously went to Democrats. . . .

How silly, then, to talk about the failure of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. when the victory of the Republicans really belongs to the do-nothing, race-hating element among the Democrats—Truman included. In their necessarily elemental approach to the question of how to vote, Negroes could see nothing of worth to their race in the present set-up of the Democratic Party.

My sincere belief is that a shift of Negro votes to the tune of nearly 2,000,000 really brought the Republican victory and that no widespread anti-liberal sentiment had anything to do with it. W. J. J.

Philadelphia, November 11

A Doubtful Precedent

Dear Sirs: During the Nürnberg trial and after the judgment a controversy arose over whether there is a rule in international law which makes aggressive war a crime. Justice Jackson and Professor Sheldon Glueck produced ample affirmative evidence. Now Mr. Biddle's report and President Truman's reply seem to justify their opponents. We are told by Mr. Biddle that "it is not enough to set one great precedent. . . . Clearer definition is needed." He suggests "drafting a code of international criminal law" which would give much thought to "what extent aggressive war should be defined, methods of waging war outlawed, penalties fixed," and so forth.

From all this, it appears that the Nürnberg judgment was pronounced without a clear definition of what constituted the crime and what was its punishment. President Truman, less confident than the enthusiasts for the judgment, expresses the "hope" that it will create a precedent, and he therefore favors having an international criminal law dealing with aggressive war drawn up "by the best legal minds the world over."

This is most gratifying, but without insinuating that the participants of the Nürnberg trial did not belong to "the best legal minds," we cannot help observing that a criminal law which needs to be drafted in the future, plainly did not exist when the Military Tribunal set its doubtful precedent.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, November 13

Crossword Puzzle No. 189

By JACK BARRETT

ACROSS

1 This Russian soldier might change into priestly garb
5 Most playful things in the earth (3 and 4)
9 Russian danseuse who gave many farewell performances
10 Thoroughly understand
11 A good sport is a good one
12 "--- habits gather by unseen degrees—As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas"
13 Can be spelt four ways, which is more than most surnames can
14 Poor stale swipes
16 A reward
18 More than a bull-dozer
21 Blockheads who might easily become rail-heads
24 Apart
26 A seedy fruit
27 Lost to view
28 A seasoned veteran (3 and 4)
29 Take possession of
30 Ladies from Spain
31 What the fire does to Erica

DOWN

1 Put lace—upon Juliet?
2 Puts by (5 and 2)
3 French love affair
4 Confound these tricks!
5 Even a hind has it
6 Röntgen's invention (1-4)
7 Made one
8 "King ------- was a worthy peer, His breeches cost him but a crown; He held them sixpence all too dear, Therefore he called the tailor down"
15 Plus
17 Oberon ruled over this land
18 Mows around the outside (and inside too)
19 Walked on
20 Disproves
21 Small species of shark
22 "Roughen" is its synonym and its anagram
23 Good music may make us shiver, but the other sort is apt to make us this
25 Discernment
27 She passed in English literature

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 188

ACROSS:—1 BROTH; 4 GEE; 6 FRILL; 9 AIR MAIL; 10 ANTONIO; 11 NUMBER; 14 DEBRIS; 15 DESPAIR; 16 HANS; 17 DEAL; 19 ADORNED; 20 YANK; 22 FACT; 24 RETORTS; 26 IMPAIR; 27 STRIPE; 31 CREEPER; 32 HALYARD; 33 GESTE; 34 BOB; 35 STAIR.

DOWN:—1 BRAIN; 2 OARSMEN; 3 HEATED; 4 GULF; 5 ELAN; 6 FATHER; 7 INNERVE; 8 LIONS; 12 RED DEER; 13 SPARROW; 14 DIGESTS; 16 HEY; 18 LOT; 21 NIPPERS; 23 ALI BABA; 24 RIPPLE; 25 STILES; 26 INCOG; 28 ELDER; 29 GRUB; 30 CHUB.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES VERSUS John L. Lewis proceeds, as we go to press, in a curiously irrelevant fashion. As far as the layman can make out, an inexcusably ambiguous contract may or may not have been breached; an injunction of dubious legality may or may not, in a strictly technical sense, have been disobeyed; and if it is found to have been violated, the punishment will not, in the words of the court, "very seriously interfere with anybody's comfort" should the injunction prove to have been invalid in the first place. While this performance drags along, with every prospect of appeal after appeal, the country moves rapidly toward an industrial crisis worldwide in its effects. Steel production has already slumped alarmingly, and train schedules are being seriously curtailed. A prolonged coal strike threatens inflation, crippled transportation, and widespread unemployment here at home and the direst kind of suffering abroad, where little enough is needed to push whole populations into the camp of the Communists. The most justified gains for deserving coal-miners would have to be weighed in the balance against such consequences, but Mr. Lewis's act of defiance is as disproportionate to his immediate aims as his power is incompatible with the functioning of a democratic society. That point cannot be driven home to him by the action of government alone. As long as organized labor lends him its support, however nominal, he will be a martyr or a hero, whatever the courts decide. A number of members of the Washington Newspaper Guild have taken the lead in condemning the resolution adopted by the C. I. O. convention in defense of Lewis. It remains for the top leadership to follow suit, however strongly it may object to use of the injunction. To fail is to give the wild men in Congress a golden opportunity to set American labor back many years.

✶

BY AN IRONIC TWIST, CHINA'S NATIONAL Assembly has utilized the technique of democracy to destroy the last hopes of achieving a democratic constitution. Chiang Kai-shek had belatedly persuaded the Social Democratic Party to participate in the assembly by promising that the constitution would be basically that which had been agreed on last spring at the All-Party Political Consultative Conference. But when members of the extreme right-wing C.C. clique protested that a democratic assembly must be permitted a free hand to make such changes as it wished, the Generalissimo gracefully backed down and agreed to permit unlimited amendments. Since the membership of the assembly is not only overwhelmingly Kuomintang but was hand-picked by the C.C. clique which controls the party machinery, it may be assumed that most of the reforms that were adopted last spring under pressure from the Democratic League and the Communists will be eliminated. One of the chief points of controversy concerns the power of the President under the new setup. Chiang Kai-shek's assertion that he has "no more political ambition" now that the assembly has met may be regarded with utmost skepticism. He has announced his retirement many times in the past, always with a definite political objective. It will be interesting to see what kind of constitutional changes will be necessary to persuade him to reenter political life.

✶

LAST WEEK'S ELECTIONS IN URUGUAY HAVE left South America's most firmly rooted democracy intact but slightly shaken. On the surface, Tomas Barreta, of the pro-United States Colorado Party, soundly defeated Dr. Luis Alberto de Herrera, the seventy-three-year-old admirer of Hitler, Mussolini, and Perón. But the gains of the Herreristas were too marked for comfort. Actually, their leader received more votes than Barreta, who shared the Colorado ticket with two other presidential candidates; fortunately, under the Uruguayan electoral system the ballots for all candidates of a given party are assigned to its leading contender in computing the final results. The Herreristas also made gains in the Congressional campaign; they will have more Senators, and possibly more Deputies, than any single faction of the Colorados, who lost seats to the Communists as well as to their fascist opponents. Aside from the rising cost of living, the chief factors in the Herrerist gains were fear of Perón and fear that Uruguay would be left isolated by United States appeasement of Perón. The Montevideo newspaper, *El Pais*, reports that during the campaign automobiles bearing Argentine license plates

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toured the Uruguayan capital flying Herrera banners, and a New York *Times* correspondent was told by partisans of both camps that Herrerist strength has been growing not only because of Perón's election victory but because he "also apparently came to terms or is coming to terms with the United States representatives there." Here is a fact for Ambassador Messersmith to ponder.

*

BACK IN THE TERRIBLE DAYS OF BLOOD, sweat, and tears, when the Nazis were at the Channel, three Americans were putting out a magazine whose avowed purpose was to keep us from lifting a finger in Britain's defense. Their slogan was "Steps Short of War—Mean War," and their headquarters were at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, where they had gone in order to escape from "refugee-dominated New York." The journal was *Scribner's Commentator*, which sometimes published reprints from the German-American Bund's *Weckruf*, and the three journalists were Ralph Townsend, Douglas Stewart, and George E. Eggleston. Were they just good Americans expressing a legitimate minority point of view? Or were they as sinister a crew as some of us vocally suspected? The full story has not yet been told, but the subsequent careers of the three champions of America First are worth passing notice. Mr. Townsend was hauled into court soon after Pearl Harbor for having served as a paid agent of Japan without bothering to register as such. He was duly convicted and has served his time. In 1943 Stewart told a special grand jury that his magazine was financed by two contributions from an "unknown donor" which were "left on a little table by the door." At Nürnberg last June, the former first secretary of the German embassy at Washington claimed credit for the donation, but there was no little table in his testimony. He said that he had personally handed some $15,000 to Stewart at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York; in consequence Stewart has just been indicted for perjury. And what about Eggleston? The transcript of the Nürnberg testimony links him to the same transaction, but he has not been called to account. He remains, in fact, the respectable associate editor of the respectable *Reader's Digest*, with a respectable circulation of more than ten million (Advt.).

*

FOR PARIS, FRANCE, TO ATTEMPT TO BAN as obscene the works of Henry Miller is a joke that will please anybody; but for New York City to suppress "Memoirs of Hecate County" is a little too far-fetched to be a successful joke. Almost unlimited quantities of books, magazines, movies—pin-up girls, even—have more of a "tendency to deprave and corrupt the young and immature" than the cold, detailed, embarrassing few pages for which Edmund Wilson's publishers have been prosecuted; many respected works of art contain a

more "pornographic," and many textbooks of physiology a more anatomical, treatment of sexual relations. It is a pity to have a distinguished critic used as a whipping-boy for the many carefully and successfully salacious books that go scot-free. "Memoirs of Hecate County" is far less likely to corrupt young girls than to induce them to enter a convent; its suppression reminds one of the medieval ban on the dissection of corpses.

The Disarmament Debate

THE somewhat chilly reception accorded the gift horse trotted out by Mr. Molotov at the U. N.'s Thanksgiving Day parade reflected the frustration felt by most delegates after weeks of Russian stalling. Had the proposal been made in the early days of the atomic-energy discussions, or before the Paris meeting of the Foreign Ministers, or even in the first hopeful flush of the present sessions, the Western world would have been more generous in accepting the disarmament proposals at their face value. For Mr. Molotov apparently was advocating what the American and other delegates on the Atomic Energy Commission have been pressing for in vain from the very beginning: namely, the international control of atomic and—inferentially—all weapons of super-destructive power, with suitable machinery for inspection.

As Vera Dean points out on page 638, the course of the U. N. debate made it more and more clear that the Russian conception of inspection was not that being discussed in the Atomic Energy Commission. In fact, it was suggested with strong supporting evidence that the commission would be sidetracked if the Russian plans carried. The control agencies the Russians proposed would come immediately under the authority of the Security Council and be bound by its veto. *Plus ça change,* alas, seems to apply to the endless permutations and combinations of the Soviet argument. The debate has had value in that it has forced the world's attention on the crux of the disarmament issue: that nations may solemnly sign a convention renouncing all manner of weapons, but unless a system of international control and inspection is established which, once accepted by the powers, shall operate without danger of interference, then disarmament is a farce. This issue has already been faced in the Atomic Energy Commission. It had better be faced as the nations talk of extending disarmament to less—or more—lethal weapons.

Mr. Molotov's proposal for international inspection should not, however, be wholly discounted. Russia's desire for world disarmament is obvious. When Molotov was speaking of the armament burden "borne by populations who will be unable to carry the load long without complaint," he was expressing more than an altruistic interest in the weary peoples beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Russia's domestic tasks of reconstruction are enormous and have been increased by mismanagement and bad harvests. The stepped-up rate of demobilization and perhaps the recently reported troop withdrawals from Germany reflect a desperate manpower shortage on the home front. Moreover, Russia's shift on Trieste and its more conciliatory attitude on the Danube-navigation problem show an active concern in lessening tension in foreign affairs. Indeed, as far as the Foreign Ministers' Conference goes, for the first time there appears to be some hope of East and West conferring on problems of peace and not merely maneuvering to hold the line against the other side's belligerent claims.

A crucial test will come shortly. The Atomic Energy Commission has announced that it will present an interim report on progress before the end of the year. Up to now, the technical discussions have yielded valuable data on a feasible system of control. It is even conceivable that the informal testimony of scientists and engineers has done something to educate the politicians, who, after all, must have the last word. But up to the moment of Molotov's speech the Russians had not budged an inch from the position originally stated by Gromyko in favor of national as opposed to international control. Mr. Molotov appears to have reinterpreted the Gromyko plan. Will there now be a modification of the Russian attitude in the Atomic Energy Commission? Russia has in the Lilienthal-Baruch proposals the best offer of international security against atomic war it is going to get in many a long year. The Soviet Foreign Minister has a magnificent opportunity to make good on some of the bold statements he has been voicing during the past few weeks at Lake Success. The United Nations Assembly is an excellent forum, but the Atomic Energy Commission is where work is being done to build the kind of security that Russia and all of us need.

Don't Miss

NEXT WEEK'S 'NATION'

CHESTER BOWLES:
Can We Lick the Depression?

ALEXANDER WERTH:
Cable from Moscow

CAREY McWILLIAMS:
The Klan—Post-War Model

KEITH HUTCHISON:
Britain's Drive for Markets

—and other timely articles by:

Freda Kirchwey, Tris Coffin, Del Vayo, Joseph Wood Krutch and Lou Frankel

The Indian Crisis

WE ARE glad that Pandit Nehru decided after all to attend the conference of Indian leaders which the British government has assembled in the hope of allaying the new political crisis in India. It would have been a great pity if the All-India Congress Party had left a clear field in London to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the suave lawyer who heads the minority Moslem League. It is Jinnah's maneuvers that are largely responsible for the dangerous situation which has arisen in India.

Last summer, both the Congress and the League finally accepted the plan evolved by the British Cabinet Mission for the establishment of an independent India. The plan provided for a central government controlled by an elected legislature with authority over foreign affairs, defense, and communications. Since all powers not specifically reserved were to adhere to the provincial governments, this meant that the provinces with a Moslem majority would have a large degree of autonomy. When Jinnah accepted this scheme it was assumed that he had abandoned his own plan for partitioning India and was prepared to cooperate in working out the details of the new constitution. However, the League has been consistently obstructive, and even after accepting an invitation to join the interim Cabinet, it proceeded to block all action by refusing to attend meetings when Nehru took the chair. On top of this, Jinnah announced a boycott of the Constituent Assembly, scheduled to convene December 9, thus in effect repudiating his indorsement of the Cabinet Mission plan as well as subsequent undertakings given to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell. At the same time, he again raised the cry for Pakistan—an independent Moslem India.

In view of this record of intransigence, it will not do for the British government to adopt the role of umpire and limit its efforts to pleas for conciliation. Premier Attlee should at least make it quite clear that Britain stands firmly on the basic principle of Indian unity which he enunciated before the Cabinet Mission was dispatched to New Delhi. He should likewise refuse to consent to a revision of the Mission's proposals and should back Nehru's demand that the Constituent Assembly be held without further delay. Furthermore, Jinnah should be told that the League must take part in the Assembly and cease its obstruction or quit the Cabinet.

Admittedly, this line involves risks. If Jinnah proves recalcitrant and forces the British government to intrust sole authority to a Congress administration, his followers might attempt to make good his threat of revolt——and widespread violence, if not actual civil war, might follow. But the only visible alternative would involve a bigger risk, for it would mean indefinite postponement of independence and an effort to revivify a visibly dying imperialism.

A firm stand by Mr. Attlee is all the more necessary because the London *Times*, in a truly mischievous editorial on November 28, proposed that Britain reverse its stand on Indian unity and agree to Pakistan. This is an idea that appeals to sundry Tories who hope to maintain Britain's hold on India, but it is inconceivable that the Labor government will consider it. The mere fact that such a proposal has been put forward in a paper with the standing of the *Times* is likely, however, to increase Congress suspicions that Britain is encouraging Jinnah in order to find an excuse for breaking its pledge of freedom for India.

We ourselves do not accept the view that Jinnah is just a Whitehall puppet. No doubt Britain has exploited Hindu-Moslem differences in the past, but the communal problem is, unfortunately, one that has real cultural and historical roots, and it will continue to plague India long after the British have withdrawn. It is a problem that cannot be solved by coercion. It can be solved only by the Indians themselves and only when the sole responsibility for their government rests on their shoulders.

Third-Party Obstacles

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

"THE major parties," said Harold J. Laski in his second article on American politics, "are afraid of ideas. They prevent the smooth functioning of the machines. They make the hold of the machines upon the voters both difficult and uncertain. They disturb the relation between the machines and the interests." These facts, Mr. Laski believes, have forced liberals to become "permanent rebels against the routines of action that it is the function of parties to impose," and his conclusion is that American liberals will have to build a new party with organized labor as its core.

I think the checkered history of progressive attempts to influence the politics of this country bears out this analysis: only for brief periods have the advocates of social change been able to establish effective control within the parties or within the government. Reform administrations have been swept into office on strong progressive tides—normally in the wake of economic disaster—and then have been driven to retreat before the more ruthless and well-organized pressures exercised by financial interests working through the political machines.

But if the big parties are so controlled as to make impossible their conquest from within by the progressives—by those who want "thinking government"—the story of third-party movements in America is hardly more encouraging. Except for the Republican Party which rose to power on the impetus of the Civil War, absorbing the Free Soilers and a majority of the northern Whigs to

become a second party rather than a third, no successful challenge to the two-party system has ever been made. State and regional parties have sprung up, but they have either merged with or continued to function as a sort of independent left wing—ally or gadfly—of one of the major parties. It is fair to say, I think, that the value of third parties in America has been chiefly to provide a popular platform for the expression of accumulated discontents and so to modify the behavior of the two old parties. From the Greenback and Populist parties, down through the Bull Moose Progressives in 1912 and the LaFollette Progressives in 1924, the story is the same. It does not prove that a new party cannot be created in this country; it simply reveals the inherent difficulties that must be faced if the attempt is to be made.

Other obstacles arise out of the present political situation. The Democratic defeat has caught the left in a state of disorganization bordering on collapse; or perhaps the facts should be put the other way round—the collapse of the left forces was one big reason for Democratic defeat. Their rout was partly the result of the war, which shifted the balance of power to the industrial-financial interests. But the process was underway before the war struck. It should be understood once and for all by American liberals that their total dependence upon the leadership of Roosevelt not only left them, in the end, at the mercy of the party machine, but robbed them of inner vitality and coherence. It is futile to point out that a more hopeful situation might now exist if progressives had laid the foundations of a new party in the black days of depression; futile, because Roosevelt and his bold leadership in the emergency were a gift that could not have been rejected. People who recognized the relationship between economic breakdown and political direction crystallized around Franklin D. Roosevelt as if by spontaneous chemical action. But a reverse process, equally inevitable, has fragmented and dispersed them—and at a moment when cohesion is an absolute prerequisite to any new political movement.

The recent C. I. O. convention revealed one important aspect of left disunity despite Philip Murray's desperate effort to prevent an open clash. Communist control of many key union posts has created an internal conflict bound to weaken the labor movement itself and block any political action. It is bad enough that organized labor as a whole should be split into two hostile organizations; it will prove fatal if within the C. I. O. factional divisions are repeated and multiplied down the line. For whether we work toward a new party in this country or try to force a realignment within the old parties, a progressive alliance capable of effective action must be founded on a labor movement that is at least not engaged in civil war.

The Communist issue has also increased friction among non-labor progressives, creating political groups pledged to exclude Communists and producing disaffection in organizations in which Communists play an important part. To bring progressives together in a single political body pledged to a common program of action will be immensely difficult until the factional struggle is resolved. America offers no counterpart to the Labor Party in Britain or the Socialist parties on the Continent, which can handle their relations with the Communists in terms of fairly well-defined ideological distinctions. American progressives, operating traditionally on a hand-to-mouth, pragmatic basis, with no body of doctrine or even a systematic program of action, constantly find themselves faced with an alternative of red-baiting or fellow-traveling, neither of which coincides with their true political desires. As long as progressives acted, willy-nilly, as a subsidiary wing of the Democratic Party, the problem could be minimized, although not dodged altogether. It looms large as soon as they try to start business on their own.

For these reasons, among many more, progressives in and out of organized labor tend to be skeptic about the chances of a third party. Men like Wallace and Ickes, whatever their mutual differences, and in spite of their break with the Administration, agree in wanting to work through the Democratic Party. In fact, most New Dealers who tasted authority under Roosevelt and most labor leaders who achieved power under the New Deal recoil from the problems involved in building a new party. They know that a new party is bound to draw upon New Dealers for its initial support, insuring victory to the Republicans. They know what devotion and ardor must be generated to take the place of the patronage that cannot be dispensed until the problematical moment when victory is achieved. They know that the political habits of the people, the lack of political consciousness among workers, and above all the terrific legal and financial obstacles in the way of a new national party tend to relegate third-party movements to minor operations on the periphery of the political system.

Whether events will overcome these multiple obstacles remains to be seen. No one can doubt the ferment now stirring in the liberal ranks in this country. No one can doubt that aggressive reaction in Washington, coupled with mounting international tensions, will speed up political processes that might otherwise take many years to mature.

In the meantime, the best chance of effective action by the left lies in a nation-wide effort, among small groups and large, to formulate coherent, concrete programs of social and political change. Let us forget parties for a while. The Democrats have lost control of the government; the progressives have lost control of the Democrats. No third party will be made between now and the next depression. But what can be made are plans. Progressive groups should meet and organize, write and talk. They

should not abandon their favorite tasks of political criticism or forfeit the chance to win individual engagements. But attacks should be fortified with demands; and demands should be backed by a political program that makes sense.

[*This is the second in a series of editorial discussions of the political situation following the Republican victory on November 5. The next will take up some of the major issues facing American progressives.*]

CORRECTION

A typographical error distorted the meaning of a sentence in Robert Bendiner's article, C. I. O. Tightrope Act, which appeared in last week's issue. The passage should have read: "If the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, which is slated to merge with the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, does not change its name, C. I. O.-P. A. C. will. And in all likelihood it will move its headquarters away from New York."

Arms and Mr. Molotov

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, November 30

THE lack of mutual confidence that has hitherto stymied all post-war attempts at international collaboration was never so nakedly apparent as during the debates of the Political and Security Committee this past week on disarmament. On November 27 the committee disposed of the controversial troop-census question when it voted, point by point, on British amendments to the original Russian resolution. As approved by the committee, the member nations must submit to the Secretary General of the U. N., Trygve Lie, by January 1, information as of December 15 on their total armed forces at home and abroad, including "military-type formations," a phrase referring to uniformed organizations like the Soviet secret police. A British amendment that would have made the troop census subject to verification "on the spot" by representatives of the Security Council was defeated—with the United States, which has stressed the need for a system of international inspection in the case of atomic energy, unexpectedly opposing inspection in this instance. Russian proposals that the reports to the U. N. should contain information on armaments as well as men, including atomic bombs and rocket weapons, were also defeated.

Mr. Molotov, however, who not only has endless resources of debating strategy but also is tireless in pursuing his objectives, returned to the attack on Thanksgiving Day, when he surprised his colleagues by submitting a resolution to the Political and Security Committee accepting the principle of international inspection and control as a means of verifying compliance both with proposed measures of general disarmament and with measures to outlaw atomic weapons. It had been rumored that two schools of thought existed in Moscow, one addicted to a strongly nationalistic policy, which was said to be favored by Molotov, and the other, reputed to include Stalin, more receptive to cooperation with foreign nations. Consequently, Molotov's public espousal of Stalin's dictum on a subject which the United States considered of paramount importance for an agreement on the control of atomic energy was welcomed at Lake Success as a big step forward.

But careful analysis of Mr. Molotov's Thanksgiving Day proposals and of Mr. Vishinsky's demand on November 29 that the committee accept the Russian resolution without amendments—then, he said playfully, "there will be no disagreement"—seriously dampened initial enthusiasm among other delegations. The core of Molotov's resolution concerning inspection is the establishment "within the framework of the Security Council" of two special organs—a commission for controlling the execution of decisions on the reduction of armaments, and a commission for controlling the execution of decisions on the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes. As Norman J. O. Makin, Australian ambassador to Washington, pointed out in a closely reasoned speech on November 29, the creation of these commissions might result in sidetracking the work accomplished thus far by the Atomic Energy Commission, whose establishment as an independent organ had been approved by the Soviet government at the first session of the General Assembly in London. The Baruch plan, it will be remembered, provides that the Atomic Energy Commission shall not be hampered in its task of controlling and punishing violations by any member's exercise of the veto power. Russia has strenuously opposed this point in the Baruch plan, regarding it as a sort of back-door attempt to circumvent the veto altogether—although, as has been pointed out in this series before, the United States has no intention at the present time of urging abandonment of the veto in the Security Council. Should the second commission—on atomic energy—proposed by Mr. Molotov be established "within the framework" of the Security Council, will it, Mr. Makin inquired, supersede the Atomic Energy Commission, and will its operations be subject to veto by any one of the five permanent members of the Council? In essence, does Molotov's proposal for inspection and control both of

general disarmament and of the use of atomic energy for war purposes mean inspection and control by the great powers, always with the possibility that Russia will invoke the veto to block any measure it opposes?

Doubts, too, were expressed as to Russia's main object in pressing urgently for general disarmament. While Vishinsky, in an eloquent speech blending sarcasm with emotion, declared that he agreed with Senator Connally about the need for progressive international and multilateral disarmament, he made it crystal clear that by "progressive" disarmament Russia means abolition, first of all, of the most dangerous weapon, the atomic bomb, which, he said, hangs over the world like "a sword of Damocles." In other words, Russia has not changed its main objective, which is to terminate the production and stockpiling of atomic bombs. Having failed to achieve this objective in the Atomic Energy Commission, having failed also to obtain inclusion of information about atomic bombs in the armed-forces reports to be submitted by member nations to Trygve Lie, it is now bringing up new arguments in the hope of breaching the resistance of the United States and other nations committed to the kind of control contemplated in the Atomic Energy Commission. In adopting this new line of approach Russia hopes to enlist the sympathy of those nations which might be fearful of atomic warfare in general or of the Western powers in particular.

But while the Russians remain hard-boiled negotiators, they are beginning to find that other nations have become hard-boiled, too. The prevailing skepticism was well expressed by Senator Connally when Mr. Vishinsky asked him to speak more slowly because he found it hard to follow the translation. Discovering that something had gone wrong temporarily with the Russian delegate's earphones, the Senator said good-naturedly: "My Soviet friend appears to have his wires crossed. I hope he doesn't have his fingers crossed."

This skepticism about Russia's intentions is not surprising, considering the series of reverses experienced by the Western powers in trying to come to terms with Russia both in the United Nations organization and in the Council of Foreign Ministers. In both places the Soviet representatives have recently appeared to display a more conciliatory attitude. But other countries have become inured to the expectation that what the Russians have accepted today they may try to undo tomorrow, and therefore place little trust in any move made by Moscow, no matter how constructive it may be. This lack of confidence, without which, as one delegate after another keeps pointing out, no real progress can be made in any direction, least of all in the direction of disarmament, is reacting against Russia; and if Moscow should now be genuinely ready to arrive at an accord with other nations, it would find the going much harder than a year ago.

John L.'s Last Stand

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 29

THE angry, bewildered look on the massive face of John L. Lewis is the most eloquent story in Washington today. It may mean the end of the coal strike in a few days. His expression now is in startling contrast to the pose of majestic defiance that he displayed so theatrically all through the coal crisis last spring and again this fall up to his appearance in court on Monday. During the previous week John Lewis strode through his scenes like John Barrymore, with fascinated reporters, photographers, and spectators staring at him. On Monday he entered the small federal courtroom in Washington surrounded by seven attorneys. When they parted, the crowd saw a tired and pallid old man. His skin was an unhealthy gray. The muscles of his face sagged. The bold look in his eyes had been replaced by an uneasy stare. The only sign of belligerence was his thick under lip, pressed out. For a moment he turned to look at the benches behind him. The John L. Lewis we have been watching for weeks would have struck a dramatic pose. But on Monday he gave a quick, furtive look around. During the long hours of legal argument Lewis was by turns nervous, vaguely inattentive, and absorbed. On Wednesday he betrayed his sense of angry frustration when he tried to smash a camera with his walking stick. The old John Lewis was a favorite with camera men because he posed so well for them.

The old adventurer's luck is beginning to play out, and he has lost some of the sureness that carried him through his earlier gambles. He is under the greatest pressure he has ever experienced—from members of his own union, from friends, from the American Federation of Labor. And over his head hangs the threat of violent action by the Administration and Congress, egged on by a furious public opinion. Among his adherents there is disagreement over strategy. Before Big John told the government he was going to break the Krug-U. M. W. agreement, he was advised against it by two of the men closest to him—his brother, A. D. (Dennie) Lewis, and his loyal personal attorney, Wellie Hopkins. They felt he was taking too big a risk. But Lewis went ahead, counting on the Administration crumbling

meekly before his demands and on the industry wanting coal more than his scalp.

According to those who have been in the coal fields this week, the miners are beginning to wonder whether their chieftain perhaps was not thinking more of himself than of his union. Local U. M. W. leaders have cautiously told reporters that the miners were happy with the generous Krug-Lewis agreement and afraid they might lose its benefits by Lewis's belligerence. The forgotten men in the crisis, the men who dig the coal, are bitter against the operators and the Administration, but they have more than a suspicion that John Lewis put them in their present unhappy position.

Lewis was counting, as he always has in the past, on the desperate need for coal eventually outweighing all the fury directed against him. But this time he apparently made a miscalculation. Public resentment shifted after November 5 from the Democrats to John L. Lewis. He had become the villain responsible for shortages and high prices, and the failure of the brave post-war world to develop. The remarks of people passing the headquarters of the United Mine Workers and the District of Columbia courthouse are grim; they want to see John L. Lewis in chains. The same feeling sweeps through the Capitol. The Administration is just as determined to break Lewis's power as the grizzled Maryland farmer who stood outside the courtroom and vowed he would stay there until Lewis was led out to jail.

President Truman's wrath at the mine leader is kept at a high pitch by the same conservative Democratic Senators who insisted that he fire Henry Wallace. They are even angrier than the Republican leadership, which is playing a careful wait-and-see game in the hope that Mr. Truman can turn the labor vote over to the G. O. P. The President's personal advisers are delighted that his firmness on the coal strike has regained for him much of the prestige he lost in the preceding months. The Republicans, whom Lewis might expect to reward him for political services, are staying clear of him. He is strictly on his own.

Men on Capitol Hill who are friendly with Lewis or the U. M. W.—there is a difference—are pleading with the miners to settle the strike before the wrath of the public consumes them and the rest of organized labor. Senator Wheeler of Montana, long a personal friend of the miners, is one of several individuals in Washington who are sending out peace feelers through the White House, the operators, and the union. Wheeler's solution, and it may not be original with him, is a face-saving compromise. The Administration must turn back the mines to the operators. It would hardly object to this, for Secretary Krug has been trying to get rid of the mines all the autumn. The operators must agree to sit down and bargain with the U. M. W. in good faith—there seems to be some difficulty about this point. But according to word sent by Wheeler to the White House, the operators are willing to meet Lewis halfway on a major question —the number of work hours in a standard week before overtime is paid. The compromise is said to be for the owners to pay a fifty-four-hour wage for a forty-five-hour week. Lewis must call the miners back to the pits and see that they stay there during the negotiations.

The first real break in the strike came last week after Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland industrialist, met Lewis in Washington and warned him that industry was fed up and that if the strike continued many more days industry would shut its doors and starve the miners out no matter how long it took, The union would be destroyed and so would John L. Lewis. Industry has another weapon. It could say to hell with coal; let natural gas, oil, and water-power take its place—a good example of what the economic displacement of coal means is to be seen in the anthracite fields. Those who know all about the Eaton-Lewis conferences say the Cleveland banker made a proposal. If the U. M. W. would send the miners back to the pits, he would attempt to persuade the coal operators to negotiate a satisfactory contract.

Lewis was undoubtedly impressed. Word that the U. M. W. was willing to call off the strike came first on November 24 in a broadcast by Albert N. Dennis, a labor commentator very close to the A. F. of L. and the U. M. W. He said, "A settlement of the issues can be reached and the work stoppage ended with reasonable promptness by the very simple and just process of collective bargaining. . . . It is the consensus of opinion that the work stoppage will not be long drawn out, that there will be a break almost immediately." Dr. Steelman was quietly drawn back into the coal-strategy huddles at the White House. But the Administration was still going to hold the court case over Lewis's head in case he tried to renege.

Two days ago the chief stumbling-block was Ed Burke, head of the Southern Coal Producers' Association. He is the former Senator from Nebraska who fought the Wagner Labor Act and the National Labor Relations Act. Since his political defeat he has lobbied vigorously for anti-labor legislation. Two of his clients, the Island Creek Coal Company and the Pocahontas Fuel Company of West Virginia, are among the most important producers in the country. On September 17, when the Federal Coal Administrator formally proposed to the U. M. W. and the operators that the mines be turned back to the owners, Burke balked. He said flatly that he would not consider the Krug-Lewis agreement, which he thought far too generous. Specifically, he objected to the miners' welfare fund, which is raised by a tax on every ton of coal mined and is administered by a joint board of the union, the operators, and the government.

Yesterday Burke made a statement which on the face of it seemed generous and a turn-about. He said the

operators would be "very happy" to negotiate with the U. M. W., adding, "We think the miners are entitled to the best of treatment, and we are even willing to talk with them about a shorter work week." But there was a big catch in his offer. He proposed that the negotiations should start from scratch and forget all about the Krug-Lewis agreement. This meant that the United Mine Workers would stand a chance of losing the welfare fund and many safety provisions established by the agreement. The operators also could, if they had a mind to, stall the negotiations until January, when Congress returns and can threaten to throw the book at the miners if they walk out again.

At this point Lewis does not seem to have any alternative. He will have to take his chances. The next few days will tell how willing he is to eat humble pie.

Trusteeship Takes Shape

BY RUPERT EMERSON

PERHAPS no section of the Charter of the United nations was left more open to variant interpretations, after San Francisco and even after the first meeting of the General Assembly in London, than Chapter XII, which laid the groundwork for the new international-trusteeship system. The old mandates system had for all practical purposes died with the outbreak of the war; its successor was given a name at San Francisco and a sketchy blueprint of what was expected of it, but the new baby showed few signs of life. At Flushing and Lake Success efforts to invigorate it and to translate into reality the high-sounding phrases and admirable aspirations of the blueprint have resulted in frequently high-sounding but not always admirable debates. As usual, the United States and the Soviet Union are the two major disputants, although the brazen attempt of South Africa to gain the blessing of the United Nations for the incorporation of Southwest Africa into its system of racial discrimination distracted attention for a time from the Big Two.

The position of our government is gradually being revealed. Regrettably the United States seems to be seasoning its traditional anti-imperialist policy with a hankering for Pacific islands, antagonism to the Soviet Union, and a general liking for order and respectability.

At the present session of the Assembly the chief issues to be settled are which territories shall be placed in trusteeship, by what method this shall be decided, and whether the terms of trusteeship in particular cases shall be approved. In the background—because it is a matter for the Security Council and not the General Assembly—is the question of the disposition of the mandated and other islands of Japan now under the military government of the United States.

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A brief review of the origin of the trusteeship system will help to explain the current dispute in the Assembly. The preliminary labors of Dumbarton Oaks produced no decision about colonies in general or the fate of the mandates system in particular, but it was understood that this would have to be one of the main pieces of new business at the prospective United Nations conference. At Yalta it was agreed that the five permanent members of the Security Council would put their heads together to shape definite proposals for submission to the San Francisco conference. These proposals were to be based on the understanding that the application of the system to particular territories would be a matter for subsequent agreement; the territories to be considered available for trusteeship were the former mandates, areas detached from the enemy as a result of the war, and any other territory that might voluntarily be offered up.

The chapters on trusteeship and the Trusteeship Council formulated at San Francisco, although in many respects an improvement on the old League system, were not immediately applicable to any specific territory, and were not even an effective guide as to the procedure by which such territories were to be designated. The types of territories to which the system might apply were listed precisely as in the Yalta formula, and lest the moral be lost on any casual reader, a second paragraph stated: "It will be a matter for subsequent agreement which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms." To increase the uncertainties, a further article stated that the terms of trusteeship, including any alteration or amendment, should be agreed upon by "the states directly concerned," including the mandatory power if it was a United Nations member. No hint was given as to the criteria by which the states directly concerned were to be identified. Apparently this phrase was merely an evasion of the real problem, and like most evasions it was bound to cause trouble.

The United States did not play a very generous or engaging role in the trusteeship discussions at San Fran-

cisco. The internationalism of the American position was tempered by the knowledge that a large number of islands, commanding a vast sweep of the Pacific and reaching to the China coast, had fallen to American arms. The navy, backed by powerful elements in Congress and elsewhere, had no intention of seeing them slip from its grasp. Enough pressure was brought on the American delegation to obtain the inclusion in Chapter XII of two articles, tailor-made for the United States, which allowed any trusteeship agreement to name part or all of the trust territory as a strategic area. For such strategic areas the Security Council, not the Assembly, exercises all the functions of the United Nations, assisted, if it desires, by the Trusteeship Council. The basic social, political, and economic objectives of the trusteeship system are secured to the people of a strategic area, but the silence on all other matters indicates that the provisions as to reporting, examination, and inspection become applicable to strategic areas only to the extent that the relevant agreements specifically so provide.

The Assembly sessions in London threw no new light on the question, although it became even more apparent than before that the only territories likely to be placed under trusteeship were the former mandates, with the probable addition of Southwest Africa and of some of the Italian and Japanese colonies. Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, and later France all announced that they would convert their mandates into trusteeships, but the United States did not reveal its intentions, except for hints that we were against sin when committed by other people. An ill-advised comment by President Truman at a press conference early in the year indicated that his indorsement of the trusteeship system was equaled by his lack of comprehension of its intricacies. Vanished from the scene were earlier notions that some trusteeships might be administered by the United Nations and that some of the world's strategic areas—the Japanese-mandated islands, for example—would be utilized as United Nations bases and manned by international forces for the maintenance of global rather than national security.

In the behind-the-scenes conversations which took place before the present sessions of the Assembly, little real progress was made. Draft agreements for all the former non-independent mandates except Palestine, Southwest Africa, Nauru, and the Japanese islands have now been submitted to the Assembly, for consideration in the first instance by its Trusteeship Committee, but certain basic issues of interpretation remain unsettled.

One of these is, of course, the troublesome phrase "states directly concerned," on the interpretation of which the United States and the U. S. S. R. have joined issue. The United States, through John Foster Dulles, has come forward with an original suggestion which, if it were not so clearly a misreading of the Charter, would appear to make good sense. This is that the "s" should be dropped from the word "states" and that only the state having direct control over a territory through sovereignty or mandate should frame the original trusteeship document—clearly no longer an agreement—for ultimate approval by a two-thirds' Assembly vote. The advantages of this proposal, as Mr. Dulles pointed out, are considerable in that it avoids the delays involved in preliminary negotiations, evades the issue of direct concern on the part of other states, and eliminates the possibility that some state directly concerned might exercise a veto power before the proposed agreement ever reached the Assembly. Mr. Dulles asserted the readiness of the United States to waive its right as a state directly concerned with the trusteeships of other countries on the basis of geography or of rights deriving from World Wars I and II if other states would do the same.

Objections to his proposal are based on its inconsistency with the Charter and also on its presumably clear intent to shake the Soviet Union out of any more direct concern with the initiation of trusteeships than comes from membership in the General Assembly. A further purpose may be to limit to one the states having primary jurisdiction over a later trusteeship agreement for Palestine. If the price of its adoption is to be a bitter sense on the part of the Soviet Union that it is being deliberately pushed out of the picture, then the proposal had probably better not be pressed.

Unfortunately the main statement of Nikolai Novikov on behalf of the Soviet Union did little to advance a solution, although some of his criticism of specific trusteeship provisions as retrograde rather than progressive in character was certainly well founded. However great one's sympathy with Soviet condemnation of the South African annexation plan, it is difficult not to agree with Marshal Smuts's comment that the Soviet statement was "a piece of crude propaganda intended to influence only the uninformed and unthinking." Attacking the British assumption that the only states directly concerned with Britain's African mandates were France, Belgium, and South Africa, Mr. Novikov said that since these countries were, by "a unilateral and an altogether arbitrary" decision of Prime Minister Attlee, the only ones consulted, the Soviet Union must regard the proposed trusteeship agreements as only preliminary drafts which had still not been cleared through the proper channels. In a significant aside Mr. Novikov challenged the suggestion of Mr. Dulles that the United States would have a right to be considered a state directly concerned with all mandates because of its share in the treaties winding up World War I. In the Soviet view these treaties could not affect events occurring after the creation of the United Nations, which established new principles in international relations. On the basis of these statements

it is a plausible assumption that the Soviet Union regards itself as a state directly concerned in the initiation of all trusteeships, but Mr. Novikov at no point said so, nor did he propose any general criteria.

On another score Mr. Novikov went at least as far off the United Nations Charter reservation as had Mr. Dulles. The Soviet spokesman not only attacked Britain and Australia for failing to come up with trusteeship agreements for Palestine and Nauru but accused them of violating the Charter. This was argued on the wholly untenable ground that there are only two legal ways of determining the fate of mandated territories—by granting them true independence (he also questioned the true independence of Trans-Jordan) or by transforming them into trust territories. While this contention represents the spirit of the Charter, the principle had been accepted, from Yalta through San Francisco, that no territory would become a trust save by voluntary agreement. Mr. Dulles was on sound ground when he said later that if the Soviet view were adopted for the mandates it should also be applied to the Kuriles, which were handed over to the Soviet Union from Japan.

While these debates were getting under way in the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee, the United States was at long last producing its solution for the Japanese islands. An announcement by President Truman stated that the United States was prepared to place under trusteeship the Japanese-mandated islands and any other Japanese islands for which it assumed responsibilities, and that it was distributing to the other members of the Security Council and to New Zealand and the Philippines a draft of a strategic-area trusteeship agreement for the mandates. This draft is to be submitted formally to the Security Council for its approval at an early date. The State Department had won its battle for the principle of trusteeship, but the navy carried off a good many of the prizes. The United States has full power over the territory as an integral part of the United States; it has full military, naval, and air rights; it can limit aircraft flying into and out of the territory; and, perhaps most significant of all, it can determine to what extent the United Nations' right to examine and inspect is applicable "to any areas which may from time to time be specified by it as closed for security reasons." In sum, the whole sweep of the mandated islands, not merely the actual base areas, is declared a strategic area, and whenever the United States finds the United Nations or its organs over-inquisitive it can seal off any part or the whole of the area.

Until this plan is formally offered in the Security Council, the attitude of the Soviet Union and of other states directly, or indirectly, concerned will presumably not be known. As far as the record discloses, no effort has been made to win the agreement of the Soviet Union in advance, which seems a foolhardy tempting of fate

Paul-Henri Spaak
President of the General Assembly

in view of the veto. Mr. Dulles did not help the situation when he emphasized the unilateral nature of the American proposal by remarking that if the United States did not obtain approval of the proposed agreement it would hold on to the islands anyhow.

An opportunity to elaborate the American position was presented when India introduced a resolution calling for the adoption of the general principle that trust territories should be administered by the United Nations itself rather than by any single country. Attractive as this seems in theory, authorities on colonial problems generally agree that one-country rule, despite its dangers, is preferable to the confusions almost inevitably resulting from international administration. In rejecting the Indian resolution, Mr. Dulles stressed that the United Nations was not at present organized to deal with the concrete and large-scale administrative problems posed by the trust territories, although he assumed that the international body, as it matured, would play an increasingly large role in trusteeship matters.

Mr. Dulles pointed out that under the wording of the Charter the establishment of the Trusteeship Council, which should be one of the major fruits of the present Assembly session, would become impossible if the United Nations were to be the usual administering authority. Until at least some states are identified

administrators of trust territories through the approval of trusteeship agreements, the council cannot be brought into existence. This process has got off to a slow start with examination of the agreement proposed by New Zealand for Western Samoa. The heated debates over such matters as amendment of the agreement in the Assembly and the establishment of bases show that there are still many hurdles to be got over before the Trusteeship Council can swing into action as the major international instrumentality of the system.

Radio's Operation Crossroads

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

JUSTIN MILLER, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, has stumped the country for some weeks, inveighing against the authors and supporters of the Federal Communications Commission's "Blue Book." He has described members of the FCC as "stooges for the Communists," "obfuscators," "professional appeasers," "guileful men," and "astigmatic perverts."

The Blue Book—officially titled "Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees"—is already a collectors' item and has been neither seen nor read by the majority of radio listeners. Its contents were summarized as follows by Charles Denny, chairman of the FCC, speaking at a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters in Chicago on October 21:

> The Blue Book says that when an applicant [for a station license] represents that he is going to do certain things, he should, in fact, do something reasonably close to what he said he would do. The Blue Book says that a reasonable amount of time, including some time in the desirable parts of the broadcast day, should be devoted to sustaining programs. . . .
>
> The Blue Book says that a broadcaster should devote a reasonable amount of time to local live programs. . . . A true broadcaster will not content himself simply with plugging his transmitter into a network or a turntable and going off to Florida for the winter. Unless there is to be some organization of local live programs, we do not need radio stations in the various communities. All we require are unattended boosters.
>
> The Blue Book says that radio should not content itself with being simply an entertainment medium. . . . Radio should make an adequate amount of time available for the discussion of public issues. . . .
>
> The Blue Book says that advertising plays an indispensable part in our system of broadcasting, but that should not mean that broadcasting should be run solely in the interest of advertisers rather than that of listeners.

That, said Mr. Denny, is the Blue Book. *"We do not intend to bleach it."*

His assertion lends peculiar interest to a decision which the FCC must make on a fateful date in the near future. On January 13 hearings will be held on the application of Station WBAL in Baltimore for renewal of its license. The FCC's decision will be the test of the sincerity of Mr. Denny's claim that the commission stands by the Blue Book and does not intend to bleach it.

Station WBAL, Baltimore, is a "clear-channel" station with tremendous range and one of the most powerful transmitters in the country. When it sought a clear channel from the FCC in 1927, the station submitted a description which said that "although WBAL is owned by a private corporation [Consolidated Gas and Electric Company of Baltimore], its operation closely approximates that of a public enterprise." The station at that time retained as regular features, "to insure a uniformly high standard of program," a concert orchestra, an opera company, a salon orchestra, a dinner orchestra, a string quartet, and four other musical combinations.

But in November, 1934, control of the station passed into the hands of the Hearst interests. So marked was the change of tune that the station's record in 1944 was cited in the Blue Book as a prize example of gross default.

> During the week beginning Sunday, April 23, 1944 [says the Blue Book], only 12.5 per cent of the program time between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. was "sustaining." On Monday through Friday of that week less than 6 per cent of the program time between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. was sustaining, and no sustaining programs whatever were broadcast on those days between 2 p.m. and 11 p.m., a total of forty-five hours. . . . Between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. of the week beginning April 23, 1944, Station WBAL broadcast 507 spot announcements, of which 6 were sustaining public-service announcements. An example, not unique, of the piling up of spot announcements is found in the forty-five-minute period from 8:15 a.m. to 9 a.m. on Monday, April 24, 1944, during which sixteen spot announcements were broadcast, or one every 2.8 minutes. . . . Less than 2.5

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN is chairman of the Department of Communications in the School of Education of New York University and author of "Radio's Second Chance." Because the FCC's decision with regard to Station WBAL is so important for the future of radio, Lou Frankel's regular page was omitted to make room for this discussion of the case. In One Ear will appear as usual next week.

per cent of the station's time between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. during the week was devoted to sustaining programs of local live origin. . . . During the entire week in question, the only local live-music broadcast by Station WBAL between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. was as follows: a ten-minute music-award commercial program, Musical Maneuvers (thirty minutes), and Songs of Romance, commercial, at various times, totaling fifty minutes for the week. . . . During the week beginning April 23, 1944, NBC designated nineteen programs as public-service programs. Of these, Station WBAL carried five and failed to carry fourteen.

The decision which the commission must make on the renewal of this station's license is not an easy one, for it renewed the license in 1942, when by the standards of the Blue Book WBAL was already in default.

Two alternative decisions appear open to the commission. One is to make the principles of the Blue Book retroactive and deny the renewal of the license; the other is to renew the license, either temporarily or for the statutory three-year period, on the strict understanding that the station will now and in the future conform in practice to the principles of public service enunciated in the Blue Book. (Since 1944 the station appears to have mended its ways to some extent.)

The FCC's decision is complicated somewhat by the presentation of a claim upon this station's frequency by two nationally known columnists—Messrs. Pearson and Allen. Without doubt these rival applicants will cite the Blue Book as evidence of Station WBAL's incompetence to serve the public interest and will submit program proposals intended to outbid those of the present licensee. How, in the scales of justice, shall the commission weigh the claims of a station which, while it defaulted in the past, gives pledges of reform, against the promise of a rival applicant to render even better public service? It is a nice question.

What is exciting and important about this case is that it offers opportunity for a community to make its wishes the decisive factor in determining the commission's verdict. The commission and the radio industry agree that the public ought to be the final arbiter of what goes on the air. The people of Baltimore and Maryland, and listeners farther afield within the service area of this powerful station, now have the chance to register their will. The decision should be theirs. It will be so only if interested groups in these communities present their testimony at the hearings and claim this right in time. Women's organizations, representatives of labor, farmers, and many other groups should organize—and quickly—to examine this case and submit testimony. It is a rare opportunity to test whether democracy works.

The greatest weakness in our system of broadcasting is the indifference of the public to the possibilities of radio service. Listeners to Station WBAL can now contribute to a momentous decision on which depends not only the quality of this one station but the service to be expected of all the thousands of stations in the country. If the principles of the Blue Book are not sustained in this decision, the FCC will be giving a green light to the radio industry to drop the book in the waste basket and continue blithely "down the primrose path of dalliance" which for too many years it has been treading. Civic groups in Maryland should realize that the eyes of all who still have high hopes for radio are on them.

In the Wind

SANITY JOTTINGS: The Wind has been rustling through old waste baskets recently, searching for evidences that there are a good many level heads in America. Point of departure and basic criteria were provided for the Wind by Leonard Lyons, in his syndicated column of November 21. Mr. Lyons tells of one Robert Irwin, a triple-murderer, "deemed incurably insane by psychiatrists," who "is not progressively deteriorating as they predicted." This was proved recently when Irwin was asked his preferences in magazines and books. Irwin requested *Time, Life, Reader's Digest,* and "How to Win Friends and Influence People." A well man, obviously.

TAKING IT FROM THERE, the Wind looked in on Assistant Judge W. C. Purcell of the Recorder's Court in Durham, North Carolina, who last October 23 suspended sentence on two University of North Carolina students who had celebrated a birthday "by indulging in beer, gin, whiskey, and wine and then swiping $200 worth of clothing" from a Durham haberdasher. Judge Purcell called this adventure a "college prank" and on that same October 23 sent to the roads for thirty days two Negroes convicted of stealing eight pounds of lard.

ON THE OTHER HAND, Illinois Circuit Judge Harry Fisher, in awarding unemployment compensation on October 7 to 1,500 workers who struck against Montgomery Ward in 1944, stated that "the men had a perfect right to . . . refuse to work on purely patriotic grounds." Now listen here, Judge. . . .

"SENATOR FULBRIGHT," sagely observes the Stevens Point (Wisconsin) *Daily Journal,* "is a sincere, able man. . . . unfortunately he is afflicted with a mental handicap as serious as a lost leg would be physically. He is a Rhodes scholar." So that's what a mental handicap is! Mr. Lyons, can you apply that somewhere?

BUT ADDING STABILITY to the American scene are the prices of Reno divorces, which have gone up from $100 to $150 each, and Senator John W. Bricker. The Senator's contribution was made in a speech, on November 20, before the Ohio Home Builders' Association, in which he declared that it is "a constant battle to keep the masses from overthrowing everything we stand for."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

The People's Front

TO THOSE familiar with the inner workings of the League of Nations James B. Reston's recent story in the New York *Times* about the trading in votes among United Nations delegates is no trivial matter. A country's silence or its acquiescence in the compromises that undermined the prestige of the Geneva institution and rendered it useless to the cause of peace was often sold to the highest bidder in the corridors; principles were discarded as blocs bargained ruthlessly for the votes that would assure their candidate's election to the League Council or some key commission.

Mr. Reston's disclosures confirm my feeling that one of the chief traffickers in ballots at the United Nations may turn out to be the Arab League. Latin American delegates with whom I have spoken categorically deny rumors of a deal with the Arab states, but their denial has not put a stop to the persistent efforts of the Middle East delegations to effect an alignment that would place the two blocs in a position to make their voice and vote strongly felt in the Assembly.

It is somehow fitting that the role of corruptor of the League, once held by Fascist Italy and the puppets of the aggressors, should today, in the U. N., fall to the Arabs, who have been thrust into the international scene by cynical power intrigue. Together with Argentina the Arab League holds undisputed title to the fascist legacy, for until Germany began to lose the war it was whole-heartedly on Hitler's side. Syria and Lebanon, during the Vichy regime, became the chief Middle Eastern base of the German command; in Iraq the Mufti, working closely with Prime Minister Al-Galaini, initiated a revolt against England with a pogrom in the classic manner; the Allied intelligence services in Cairo seized a high Egyptian official who was delivering planes to Rommel's army then at the gates of Alexandria.

An ultra-nationalist campaign financed by the Nazis produced a series of sensational plots and violent outbreaks in the Middle East. If Hollywood could lay hands on the Mufti's correspondence which is now in the archives of the State Department, it would have the stuff for the most exciting "thriller" of the year. But despite promises by Under Secretary of State Acheson that the documents would be published, they remain a carefully guarded secret. Of course their publication might cause embarrassment in London; they would undoubtedly reveal that the Nazi solution of the Jewish problem—the gas chamber—originated with the spiritual leader of the Moslem world.

The elevation of the Arab states to their present position in world affairs is further proof of British ingenuity in extricating the empire from one of its crises. Almost overnight Britain succeeded in transforming allies of Hitler into respected members of the United Nations. The nations of the Levant declared war against Germany a few weeks before the Nazi collapse, thus, without firing a single shot or losing a single man, staking out a claim to seats in the new international organization. But appeasing the Arabs was not without its penalties. The British risked the friendship of France when they sponsored the openly anti-French activities of General Spears in Syria. Their Palestine policy cost the life of Lord Moyne, who with Spears had been one of the promoters of the Arab League. Nor could it have been pleasant for them to wink at the Mufti's escape from France, knowing well his record as an artist in pogroms and political murders. But there is no ceiling price on empire security; the British defenders of Western democracy resolutely closed their eyes and took the Arab fascists to their bosom.

The fascists of the Middle East, however, do not have the following that Hitler and Mussolini enjoyed when the Axis was in the ascendancy. The much-vaunted power of the Arab League is mostly bluff; its delegates, who move like potentates through the corridors of the United Nations, are backed by only a handful of feudal, corrupt elements in their respective countries. An outstanding exception among them is Edward Atiayah, a genuine liberal who is the league's representative in London. But in general the strength of the league is based on the suppression of all progressive movements and civil rights at home. Only last week an eminent Moslem liberal, Fawzi al Husseini, cousin and opponent of the Mufti, was assassinated because he advocated friendly relations with the Jews.

The so-called irreconcilable conflict between Arabs and Jews is another bluff invented out of whole cloth by the big powers to serve their special interests. I remember the day at Geneva, in the early twenties, when at a private dinner Feisal openly expressed himself in support of the Zionist cause. At that time the other Arab countries were much less concerned about Palestine. The "war" between Jews and Arabs started later, as a result of the work done by Bishop Macinnes, a notorious anti-Semite who was sent by the British to Jerusalem, and by Cardinal Barlassina, the Vatican representative. With the aid of General Storrs, who was then governor of Jerusalem, they brought the Mufti's family to power, supplying funds and other forms of help in an effort to delay the logical solution of the Palestine problem.

To suggest that the Arab League is a British invention designed solely to combat Zionism would be to narrow the issue and ignore the great dangers involved. After all, the Palestine problem will sooner or later be solved. But there will remain the Arab states, which today, because of Anglo-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East, are playing an international role out of all proportion to their importance. Ultimately they may prove a nuisance to both the major powers. The present pro-British orientation of the Arabs is, to say the least, ephemeral; replying to the charge that the Arab League "speaks Arabic with a British accent," Secretary General Accam Pasha said: "This suit is made of British cloth, but I am wearing it." As for Russia, if it plays ball with the Arab states, it will come off no better than it did in Perón's Argentina. Fascists remain fascists, and nothing can change them.

DEL VAYO

Reaching the Limit in Austria

BY G. E. R. GEDYE

Vienna, November 6

GENERAL MARK CLARK returned to Vienna for his farewell visit two days ago to find Austria moving rapidly toward the worst crisis it has faced since the reestablishment of the republic. In some respects conditions are slightly better than those prevailing at the onset of the winter of 1945-46, the first after the Red Army had bombed and shelled its way into Vienna and the retreating S. S. divisions had burned and dynamited all they could of the hated city. But psychologically, conditions are infinitely worse, for the Austrians have lost the one asset which buoyed them up in November, 1945—hope. Hope was all the Allied Commission could hold out to the Austrians that first winter. "Till the winter is over," it said officially, "survival, not recovery, is all we can aim at."

Austrians believed then that the ultimate goal of the Allies was the realization of their own solemn declaration in Moscow in 1943—that a "free and independent Austria" should be re-created. Now, nobody believes that the Allies are united in seeking any goal; a really "free and independent Austria" seems to be the last thing some of them desire. Last year Austrians hoped that UNRRA would bring an improvement in the emergency rations issued by the armies. Instead, UNRRA put off its responsibilities month after month, and when it did start distributing supplies, the ration scale was lower than the previous military one. Now it is still lower, only 1,200 calories as against the military ration of 1,550. Germans are starving on 300 more than that. Chancellor Figl's announcement that thanks to UNRRA and the United States the ration will be raised to the promised 1,500 calories by November 10 will mean only a badly needed two pounds more of bread a week.

In the last week of October all train services were suddenly suspended; save for trains carrying vital food supplies they remain so. All through last winter the authorities struggled to restore gas for cooking; it is still only available for a few hours daily—fewer than in the summer, and new cuts are threatened. Power shortage is causing more factories to work part time: today the state had to arrange for partial compensation for their workers; this has also had to be arranged for those unable to get to work when all means of transport are stopped by lack of power. The use of lifts, restored during the summer, is again forbidden. For three days in nine every house, office, and shop is to be deprived of current from 7 a. m. till 4 p. m.; one never knows when current will be cut off even after dark, leaving one in total darkness for from one to four hours—candles of course are unprocurable, but there is a little very low-grade petroleum for the few fortunate enough to own oil lamps.

Worse hardships than these could be faced with courage if people could see light ahead, could perceive any evidence of steady progress, however slow. The real crisis in Austria is one of confidence. The Austrians see no reason to believe that the Allies either intend to help them to their feet or will allow them to rebuild the country out of their own resources.

On October 29 the government, stung by endless attacks from newspapers of all three parties, especially in the provinces, called a secret session of Parliament—the last secret session, held after the Piave disaster in 1917, heralded the final break-up of the monarchy—and told the deputies the truth, for discreet and partial release in their constituencies. The alternative to continuing as at present was to turn over Austria, lock, stock, and barrel, to the Allies and invite them to rule the country through a Cabinet of officials. A showdown in secret session was preferred because of the fear that the four Allies would wrangle in council for months over the ministries each would seek to control and that Austria in the meantime would be partitioned perhaps forever into four zones under foreign rule. Why did not the government tell the truth in public session? Because it feared that one or the other of the Allies would accuse it of disloyalty and attempt to take it over.

The writer has learned some of the facts put before the secret session; the reader must divide the blame among the Allies as his general information about them may suggest. It would be wrong to imagine, as some may be tempted to do, that Russia is the sole culprit.

Austria is so short of all kinds of textiles that the ordinary citizen can purchase no clothing whatsoever. Yet for eighteen months one of the Allies has been forcing the government to hand over from one province alone an average of 100,000 yards of textiles monthly, obtaining it by military requisition, by paying for it in schillings requisitioned from the National Bank for "occupation needs," or by even shadier methods. Payment has never been made in foreign currencies or goods.

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The raw material for these textiles was left in Austria by the Swiss as payment for the making up of larger quantities of the same material.

On October 22 General Körner, the Socialist burgomaster of Vienna, announced, "The Viennese can have only one pair of boots repaired in twelve months; only one pair of new boots will be available every five years." A survey of Vienna school children showed that 13.7 per cent are entirely without shoes; 7.3 per cent are kept from school by the lack of shoes. At the same time one of the Allies takes from one factory alone from 14,000 to 15,000 pairs a month of its output of 20,000. Austrian women have been unable to buy stockings since the occupation. From one rayon factory one Allied power has exported 500 tons of rayon, enough to keep Austrian women in stockings for years.

The Viennese have had no fuel issued for the winter. But one power holds large stocks of Austrian coal which it will sell back to Austria only at the world price—just double the domestic price, above which the Allied Commission forbids Austria to buy. Poland has failed to supply promised coal, and Austrian coal trains sent to the frontier had to return empty. Czechoslovakia has supplied only a fraction of the quantity promised. The direct cause of the stoppage of the train service was the exhaustion of coal reserves by the demand of one power for hundreds of special troop trains for maneuvers. For months one power has insisted on the export of Austrian power to Germany to feed factories there in which it is interested. One power, because it considers that another is preventing it from obtaining for its zone its due quantities of Austrian oil, holds back Austrian coal and Austrian livestock which the Austrian government wants to transfer elsewhere.

UNRRA ceases operations in December, and no definite arrangements have yet been made to replace UNRRA supplies. Yet one power has seized Austrian goods which could have been exported by Austria to pay for food, giving bonds in return to the value of 2,000,000 schillings. Payment would in any case have been made only in requisitioned schillings, but not even this has been done.

In addition there is local interference. The Austrian textile industry in one zone is forbidden to receive from another zone potato starch which would cost 1.50 schillings per kilo and has to import Czechoslovak starch from Switzerland at 4 schillings a kilo. Hundreds of truckloads of potatoes stand today in one depot rotted by frost and rain because a local commander refused to let them leave his zone for hungry Vienna; at the same time he forbade the movement of milk, cutting Vienna children's scanty rations by six to eight thousand liters a day.

One could continue indefinitely to quote from what was revealed at the secret session. In effect, the Austrian government, a coalition of the three parties—Catholic Volkspartei, Communists, and Socialists—said, "These are the facts—we are quite powerless." Parliament exculpated the government in a resolution which demanded of the Allies, among other things, that Austria alone should control the movement and sale of Austrian products at home and abroad. Next day, in public session, Eduard Heinl, Minister of Commerce, announced that the Russians had seized 169 concerns, including 47 iron and metal works. A week later the Russians said that they had restored several of these as not being "German property," citing a vinegar factory, a small trading company, a thread factory, and two big estates—all "of no special economic value," according to the Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*.

America and Britain are mainly blamed for insisting that some 400,000 D. P.'s, unwilling for one reason or other to return to their own countries, many of them foreign fascists, remain in Austria, where their presence diminishes the scanty rations. The disproportionate demands of military officers, especially Americans, for accommodation, when the war destruction makes whole Viennese families share one room, creates much ill-will. The British in Carinthia are criticized for seizing in summer almost all accommodations in the health resorts on the great Wörthersee and in winter moving back into the warmth of Klagenfurt, at the expense of the population of this overcrowded town. The Austrians do not object to the Americans and British staying as long as any occupying power does, but we should have no illusions that these armies are any longer popular. Austria is weary of all foreign armies; it considers that they devour its substance, make self-government a mockery, and arrest even its parliamentary deputies and high police officials for anything that looks like criticism of their policies.

The Allies, for their part, have no illusions that their armies are here to guard against a revival of Nazism or to help the Austrians; they know that they are here solely to watch and oppose one another. "Beat my Jew if you wish, and I'll beat yours in return," medieval landowners are supposed to have said when differences arose between them. Today the Austrian inhabitants of the four zones say they have become the Jews of the respective occupying powers. The Viennese feel as baffled and angry when the Americans are unwilling to let UNRRA stores or Austrian livestock enter the Russian zone as they do when the British hold back Austrian steel in Styria, the Russians hold back Austrian oil in Zisterdorf, or the French mulct them of the milk, cheese, and butter of Tyrol and send it to France. Hunger strikes and demonstrations may break out at any moment among the enfeebled and despairing workers. One group alone is happy—the camouflaged Nazis, who lose no chance of whispering, "And wasn't Hitler right, as always?"

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A UNISON

The grass is very green, my friend,
and tousled, like the head of—
your grandson, yes? And the mountain,
the mountain we climbed
twenty years since for the last
time (I write this thinking
of you) is saw-horned as then
upon the sky's edge—an old barn
is peaked there also, fatefully,
against the sky. And there it is
and we can't shift it or change
it or parse it or alter it
in any way. Listen! Do you not hear
them? the singing? There it is and
we'd better acknowledge it and
write it down that way, not otherwise.
Not twist the words to mean
what we should have said but to mean
—what cannot be escaped: the
mountain riding the afternoon as
it does, the grass matted green,
green underfoot and the air—
rotten wood. Hear! Hear them!
the Undying. The hill slopes away,
then rises in the middleground,
you remember, with a grove of gnarled
maples centering the bare pasture,
sacred, surely—for what reason?
I cannot say. Idyllic!
a shrine cinctured there by
the trees . a certainty of music!
a unison and a dance, joined
at this death's festival: Something
of a shed snake's skin, the beginning
goldenrod. Or, best, a white stone,
you have seen it: *Mathilda Maria*
Fox—and near the ground's lip,
all but undecipherable, *Aet Suae,*
Anno 9—still there, the grass
dripping of last night's rain—and
welcome! The thin air, the near,
clear brook water!—and could not,
and died, unable; to escape
what the air and the wet grass—
through which, tomorrow, the great sun
will rise bejeweled—the
unchanging mountains, forced on them—
and they received, willingly!
Stones, stones of a difference
joining the others at pace. Hear!
Hear the unison of their voices. . . .

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

DAVID TO BATHSHEBA IN THE PUBLIC GARDEN

Worn out of virtue, as the time of year,
The burning City and its bells surround
The Public Garden. What is sound
Past agony is Fall:
The children crowding home from school at five,
Punting a football in the bricky air—
You mourn Uriah? If he were alive,
O Love, my age were nothing but the ball
Of leaves inside this lion-fountain, left
For witch and winter. . . . *Yet the leaves' complaint*
Is the King's fall . . . whatever suffers theft.
The Latin labels on the foreign trees are quaint.

The trees, for decades, shook their discontent
On strangers: rustling, rustling the Levant.
Uriah might have found the want
Of what was never his
A moment, found the falling colors welcome. . . .
But he was dead before Jehovah sent
Our shadows to the lion's cave. What's come
Is dancing like a leaf for nothing. Kiss:
The leaves are dark and harping. You observe
The shedding, park-bound mallards as they keep
Circling and craning for Uriah's sleep?
Driven, derided, Father, and my will a curve:

I knew these circles after Joab killed
Uriah in the shock of battle. Sharp
Arrows transfix me! You will harp
Of women? They are called
To succour Israel if his foot shall slide. . . . .
I knew you from my roof-top: bubbles filled
Uriah's fountain, and we splashed. You died
In Adam, while the grass-snake slid appalled
To summer, while Jehovah's grass-green lyre
Was rustling all about us in the leaves
That gurgled by us, upside-down. *Earth grieves:*
Unspeakable the groanings when it catches fire.

The fountain's failing waters ring around
The garden. Love, if you had stayed my hand
Uriah would not understand
The lion's rush, or why
This stone-mouthed fountain laps us like a cat. . . .
And he is nothing after death but ground,
Anger and anguish, Love? And when we sat
The nights of summer out . . . perhaps, it took
Of Fall, the Fall? Perhaps. I live. I lie
Drinking our likeness from the water. Look:
The Lion's mane and age! Surely, I will not die.

ROBERT LOWELL

THE PLACE OF DEATH

"The wreath is plaited wicker: the green varnish
Still traps, in its tarred pits, a race of gnats;
The flowers in the fruit-jar fail—and vanish,
Drying a stem for judgment. The outlandish
Angel fixing a grey granite Bible
With his red granite eyeballs; the red squirrel that squats
In the black walnut with a wormy nut,
Gnawing mechanically: these, the red
And white and blue woodpecker hammering
This light-pole, are enough to wake the dead—"
The living student walking with Spinoza
In his thin freckled hand, has sometimes felt,
Sinking upon a mound; the grassy airs,
The wood and meadow of their comprehension,
Have murmured to him, from the yellowing page,
That all determination is negation—
He has felt the boundaries of being fade,
These long-outmoded, mounded, dewy modes
Lapse to the seeding and inhuman Substance
Whose infinite, unchanging, and eternal thought
Is here extended in a thousand graves.
These shining bodies—vagrant as a flaw
Of the breath that, in the made, dead flower, mourns—
Involved in their essences the little existence
That survives their thought of it; in part denied
But real, and hence perfect, they hunch here,
A realm within a realm, the last contrary
Being of all used, persisting things—
Till the avenging angel sheathe his sword,
Forget that he is guardian, and dream
(His pocked head pillowed on the book of Life)
The flower and the fruit-jar Victory,
And these graves serving an eternal God
That happiness itself, and final liberty
Which (from the delta of the Alp-born Rhine)
The dead Spinoza named necessity. . . .
But the squirrel flames within the flaming wood
That soars above the poor mounds and their sigh:
"The pity that made us was not womanish";
But the gay bird hammers at the dying tree
Whose wires bring to the peoples light and death;
But the mourners gather for the dying gnat—
The dancers sparkling in their mating cloud—
And the sounds of the lens-grinder cease:
The mourners and the mourned are one. Once more
The great wind dances from the ends of Time
To breathe upon these leaves the student drops,
Napping an hour on this grassy grave.
But the angel whispers from the leafy tomb,
He is not here—see, see, he is not here;
But the leaves blow home to that inhuman kind
Who play their lives out in the place of death
And—dying, dying—from the unmourned grave
Cry to him: "Only man is miserable."

RANDALL JARRELL

American Aesthete

THE AMERICAN SCENE. By Henry James. Edited, with an Introduction, by W. H. Auden. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

NOW that "The American Scene" is reprinted, we may expect the astonishing book to be known and not only famed. It is worth many kinds of critical notice. Unprecedented in the annals of the Republic, for one thing, is such mastery of language as shows in the effortless long lift of its style. Revisiting Concord, the "restless analyst" ponders the felicities of the place, and moves piously through the historical associations, but is brought up sharply by another and, to our notion, a meaner thought:

> Beyond even such broodings as these, and to another purpose, moreover, the communicated spell falls, in its degree, into that pathetic oddity of the small aspect, and the rude and the lowly, the reduced and humiliated above all, that sits on so many nooks and corners, objects and appurtenances, old contemporary things—contemporary with the doings of our race; simplifying our antecedents, our annals, to within an inch of their life, making us ask, in presence of the rude relics even of greatness, mean retreats and receptacles, constructionally so poor, from what barbarians or from what pigmies we have sprung.

We will feel that American writing can never be finer than this. The danger is that in too many quarters it may be too fine. In any noble writing which has entered securely into the national consciousness, the linguistic staple probably consists in a folk element of common sententious rhetoric. But here this element is dangerously reduced; it is at once overlaid and refined till it nearly loses visibility. For here in procession come the quick phrases, amplifying and correcting each other so briskly that we say this must be an example of the "qualified" style. To which we have to add immediately that, abounding in lively metaphors, this is also a case of the animated or "poetic" style. But the refinement, whether by the qualifications or the metaphors, is such as to escape us if we let attention relax ever so slightly; and as for the middling or untechnical sort of readers, this like others of James's later writings may be supposed, quite simply, not even to solicit their effort. It is very brilliant writing. But it is not writing with an epical quality; it is not of and for the people.

And consider the "thought" of the passage. It is of a piece with the style, and equally characteristic of the author; it will testify to his uncompromising claim for finery, and with it some elemental defect of temperament. The humble things of Concord, such as the Old Manse and the "rude bridge" and the natural objects that belong in the cluster, should be able to be embraced with all affection, and without any boggling, by a proper piety. The patriot, whom we may regard as a spontaneous and warm-hearted variety of the aesthetic man, cannot afford to be repelled by their rudeness and lowliness. Where else is their invincible "existential" quality, to which piety and art make it peculiarly their business to consent? We take the impression of James as of a man undone by his own fastidiousness, which holds him back from obtaining the blessing of reconciliation. But for com-

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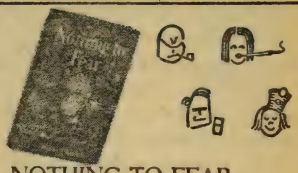

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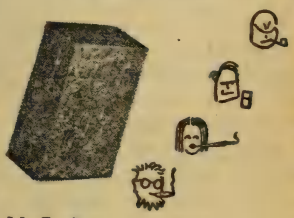

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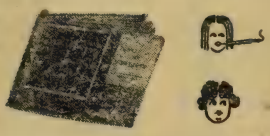

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pleteness we should say, Of the two reconciliations. First, the one with nature, for civilized man by his mode of living becomes more and more estranged from nature, till he recognizes and cannot endure his cosmic isolation; and then reconciliation with the common family of mankind, from which in his individual and specialized progress he has traveled apart till he has achieved a solitude, and become sick for his human society. Of the two needs, one is as compulsive as the other.

Motives of this sort are so powerful that they would seem able to do their own work; so that we need not be too concerned for the continuance of our national arts, and of our public works and manners and occasions. And when it comes to assessing the degree of their beauty, or tastefulness, we might survey them from a long-range anthropological sort of viewpoint, and find some comfort in being relativists. We shall then expect them to be just as "good" as the citizens deserve; but if they are better they will hardly be suitable for the purpose.

James could not assure himself that his native society would enjoy a presentable grade of these communal arts and rites unless some social class were made specially responsible for them. It had to be a superior class, and then they took some expense; the initiative devolved, in a word, upon the rich. James made no mistake about the advantages of wealth once possessed, and despised the processes of acquisition. In how many ways is a man of wealth a man of "means," if he could only know it! And in the last great days of Europe, which were James's days, a man might still know it. Not yet wholly inoperative was the design of a feudal and landed aristocracy, appointed in the name of *noblesse oblige* to be the fountain of public taste. The newly rich as they appeared could be assimilated into this class, and instructed. But in America, by 1906, the year of James's speculations, new rich men were appearing, the "dead-pan" riders upon the furious ocean of business that had cast them up, in a frequency fatal to the chances of any such assimilation. Nor was there, to tell the truth, an aristocracy to assimilate them; its provision had strangely been omitted in the American foundations; and even the agrarian tradition was not hierarchical but equalitarian. Therefore the public taste was low; there was nobody to manage it. It is not strange that James found the outstanding triumph of American civilization in the sumptuary splendors of hotel life, at the old Waldorf-Astoria, or the still more pretentious "caravansaries" newly come to Palm Beach; occasionally in some perfectly appointed function at the country club, on summer verandahs embowered by the very noblest trees. Of so small a fraction of the burden of taste in expenditure had the community of wealth managed to relieve the green American *nouveaux*. And James could discover no hope that, under these auspices, taste would go much farther. There is no hope.

The American scene is a large one, and the aspect of disorder is still upon it. It does not seem a favorable setting for James's passion for a taste which shall be an elevated one, as a matter of course, and then one to be shared in unanimity by all the citizens. But we might do well, as realists, if we should rule out of our aesthetics what we seem already to have ruled out of our politics—the idea that we are principally aiming at some tight, some wonderfully tidy organization of our persons. The loose society, which is the one according to our history, makes a poor showing for the elegant aesthete; but at any rate it lets its arts flourish at will, which is according to need; even among little congenial groups, and at all levels of taste. We shall not lack the usual facilities of the shared life; participations which are only symbolic, or festal, such as the arts and the fictions of society. These latter will still be the tireless agents of peace and concord among us.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM

A Family Monster

METAMORPHOSIS. By Frank Kafka. The Vanguard Press. $2.75.

THIS brief masterpiece is so direct, so like a punch on the jaw, that there should be little to say about it. But the introduction and the illustrations of the first American edition are so wrongheaded that they provide employment for a critic. The story is that a youngish man, who is supporting his parents and sister as a much-bullied commercial traveler, wakes up to find himself turned into a monstrous "vermin" (the charlady says "cockroach") of human size. The other three have to get jobs, and take in lodgers; the sufferer hides in his bedroom, and her sister in spite of her loathing makes efforts to keep him comfortable. His father is afraid of him and once injures him when driving him back to his room. The lodgers give notice when they discover him. But by then he has almost completed the process of starving himself to death, which he undertakes because he is so hopeless and such a drag on his family. At the end the sister is beginning to say that this is not her brother but only a monster which it is essential to kill, but we do not know whether they would act on it. All the family are trying to behave well. Once he is dead they find they are better off than when he was normal, because they have all got jobs, and having something to do the father has recovered his vigor. It is time the girl got married.

The introduction says that Kafka describes animals in all possible ways at once; as in a fable, where they are like men; as having qualities also interesting in men; as themselves, realistically; and as men acting as beasts. "He makes an identification of man and beast. Kafka's animals are *totems*." In accordance with this view, the pictures at the two ends of the book show dogs and pussycats in human poses, and the picture of the monster in the middle, swaggering in white tights, plumes, and a military carapace, might be a society portrait of Lord Byron fighting for the Greeks. Of course it is in a sort of Picasso style, but everyone knows that isn't meant to be horrid; it can be used to advertise ladies' underwear. Now I think that all this gives an entirely false idea of the story. The point which the story rams home is that the monster is unbearably nauseating, not in the least like a pussycat. The question of what the actual feelings of a man-sized woodlouse would be (he has more legs than a cockroach) is obviously not considered by the author, except perhaps in the one remark that his legs enjoy running. So far from being like *any* animal, for that matter, the sufferer is always human and nearly always high-minded. What he chiefly reminds me of is an elephantiasis case described by a

doctor ten or more years ago in a horrible book called "The Elephant Man," who had an even more unbreakable sweetness of temperament in spite of the loathing which his body inspired. The whole story, indeed, might have been told about a real disease, and would only have lost (what is no doubt its chief value) the wild poetry and the sense of the appalling strangeness of the world.

If this is true, you may say, it is very unlike "The Castle" and "The Trial." I don't deny that the book satisfied the neurotic side of Kafka as well as the mystical one. No doubt the preface is right in quoting the reproach which Kafka supposed his father to give him, that he fought his father like vermin which both sting and suck blood. But though the first idea was a justification of the vermin, that is, the young writer who refused to get a job, the story as it worked out rose entirely away from those foggy troubles and became clear-cut in the sunlight. I think there is a lurking bit of neurosis right at the end, when we are told that the sister looked healthy "despite the make-up which made her cheeks look pale." She was dressed before she knew her brother was dead, but she had no need to pretend to be pale. It is a typical piece of the puzzle-technique which is used so magnificently in other Kafka books; not really out of place, because she might easily have been dramatizing the situation a bit, but quite trivial here; whereas in "The Trial" it would have carried some monstrous and enervating suspicion. It is also part of the Kafka atmosphere that the monster never tries to speak after the first day, though his mother certainly understood one thing he said through the door before she saw him ("he must be ill, even though he denied it this morning"), so that if he had had the courage to go on talking he would have been less completely cut off. Here, you may say, is the wilful defeatism of the usual Kafka; but you can also believe that the man would have acted so within the framework of the story. Indeed, the real Elephant Man, during the years he was with the traveling show, was never spoken to because everyone assumed he was imbecile. It is because the story is so real that the spangles tucked onto it by this edition look so tasteless.

However, there are several minor inconsistencies. For instance, his back is described as a hard carapace onto which this large animal can fall without getting hurt, but his father can throw a "red" (therefore presumably soft) apple which cracks it and makes it fester; no doubt it is the apple of Adam, but one wants the details more convincing. And the statement of page 59 that he had not heard his mother's voice "for so long" is quite incompatible with the previous story, though here there seems to be no symbolical excuse. Considering how much he is supposed to stink, it is unlikely that they would take to leaving his door open in the evening so that he can watch them; but perhaps this shows how remorseful his father was for throwing the apple. After the apple incident there could surely be no question of "cleaning himself several times a day by lying on his back and rubbing against the carpet" (page 83). In the other major Kafka books one feels sure the contradictions are intentional, indeed the more baffling they are the more carefully they seem placed; but this is a different kind of story and does not need them. Maybe he could never bear to read over the manuscript.

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The Past and the Future

HIROSHIMA. By John Hersey. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.75.

JOHN HERSEY'S story of what happened to six ordinary persons at Hiroshima has been read all over America and heard by great radio audiences. Its stark simplicity has brought home to hundreds of thousands of persons what it meant to drop an atomic bomb on a great city. Some Americans have reacted with painful guilt at the thought that they belonged to the nation which catapulted this horror into the houses and streets of a city of whose very existence they had previously never heard. Many more have read it as the handwriting on the wall, prophesying the agony of the day when they will be citizens of a city marked for atomic destruction. Neither those who have read the book as a record of things past nor those who have read it as a portent of things to come have been able afterward to dismiss the negotiations of atomic commissions as if these statesmen were playing a mere impersonal game of diplomatic chess. The matter at issue has become for them scenes of the burned and wounded staggering endlessly along the roads, of living burial under fallen timbers and rubble, of vomit and suppuration and lingering death.

The hour-by-hour, day-by-day account of the experiences of a seamstress, a clerk, a Jesuit priest, a Japanese Methodist preacher, and two doctors is written with complete simplicity, and the calmness of the narrative throws into relief the nightmare magnitude of the destructive power the brains of man have brought into being. There is no preaching in this book. Not a single sentence "views with alarm." Even the page which calls attention to the fact that the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima was a mere feeler, one-tenth or one-twentieth as powerful as possible atomic bombs which could be developed in the future, is a matter-of-fact account of what well-equipped Japanese nuclear physicists learned about the nature of the bomb by investigating the ruins of the city. They mimeographed their findings in little books for private circulation in Japan during the months when the American authorities were maintaining security on the subject of atomic fission.

Now that John Hersey's book has been issued between covers it will be read by another vast audience. The fascination of the subject of atomic destruction and the pure human interest of the theory will put it high on the best-seller lists. It will stir a new set of readers to an understanding that all other issues in the world today pale beside the necessity of outlawing war among the nations.

Even at this moment, when the topical interest of John Hersey's story overshadows all else, "Hiroshima" is important on other counts. It is a capsule of Japanese life, and it tells more about our ex-enemy Japan than many learned books. Because so many people will identify themselves with the sufferers in Hiroshima, seeing their own dread foreshadowed in what has already happened there, they will miss the importance of this little volume as a sourcebook on Japanese behavior. But it is that too. The story is not a preview of what people would do if New York or Chicago were devastated by an atomic bomb. It is a story of how people in a Japanese city behaved. The record would be important because of this fact, even if it did not also tell the tale of how the curtain was raised upon the new Atomic Age.

For the Japanese did not behave as many Westerners had imagined they would. Even the German priests in the Novitiate three miles from the center of the city, one of them has said elsewhere, feared, until a messenger was dispatched to them, to go to the rescue of their brothers who were stationed in Hiroshima itself. They thought the populace might attack any Westerner. It was a reasonable fear; Westerners had dropped the bomb. But when they went into the city, no hand or voice was raised against them. A band of soldiers challenged them, on the theory that they might be American parachutists, and, when the priests identified themselves, the soldiers apologized. That was all. As the seamstress, a poor widow, said of the bombing, "It was war and we had to expect it." Hostility against Westerners was not shown in Hiroshima then or since. The first military commission after V-J Day was met at the airport by the Japanese officials drawn up in due order and invited to drink tea with their hosts. A year after the bombing the Hiroshima Planning Conference discussed plans for "erecting a group of buildings as a monument to the disaster and naming them the Institute of International Amity."

Nor was there mass hysteria among the sufferers at Hiroshima. Some Westerners had believed that toward the close of the war the time was ripe for such behavior among the Japanese in the homeland. It did not happen. With their leaders and doctors decimated and offices and hospitals destroyed, the populace acted, indeed, as sheep without shepherds. The able-bodied, during that first day, did not organize themselves into rescue teams. "Under many homes people screamed for help, but no one helped; in general survivors that day assisted only relatives or immediate friends, for they could not comprehend or tolerate a wider circle of misery." Nor did sufferers expect such help. In the parks and along the rivers where people streamed for refuge "it was not easy to distinguish the living from the dead, for most of the people lay still, with their eyes open. To Father Kleinsorge, an Occidental, the silence in the grove by the river, where hundreds of gruesomely wounded suffered together, was one of the most dreadful and awesome phenomena of his whole existence. The hurt ones were quiet; no one wept, much less screamed in pain; no one complained; none of the many who died did so noisily; not even children cried; very few people even spoke. And when Father Kleinsorge gave water to some whose faces had been almost blotted out by flash burns, they took their share and then raised themselves a little and bowed to him, in thanks."

Even the Reverend Mr. Tanimoto, the Methodist preacher who had studied theology in the United States, and who organized himself as a committee of one to carry water to the wounded and to ferry them across the river out of the way of the flames, was "as a Christian filled with compassion for those who were trapped," but "as a Japanese he was overwhelmed by the shame of being unhurt." "In his guilt he turned from right to left as he hurried and said to some of them, 'Excuse me for having no burden like yours.'"

Nine days after the bomb was dropped the Emperor spoke over the radio. In accepting defeat, he said, his people were to resolve "to bear the unbearable and to tolerate the in-

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tolerable and thus leave an imperishable foundation for generations to come." Over the radio in America his words seemed a kind of whistling in the dark. They did not seem to promise any specific kind of behavior. In Japanese eyes, however, they did. They promised a continuance of a behavior inculcated for centuries in Japan and expressed at Hiroshima when man by man and woman by woman they had "borne the unbearable" with patient fortitude. For the Japanese do not fight against circumstance; the bombing was a risk they had taken when they entered into war and "they had to expect it." Their duty is to fight weakness in themselves and to control their pain and personal sufferings. They do not have to reason why or to rail at a universe which requires such discipline. Westerners had doubted whether Japan could surrender; the Japanese knew that they could take capitulation with the same self-control the wounded and dying had showed at Hiroshima. If they could maintain such proprieties, they would not lose their self-respect in their own eyes.

RUTH BENEDICT

Russia, Russia!

THE GREAT CHALLENGE. By Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $4.

ONE might plunge right into the substance of this powerful and impassioned book by asking the question: What is the great challenge? "Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito challenged the democratic world," Louis Fischer says on page 329. "We smashed the challengers. Now Russia challenges the democratic world. This is the greatest challenge the democracies have ever confronted. It is a challenge to improve or succumb." I have chosen this quotation rather than a score of others because its last sentence indicates the philosophical base on which the author sincerely intends to rest his scathing criticism, his violent rejection of Russia and all that country's works, methods, and thoughts. In its implications of tragedy it discloses, too, in what I believe to be a defective manner, the nature of the choice before us.

I will say at once that I have no intention of trying to rebut the author's analysis of Russian developments. Stalin has undoubtedly incorporated nationalism into his Marxist philosophy, and the result has been both a sharpening of the international crisis and a source of confusion for the European left. But the author constantly overplays the importance of this nationalism. For had the revolution developed in accordance with its early promise, the opposition in the West, supposing the present or another equally grave crisis to exist, might very well be sharper than it is. Moreover, the Soviets would still be in a position to "exploit," to use the author's word, the real needs of men. As Louis Fischer is fully aware, those needs antedate the Russian Revolution and the form it has taken. The fact is that, in considerable measure, it is the economic message of the Soviet Union, in conjunction with its emergence to power, that awakens hostility. Its forms and its means often confuse and divide, but there was always a specter haunting Europe.

Basically Louis Fischer's values remain the same; yet in all that he has written since his revulsion from Russia I have been astonished at the increasing parsimony with which he uses the social philosophy which he sincerely believes himself to believe. Take, for example, his formulation of what he regards as the correct policy for the Western powers. On page 335 he rejects the proposal to fight Russia now. He scorns appeasement of the U. S. S. R. because he says it will compel us to fight that country later on. His own policy is described in these words, "Block Russia's territorial expansion by an effective international organization and block Russia's ideological expansion by increasing the contentment and cohesion of the countries in her path."

At first sight this appears to be a socialist version of "Stop Russia." The old Louis Fischer would have been very quick to say that a policy of stopping Russia "by an effective international organization" runs a great danger of becoming one of building an international organization in such a way that it will stop Russia and everything else on the left. That is what is likely to happen; what is happening. The intention of the Stop Russia powers is all too clear. It is to use the United Nations in exactly the way the League of Nations was used, as an instrument not only for checking Russian expansion but for stabilizing and even extending those empires which Louis Fischer believes constitute a major cause of war.

As things are now, there is no such thing as an ideal Stop Russia policy; there is just one policy conditioned and characterized by the nature of the social forces it most naturally rallies to itself. That the liberal forces which have committed themselves to the present conservative leadership of the United States will be able to modify the major aspect of the present policy, I cannot believe. Nothing in the mathematics of probability and nothing in the history of the interwar period encourages that hope. The contents of the book itself seem to support me. One can register a dissent from imperialism very impressively by writing about India as Louis Fischer does. But the indignant expression of dissent is no substitute for a close and extensive survey of the general problem. For all its vehemence "The Great Challenge" provides no clear picture of the real world of politics within which the struggle for Louis Fischer's values goes on. Indeed, because this book presents no systematic analysis of Western policy but concentrates by far the greater part of its fire on the Soviet Union, it is rather worse than a passionate abstraction. A foreign policy truly expressing socialist intentions will not consist of measures universally acceptable to the right plus a protestant rider. Louis Fischer's jockey, who wears the colors of civil liberty, is an excitable and voluble idealist, but his mount is out of control.

"The Great Challenge" contains little about issues that once agitated its author deeply. There is almost nothing about Spain, for example. To be exact, there is one sustained half-page on Spain, in which Louis Fischer rejects the idea of an armed invasion to liberate that country. Why this shying away from the question? Is it that the author fears communism in Spain also? And why the unsatisfactory reference to Greece? And why, in a section that discusses the Far East almost wholly in terms of Stop Russia, does he dismiss consideration of Chiang Kai-shek's regime by what I can only call a frivolous anecdote?

In his section on India the author has pointed out the strategic reasons for Britain's maintenance of the puppet princedoms. They are there to prevent revolts within India,

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to break up the areas of disaffection. What, then, is the significance of our tolerance of Spanish fascism? What does Mr. Fischer suppose is the meaning of our mustering of reactionary powers? He may say that London and Washington have not organized an anti-Soviet bloc. Alas, the case is then far worse, for one must ask why of themselves these powers gravitate toward us. In "Men and Politics" Louis Fischer defended himself against the unmade charge that, despite serious misgivings, he had withheld criticism of Russia because it might have damaged the struggle in Spain. Can it be that he is now unconsciously withholding criticism of Western policies because it might damage the struggle against Russia?

So, too, when we turn to the internal social scene, "The Great Challenge" is deficient. There is still no thoroughgoing analysis of the problem of European reconstruction. The author does not seriously examine the political situation in terms of parties and classes. That a Stop Russia policy in the hands of conservative states must bring reactionary interests toward power the author is aware. But it is not a problem which he is willing to examine in concrete terms; perhaps because it leads to the very brink of a horrifying abyss. There is just one brief phrase in which he admits that in such countries as France and Italy the Socialists and Communists must work together to defeat these reactionaries. It is a negative approach, and there is consequently no realization that these parties must do this by evolving a contractual program designed to further socialist transformation.

Here, I believe, is the source of Louis Fischer's trouble. There is an either-or division within the heart of man, and it is common to all effort in every sphere. To surmount it is extremely difficult. Within socialism it takes the form of a conflict between civil liberty and effective social change. Democratic processes do not necessarily guarantee that man will react reasonably to the real world. An election may return to power a Stop Russia party with very little interest in the common welfare. Fearing this, impatient at it, feeling that they must exteriorize their aggressions, many Socialists are attracted to dictatorial methods because they offer a new dynamism. The result is that the socialism they achieve or support remains lifeless: the blood of freedom has gone from it. There is probably no real solution to the dichotomy. For my part I think socialism needs the parliamentary system to be worth while and effective; yet I am aware that in many countries, such as Spain, a minimal approach to the vast problem of social reform itself endangers parliamentarianism.

It is a dilemma which lies at the root of all socialist efforts. The tendency, sensed or unsensed, is to swing between the two poles of longing for concrete change and longing for the safeguards of democracy. Formerly Louis Fischer, though a democrat, looked without excessive harshness on revolution and Communist dictatorship, because of his desire for concrete social change. Now, fearing dictatorship, he swings toward civil liberty and appears less eager for the concrete changes that would give civil liberty real substance. That is why, haunted as he is by the threatened doom of Western civilization, he urges, not radical transformation, but "improvements" and "an increase of contentment and cohesion."

RALPH BATES

An Intolerable Confusion

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN POETRY, 1900-1940. By Horace Gregory and Marya Zaturenska. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

IT IS difficult to say how much is wrong with this book because there is so much that is wrong and the wrongness is of so many different kinds. Although it is a history, the errors of fact are not as important as the triviality of detail: one learns that William Carlos Williams was born on September 17, 1883, William Butler Yeats made a speech in Chicago on March 1, 1914, and a poem by Allen Tate appeared in the winter, 1944, issue of the *Kenyon Review*. And to speak of the wrongness of judgment is difficult too, since this may be said to be merely a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of one reader that the Gregorys indulge in a systematic wrongness of praise and dispraise. Most of the important and famous poets of the period consistently receive the damnation of faint praise; and at the same time minor, mediocre, and bad poets are equally damned by being overpraised. Most difficult of all to make clear is the margin of inexactness involved in the Gregorys' use of comparison. Comparison is an invaluable tool of criticism; but in the Gregorys it is a desperate infatuation. They are moved by some kind of free association which makes them bring forth *any* comparison; and the more far-fetched the comparison, the more they appear to be delighted with it.

For example, the narrative poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson are entitled a "Comédie Humaine," although few authors resemble each other as little as Balzac and Robinson, and few narrative poets lack to such an extent the comprehensiveness and the variety which such a term as the human comedy signifies. In the same way Robert Frost is named "the Horace of our day" and endowed with a "Horatian serenity." The inexactness here is a complicated one which becomes clear only when one remembers that Frost might have been just as fruitfully compared to Vergil, to Wordsworth, to Emerson, and to Robinson. Equally fantastic is the comparison of W. H. Auden to Lovelace on the basis of a resemblance of stanza forms and the single occurrence of such "Freudian" words as "wombs" and "tombs." With like justice Karl Shapiro is said to resemble William Saroyan, a comparison which shows itself in a true light if one declares that William Saroyan resembles Karl Shapiro. And T. S. Eliot, who is entitled "the Twentieth-Century Man of Feeling," whatever that may mean, is compared to Delacroix: "how well, how appropriately," say the Gregorys, "Eliot's tigers and leopards would appear in company with Delacroix's lions and Arabs!" Any other painter of lions might have done as well; and as for tigers, presumably the Gregorys refer to Eliot's phrase "Christ the tiger," which, given their habits of association, makes one curious as to how when they thought of Delacroix's lions they forgot "Mary had a little lamb."

Inaccurate and bewildering as this use of comparison is, it might not matter so much if the Gregorys did not use comparisons as a means of insinuating judgments of value. There is nothing here that can quite equal Mr. Gregory's

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comparison, in a review in the *New Masses,* of Yvor Winters to Adolf Hitler on the basis of a resemblance Mr. Gregory had discovered between Hitler's paintings and Winters's lyrics; but there is much that comes fairly close. John Gould Fletcher's poetry is inflated in value by being termed "post-impressionism," which presumably suggests Cézanne; but then, as soon as the reader attempts to see what this can mean, he finds that, for the Gregorys, Fletcher's "Color Symphonies" were attempts to capture "the feeling, the spirit, the mood of post-impressionism in music and in painting." Now if the "Color Symphonies" are influenced by anything, they are influenced by *impressionism,* but if we are going to compare Eliot to Delacroix, we might as well confound Manet with Cézanne and make believe that both are indistinguishable from Debussy.

It is when they move at great speed from a comparison to a judgment that the Gregorys are most fascinating of all. The wit of one poet is so fine, we are told, that we must go back to the eighteenth century to find his equal. We are not told how to get by Lord Byron's wit, although on the other hand the Gregorys appear to know of Byron, at least in name, since they call Auden "a latter-day Byron" not long before they forget this characterization for the sake of the comparison to Lovelace—unless, that is, they think Byron resembles Lovelace. It turns out that Louis Untermeyer is not only "a romantic traditionist," in which respect we learn that he resembles Mark Van Doren and Robert Hillyer, but Untermeyer's translations of Heine will "probably remain the most impressive tribute to Heine's memory that the present century will yield." The prudence of "probably" is admirable, for otherwise the Gregorys would have no guard against what may happen in the remaining fifty-four years of the century. Unfortunately, here there is a solid ground of fact; Untermeyer's translations are bad in the plain sense that they are inaccurate, and this has been demonstrated with ease a number of times. To harp on it would be unjustifiable, were it not that it is characteristic of the disproportionate attention the Gregorys often give to works, such as Untermeyer's translations, which deserve nothing but silence; just as they waste space on many varieties of irrelevance, especially pointless quotation, going so far at one point as to quote the entire newspaper notice of the death of John Wheelwright, and elsewhere remarking on who received a Guggenheim and in what year.

If one had to choose a sample of what is most typical of this book, the pages which deal with Archibald MacLeish might serve as well as a dozen other shocking excursions. Here we learn that critics were wrong to compare MacLeish's "Conquistador" to poems by Eliot and Pound: the true comparison is to Longfellow's "Evangeline," which is "the actual precedent for the flaws and merits of the poem." The Gregorys may or may not mean precedent, but since they cite the facts that both poems are in unusual meters and deal with the exotic, one might reflect endlessly on why they chose "Evangeline" rather than "Hiawatha." Nothing but direct quotation, however, can display the fatuity of some paragraphs and the Gregorys' difficulty in using words correctly: "The coming of the Second World War created a new series of emergencies for Archibald MacLeish; in 1939 he received an honorary degree at Yale and was appointed Librarian of Congress." Here for the first time an honorary degree at Yale and the position of librarian have become emergencies. "Soon his activities placed him in the Office of Facts and Figures as well as in the Office of War Information, and though the first office was dissolved and the second had undergone changes which temporarily cast a shadow across MacLeish's career of political advancement, MacLeish's genius for diplomacy was rewarded." Here perhaps the sympathetic reader will concede a reason for the reference to emergencies in the first quotation; and here for the first time he will learn that MacLeish's political career in Washington was marked by genius, which was rewarded rather than shunted from post to post. "In accepting these responsibilities and honors MacLeish followed the footsteps of James Russell Lowell as minister to Spain . . . and ambassador to Great Britain."

Again comparison is irresistible to the Gregorys. But the citation of Lowell is not enough. Another precedent is necessary: ". . . still another precedent for MacLeish's activities may be found in the career of John Hay (1838-1905), the author of 'Pike County Ballads' (1871)." Hay and MacLeish are both poets, and that is precedent enough: no two poets are more unlike, but both are diplomats; although MacLeish never became Secretary of State, he "probably" was willing to follow in the footsteps of his precedent. In the next sentence the Gregorys make use of their most precious source of comparison, the incomparable phrase "not unlike," which can be used to bring any two things together: "Not unlike MacLeish's, John Hay's early training was in

"We have here the Gospel according to F.D.R. which might have given peace a fighting chance."—Sterling North, *N. Y. Post.* Nobody who starts it will fail to finish it. Politicians and historians may violently quarrel over it but neither politicians nor historians will ever be able to disregard it."—Jonathan Daniels, *Saturday Review of Literature.*

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law; he was an assistant private secretary to President Lincoln, and he closed a distinguished career in diplomatic services as Secretary of State in Theodore Roosevelt's Administration. A future historian may discover that John Hay's anonymously published novel, 'The Bread-Winners,' which appeared serially in the *Century* magazine from August, 1883, to January, 1884. . . ." The dates are given, no doubt, so that, if one wants, one can try to get copies in second-hand periodical stores. And one must also remark upon the circumspection of the phrase "a future historian may discover." " 'The Breadwinners' was the true ancestor of MacLeish's political verses; Vernon Louis Parrington treated the novel harshly, yet MacLeish, in his satires, seems to stand for 'educated leadership'. . . . Upon the death of Stephen Vincent Benét, MacLeish also assumed the responsibility of editing the 'Yale Series of Younger Poets.' " It is untrue that MacLeish's political verses have any connection with Hay's novel; and it is impossible to make out what the grammatical connection can be between Parrington's judgment and MacLeish's stand for educated leadership. And if anyone wants to know what conceivable relevance the foregoing quotation has to American poetry, the answer is that it has practically as much relevance as practically anything else one may say about a poet, provided that it has little to do with the nature of his poetry.

The ineptitude of the detailed discussions is obviously such that the reader tends to forget what is *merely* absent: a coherent point of view, a sense of cultural and social history, and an analysis of poetic techniques. As to point of view, the Gregorys say that their "intention is to present a history of American poetry which is humane in its interest rather than humanitarian"; after some reflection, it is possible to guess that whatever the Gregorys may mean by scorning a humanitarian interest (one possibility is that they intend to flee from social analysis), it is extremely likely that the vagueness of what they mean by "humane" can be reduced by supposing that they have confused it with "humanist," and adding the connotation of "gossip." American poetry between 1900 and 1940 is a rich subject and a complex one: it might well be studied purely as a development of techniques; or one might record the influence of social crisis and cultural change upon the sensibility of individual poets; or one might study the most important schools or the most representative poets. The Gregorys have done none of these things with thoroughness, exactness, or justice. They merely have mixed up the several possible methods of dealing with the subject, and they have produced what must be called an intolerable confusion. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Slaves and a Sophist

THE SERVILE STATE. By Hilaire Belloc. With an Introduction by Christian Gauss. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

ONE often gets, or at least I do, more enlightenment about present society from the non-progressive thinkers of the past century than from the liberals and Marxists. The skeptical and pessimistic spirit of the former, from De Tocqueville to Weber, freed them from doctrinaire illu-

sions and opened more profound insights than the progressive tradition permitted; even the genius of Marx was hobbled by that tradition.

At first glance this reissue of a book written in 1912 by a leading Catholic historian seems to be a case in point. Belloc excoriates capitalism with Marxian vigor and in surprisingly Marxian terms. In addition, his nostalgia for the Middle Ages made him see what few Marxists of that time saw: that industrial progress and collectivism were, in fact, not leading toward socialism but toward something very different; and that decentralization was a major requirement of advance toward a better society. A remark like the following seems acute in the light of the present nationalization program in England: "Who can imagine that if, say, two of our great industries, coal and railways, were handed over to the state tomorrow, the armies of men organized therein would find any change of character of their lives, save in some increase of security and possibly in a very slight increase of earnings?"

The more one reads in the book, however, the more one realizes that Belloc's central thesis is spectacularly unsound; and since the book is no more than a scholastic elaboration of this thesis, there is nothing much left once it collapses. Belloc states his thesis in one sentence on page 101: "The capitalist state breeds a collectivist theory which *in action* produces something utterly different from collectivism: to wit, the servile state." This might appear unexceptionable enough, in the light of the Russian experience, except that Belloc's definition of the "servile state" is not what one might expect. Taking the instability and non-viability of capitalism for granted, Belloc outlines three possible future solutions:

(a) Collectivism, or the placing of the means of production in the hands of the political officers of the community.

(b) Property, or the reestablishment of a distributive state, in which the mass of citizens should severally own the means of production.

(c) Slavery, or a servile state, in which those who do not own the means of production shall be legally compelled to work for those who do, and shall receive in exchange a security of livelihood.

Although he affects a "hard-boiled" scientific neutrality, Belloc's personal choice is clearly for the second alternative: a society of small farmers, merchants, and artisans owning their own means of production and exchanging their products on a free market—something like Jefferson's ideas, or Proudhon's. But he rightly points out that although this solution is logically conceivable, it seems historically unlikely, since the trend of capitalism is toward centralization. The main argument of his book is that this trend will result not in collectivism, as the Socialists expect, but in the "servile state." By this striking phrase Belloc does *not* mean—as the jacket blurb states and as Mr. Gauss's rather woolly introduction seems to imply—what critics of socialism from Herbert Spencer on have meant: regimentation by a state bureaucracy, which replaces the private capitalist as owner and exploiter. Rather does he mean, as he is at pains to repeat several dozen times in the course of a short book—his style, like Stalin's, has the repetitious, catechism quality of the theological seminary—a society in which a small number of private capitalists force the non-owning masses to work

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for them by direct legal compulsion. Now it must be clear to a child—to write like the author—that just the opposite has happened. We have the state everywhere taking from private capitalism. Even in this country the state is more powerful economically and private business less so than they were twenty years ago. Throughout Europe basic industries are being nationalized, the bourgeoisie is vanishing as a significant social force, and while there are plenty of indications of the growth of servile relations, they are not arising on Belloc's basis. ("That state is not servile in which *all* citizens . . . must labor at the discretion of state officials.") The nationalization of industry which he proves in detail cannot ever take place in England is now coming about. As for Russia: in the preface to the 1927 edition Belloc writes, "I have not modified the sentence in which I say that state collectivism can show no working example, for the Russian Revolution . . . has *not* produced a collectivist state; on the contrary, it has produced a state the vast bulk of which—some nine-tenths—have, by it, been confirmed as peasant-holders." It was a brave bit of casuistry, with just enough truth to be effective. The Old Guard dies but never surrenders. And death came a few years later when Stalin put through the forced-collectivization program.

How did Belloc come to adopt such a fantastically wrong-headed thesis, and to stick to it as late as 1927? That he is a superficial thinker is clear from the false-lucid rhetoric of his style: baby-talk for the intelligentsia. That he is a doctrinaire of the most irresponsible kind, handling ideas and data with the fine free sweep of an undergraduate debater, appears in the forty-page "historical digression" in which he traces the social and economic history of Europe from the Roman Empire to the Industrial Revolution, showing how everything good flowed from the Catholic church and everything bad from the pagan centuries before its rise and the Protestant centuries after its decline. As a doctrinaire, he saw private property as an eternal principle, for good or ill; and the superficiality of his intelligence enables him to stick to this in the face of all evidence. His book might still be of value had he not adopted an "objective" pose throughout, insisting that he is not using the term "servile" pejoratively, and that he is not concerned with inquiring as to "which form of society might reasonably be preferred." This pseudo-neutrality—for such it is, whether in Belloc or in Burnham—is a cheap rhetorical trick designed to persuade a scientific-minded audience. But once the thesis to be advanced thereby has been outmoded, very little is left. Had Belloc frankly tried to show the virtues of his "distributive" society and why it should "reasonably be preferred" to other societies, his book might still be to the point today. As it is, it would seem he outsmarted himself. DWIGHT MACDONALD

Homo Faber, Homo Magus

THE MYTH OF THE STATE. By Ernst Cassirer. Yale University Press. $3.75.

IN HIS "Myth of the State" the late Ernst Cassirer has provided an illuminating survey of some major texts in the history of political theory, such as Plato's "Republic," Machiavelli's "Prince," the doctrine of the "social contract,"

Carlyle on hero-worship, Hegel's metaphysics of the state, and so on. The exposition is keen and clear, well reflecting the author's thorough grounding in philosophy. A reader shown over the field by such a guide can consider himself well guided indeed.

The political "myth"—there is no talk of "ideology"—is here placed in terms of a dualistic distinction between the "magical" and the "semantic." The "magical" use of language, we are told, "tries to produce effects and to change the course of nature," while the "semantic" serves to "describe things or relations of things."

> The historians of human civilization have told us that mankind in its development had to pass through two different phases. Man began as *homo magus*; but from the age of magic he passed to the age of technics. The *homo magus* of former times and of primitive civilization became a *homo faber*, a craftsman and artisan. If we admit such an historical distinction our modern political myths appear indeed as a very strange and paradoxical thing. For what we find in them is the blending of two activities that seem to exclude each other. The modern politician has had to combine in himself two entirely different and even incompatible functions. He has to act, at the same time, as both *homo magus* and *homo faber*.

Much valuable insight is got through this approach. Yet it may cause contemporary doctrines of political motivation to seem somewhat more "strange and paradoxical" than need be. For although there are aspects of language that cannot be comfortably reduced to either the "magical" or the "semantic," when we have but these two bins whatever cannot be classed as "semantic" must be classed as "magical." As a result, with so much disturbing evidence of reversion to savagery in the modern world, we are invited to conclude that there is even more.

What seems to be missing in this study of political "myth" is a systematic concern with the functions of speech that fall under the traditional heading of "rhetoric." When one human agent sets other human agents in motion, for instance, by calling for help, such a persuasive use of words is not sheer magic spell, as with the attempt to coerce physical nature by incantatory means. Nor is it quite the semantic use of language to "describe things or relations to things." It is the motive that goes into rhetoric.

True, it may be greatly misused, as with race doctrines designed to promote social cooperation for sinister ends. But in itself it is a normal and proper function of words. Being hortatory rather than descriptive, it would fall outside the "semantic" bin; yet its essentially realistic nature, when properly used, would make it a bad fit for the "magical" bin. If we give it a bin of its own—the category of the "rhetorical," with a systematically generated set of terms to round out the analysis—we can study its ways shrewdly enough, but without so many extremely discouraging incentives to believe that presumably civilized populations are running around with rings in their noses.

Technically, the dualistic approach here seems to get an important aspect of language turned backward. For if there is any sort of real experience motivating primitive magic, it must be rooted in the fact that one person's expressions, commands, and requests, when interpreted by other persons,

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really can produce desired effects. Error arose when men transferred the use of the verbal instrument to areas where it does not belong, as when trying by incantation to influence natural things that do not understand language. But if, as with the Cassirer dualism, you begin with natural magic, the hortatory use of language to influence *human* conduct seems derivative from this derived magical use, rather than existing in its own right. Hence verbal inducement, even in the sphere of human communication, is treated roundabout, as a "social magic" that descends from natural magic. The point is worth stressing because it is characteristic of much modern theory, with its tendency to define human motives by matching science against some antithetical term.

But whether or not the modern political "myth" might be approached more directly, and with less distressing implications, than in "The Myth of the State," there is much of great moment to be observed about it when viewed in the Cassirer perspective, which considers it primarily as a mixture of bad poetry and bad science. For large areas of it are just exactly that. And much of the book is an apt summary of works in their own terms. KENNETH BURKE

A Philosopher Fallen Among Anthropologists

THE THEORY OF HUMAN CULTURE. By James Feibleman. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $5.

IT IS not in the nature, tradition, outlook, or techniques of philosophy to make any significant contribution to the social sciences by way of subject matter or method. We can, however, legitimately expect philosophy to supply generalizations of a higher order that can lead to more precise insights. We have the right to expect, moreover, that higher orders of generalization prove their usefulness, and not remain exercises of translation into philosophical lingo of well-established facts or relations more simply described in the social sciences. It is in the light of this anticipation that we approach Mr. Feibleman's effort, and in the light of its specific failure that we must register disappointment. No new knowledge comes out.

The author tells us that he will employ ontology, the study of being, as an instrument of analysis and discovery. What he actually does is begin with the basic drives of feeding, breeding, and inquiry—otherwise known as hunger, love, and curiosity. One could debate at length the merits of his selection of primary drives, but to no purpose. Ontology, the author says, exists in social groups in the beliefs which its members hold in common; and since these beliefs are maintained implicitly, the formula for any culture is the implicit dominant ontology, "i. d. o." for short. The i. d. o. has, in addition to an ideational content, an affective one which Mr. Feibleman calls the "ethos."

One has no right to quarrel with the particular constructs an author wishes to use to manipulate his data. In this anarchic age each investigator considers it his sacred obligation to invent constructs never used before. This fashion prevails in all the social sciences, where recurrent phenomena cannot be defined in terms of a precise and delimiting uni-

versal language like mathematics. This confusion is a nuisance to be endured, but it is not of the essence.

The test of any such formulation lies in whether its use is accompanied by any novel or precise techniques. These are conspicuously absent from the book. The author's formulas are accompanied only by some undisciplined psychologizing. What emerges is a formulation of the Nietzsche-Spengler variety, another version of the culture pattern which we have long since known, but whose usefulness has become altogether inadequate to the needs of our time. Where does the culture pattern come from? The author gives us the customary answer: from the problems of adaptation.

No one today takes these general answers seriously. What is urgently needed is not a higher abstraction of conclusions long known in the social sciences but an instrument for the more precise analysis of the minutiae and dynamics of adaptation—individual and social.

As illustrations for this thesis the author uses the Baiga—from the published account of Verrier Elwin—and the English nation. The two analyses are equally unsatisfying. One subject in the book, the analysis of common sense, receives excellent treatment throughout, except for the fact that the author fails to recognize that common sense involves a great deal of "natural" psychologizing.

The reviewer believes the author has mistaken the temper of our time. The study of culture is no longer an academic subject; it is every man's highly personal business. There is a great hunger for new information on human culture which this book offers little to satisfy. What is needed is not new theories about what was known a generation ago but new data, new techniques, and new types of demonstration that are empirical, not authoritarian. ABRAM KARDINER

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LILLIAN HELLMAN'S "Another Part of the Forest" (Fulton Theater) is the story of four scoundrels, two half-wits, one insane woman, and a whore. "Tobacco Road" had better look to its laurels, for though the characters in the present play dress better and wash more often it is still quite the fruitiest picture of depravity seen in years. Miss Hellman's ability to imagine dirty tricks and nasty speeches is unrivaled in the contemporary theater, and there can be no question of the theatrical virtuosity which enables her to extract from each all the ugliness it can possibly yield. By comparison "The Little Foxes" will have to be ranked as an idyl and "The Children's Hour" be dismissed as mere prentice work written before its author had learned how to get along without the disturbing intrusion of good-will on the part of any of her characters. If, as I am inclined to suspect, other spectators beside myself began to feel toward the end of the evening a certain disposition to titter, that was less because of any technical defect in the writing than simply because total depravity has a way of beginning to seem funny when exhibited for too long and completely without foil. Neither Commodus, Heliogabalus, Lucretia Borgia, nor Jeeter Lester is a comic character, but all have a way of turning into just that.

For our benefit the play details the earlier history of the family first introduced in "The Little Foxes." The founder of the clan is a conscious scoundrel who reads Aristotle or listens to chamber music during the rare moments when he is not foreclosing mortgages, bullying his insane wife, or taunting his two blackhearted sons with the helplessness which he imposed upon them. There is something rather Dickensian in the completeness as well as the complacency of his villainy, and if he were disposed of in the end by someone on the side of the angels the total effect would probably be not unlike that of a Victorian melodrama. Actually, however, he gets his come-uppance at the hands of the eldest son, and so, though one villain is foiled, there is no virtue to triumph.

I am not unaware of the fact that all this is supposed to have, for the initiated, a meaning. It is, that is to say, a Marxian study of the decline of the Southern feudal aristocracy and the rise of the capitalist exploiter. There are no admirable characters because, by antecedent premise, there cannot be any. Dying aristocrats must be dim-witted and rising capitalists must be villainous because otherwise the dialectic process could not have taken place as it did. Even the fact that the scoundrels seem somewhat more likable than their victims is precisely according to formula, since capitalism, though evil in itself, advances the dialectic process one stage beyond feudalism and is to that extent more admirable. But none of this is pointed out explicitly in the play itself, and I suspect that most of even the initiated will disregard it in order to join with the innocent in getting what fun they can out of a play in which dog bites dog, and bitch snarls at bitch for two hours and a half during which no spectator need ever remember that any of the virtues exist except in the futile imaginations of the insane or the half-witted.

The last scene, in which the father signs over all his power to the son who has found, conveniently written down in a family Bible, evidence which would send the old villain to the gallows, seems to me curiously feeble and much in the manner of what was called in my youth the ten-twenty-thirty. Up to that time, however, the play had not only been more expertly written than any of its author's previous works but also well acted and superbly directed. If, nevertheless, it fails to move me to great enthusiasm, it is because I no more believe its picture of unrelieved villainy than I believe novels of the Pollyanna school. And I wonder that the author is not herself a little disconcerted by the fluency of her imagination when she sets it to working along certain lines. Max Beerbohm was, I remember, when he discovered how easily he composed the "Insults" section of a Complete Letter Writer he once thought of putting forth.

Maxwell Anderson's "Joan of Lorraine" (Alvin Theater) is, though for very different reasons, likely to achieve almost as much success as Miss Hellman's piece. Its elaborate scheme, by means of which various characters are permitted to comment on the significance of Joan of Arc during the course of the rehearsal of a play about her, is ingeniously managed and well sustained. Perhaps because Mr. Anderson has been taken to task so often of recent years by critics who complained of turgidity and pretentiousness, the prose of the present

Hermann Rauschning

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work is straightforward enough and sensible enough. But the whole seemed to me something which could, with uncomfortable accuracy, be described as Shaw and water. A good many things in "St. Joan" have been left out, including, for example, the hard-boiled conclusion that heretics cannot be distinguished from saints until after they have been burned. Nevertheless, most of what "Joan of Lorraine" says about faith, Shaw seems to me to have said first. Ingrid Bergman plays the leading role with a certain wholesome, well-scrubbed charm and is, indeed, almost too far removed from the usual Hollywood glamour girl not to suggest sensible shoes and pigtails, but I can hardly follow most of my colleagues in hailing her as a great actress. The presence of hordes of movie fans who Oh'd and Ah'd like fond parents at a school play whenever they thought their favorite was being cute made both the play and the performance somewhat hard to judge.

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"THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES," a misfired title, seems to have started as a gleam in Samuel Goldwyn's eye when he saw in a mid-war issue of *Time* a picture and article about returning veterans. At a later stage it was a verse novel by MacKinlay Kantor called "Glory for Me"—not a very good title either. Robert E. Sherwood turned this into a screen play; the director William Wyler and the camera man Gregg Toland and a few hundred others turned the screen play into a movie. The movie has plenty of faults, and the worst of them are painfully exasperating; yet this is one of the very few American studio-made movies in years that seem to me profoundly pleasing, moving, and encouraging.

The story is of a sort that could have been, and often remains, just slick-paper fiction at its most sincere, and that could also have become, and occasionally suggests, a great and simple, limpid kind of fiction which few writers of serious talent seem able to attempt or even to respect, at present. An ex-bombardier (Dana Andrews), an ex-infantry sergeant (Fredric March), and an ex-sailor (Harold Russell) meet for the first time as they return to their home city, part to undertake the various pleasures and problems of their return, and meet again at various subsequent times as their lives and relationships shake down into new shape.

The bombardier, a highly intelligent proletarian, can find nothing better in the way of a job than his old place in a drugstore. He finds, too, that he and the girl he married just before he went overseas no longer get along. The sergeant, who was once the kind of nervously well-married, vocationless, rather sensitive business man, too good for his job, who tries to sweep along his uneasiness in a momentum of alcohol, clowning, fairly sophisticated wit, and his real but seldom focused affections, finds that none of that has changed for the better. He is made vice-president of his bank, in charge of G. I. loans, and spends a good deal of his time drunk. The sailor, who has lost both hands and has learned to use a pair of hooks quite well, returns to the gentlest and most touching depths of the lower middle class. His chief problem is the girl he

had always expected to marry; another is his extreme uneasiness about everybody's attempt to be good about his hooks; a hideous complication is that he is at once intuitively very perceptive and sensitive, and hopelessly inarticulate, and that most of the people he returns to are equally well-meaning and unsophisticated.

At its worst this story is very annoying in its patness, its timidity, its slithering attempts to pretend to face and by that pretense to dodge in the most shameful way possible its own fullest meanings and possibilities. Perhaps one shouldn't kick too hard at a "mere" device, but I feel very dubious about the invention of a nice bar in which the veterans keep meeting each other, perhaps because I suspect that one of the dodged truths is that, once they become civilians again, most men of such disparate classes or worlds would meet seldom, with greater embarrassment than friendliness, and that the picture is here presenting, instead of the unhappy likelihood, a hopeful and barely plausible lie. I feel a good deal of interest in the love affair that develops between Andrews and the banker's daughter, played by Teresa Wright, but again they have made it easy for themselves by showing Andrews's wife to be a bag, and they atone for this convenience only in part by making her as well-meaning and sympathetic and essentially innocent as, in the terms invented for her, she could be. Thanks to much of the writing and all of the playing, this illicit affair is by implication remarkably real and mature; but in action, in the good old inevitable Sunday School way, the extra-marital activities are limited to a single Andrews-Wright kiss and a boy-friend, for Andrews's wife, lolling in his shirtsleeves; and it is the wife who asks for a divorce.

Or again, they pretend to hit the banker's predicament between the eyes, and allow him to tell off his careful world which doesn't want to make loans to veterans without collateral in a speech which, on the movie scale of things, is reasonably bold. They even have the firmness to let March have the last word on that issue; he says that with nearly every loan without collateral he will have to put up the same fight all over again. Yet one is emotionally left with the impression that he has cleverly and lovably won his fight and will win it on every subsequent occasion, and the hints that his own bread and butter are and will be increasingly in jeopardy if he keeps his courage are so discreet as to be all but inaudible. As a footnote to this his boss, played by Ray Collins, is represented, not with the cool realism which could here have been so good and so nearly unprecedented in an American movie, but in the kind of skilful caricature which, like so much of Gilbert and Sullivan, makes every punch a kind of self-caress.

The only boss types represented cruelly are the manager and floor-walker of a chain drugstore—that is, men in a job predicament in which they are as much bullied as bullying; and it is not shown that they are bullied. The only business type who is represented with what seems like perfect justice is the father of the sailor's sweetheart, a specialized, fussy, feminine little man who nervously tries to badger the sailor about his plans for the future. Or for still another major fault—and here direction and playing are as much to blame as the script—the very interesting and, for movies, new character of the banker is only hinted at, not solidly presented. Only the psychologically sophisticated can gather from the film that his marriage is only nominally happy and is actually precarious, and that the people who made the movie may possibly be on to this; and March's benders, though extremely well done in their way, are staged with all but frantic gratitude as broad comic relief, as if professional entertainers who were also good artists were on these occasions very glad to betray their responsibilities as artists for the sake of getting a little bit of sure-fire—and commercially much-needed—fun into the show.

In fact, it would be possible, I don't doubt, to call the whole picture just one long pious piece of deceit and self-deceit, embarrassed by hot flashes of talent, conscience, truthfulness, and dignity. And it is anyhow more than possible, it is unhappily obligatory, to observe that a good deal which might have been very fine, even great, and which is handled mainly by people who could have done, and done perfectly, all the best that could have been developed out of the idea, is here either murdered in its cradle or reduced to manageable good citizenship in the early stages of grade school. Yet I feel a hundred times more liking and admiration for the film than distaste or disappointment.

[*Mr. Agee's review of "The Best Years of Our Lives" will be concluded next week.*]

★

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TECHNICHORD Records (90 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.) has issued a recording of Bach's Cantata No. 106, "Gotteszeit ist die allerbeste Zeit," performed by 21 members of the Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society and seven instrumentalists under the direction of G. Wallace Woodworth (Set T-6: 3 records; $7.55). This is an early work of Bach, with a couple of slow movements that achieve at moments something of the power of his greatest choral writing, but with a great deal besides that I find unimpressive. I could imagine a performance with more sensuous beauty of sound and more subtlety of inflection; but this one is sufficiently agreeable to the ear and musically acceptable. Its over-all sound on the records is good; but there are times when the instruments sound near and the voices far away, and when the soprano line is blanketed by the other vocal lines. The red vinylite records allow one to hear the performance in quiet most of the time; but there is an occasional series of clicks; and there is the dust that must be cleaned out of the grooves before each playing (but at last I have learned of a compensating advantage of the red vinylite over the black: it is, according to an engineer who should know, harder than the black). The set is provided with a pocket-size full score of the cantata, with a sheet on which each line of the German text is given with the corresponding line of the English translation used in the performance, with notes on the work by Mr. Woodworth, and with instructions on the proper care of vinylite records. These permit the use of a pickup weighing up to two ounces; I advise against using one that weighs more than one ounce.

Columbia's December albums offer a good and well-recorded performance of the Mussorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic (Set 641; $4.85); and music of Alec Wilder performed by a group of excellent C. B. S. musicians under the direction of Frank Sinatra, whose enthusiasm for the music I don't share (Set 637; $3.85).

Victor has begun a "Heritage Series" of red vinylite pressings of recordings made by the legendary singers of the past. The first five records ($3.50 each) offer beautiful performances of the Willow Song and Ave Maria from Verdi's "Otello" by Alda (15-1000), and of *Eri tu* from Verdi's "Masked Ball" and *Dio possente* from Gounod's "Faust" by Ancona (15-1002); Tetrazzini's brilliant performance of the Polonaise from Thomas's "Mignon" and her unimpressive one of *Voi che sapete* from Mozart's "Figaro" (15-1001); the splendor of Caruso's voice in his 1911 performance of *Ah! fuyez, douce image* from Massenet's "Manon," and the darker magnificence, better recorded, of that voice in his 1920 performance of the famous aria from Halevy's "La Juive" (15-1004); and Journet's sonorous performances of two extremely uninteresting pieces of music, the *Piff! paff!* from Meyerbeer's "Huguenots" and *Au bruit lourd des marteaux* from Gounod's "Philemon et Baucis" (15-1003).

It is not for lack of appreciation of these performances that I am amazed and disappointed by Victor's failure to issue Hempel's recordings of Der Hölle *Rache* from Mozart's "Magic Flute" and *Deh vieni, non tardar* from his "Figaro," and John McCormack's of *Il mio tesoro* from Mozart's "Don Giovanni" and *Una furtiva lagrima* from Donizetti's "Elisir d'Amore" on these first records. It is rather because of the fact that these Hempel and McCormack performances are among the supreme examples of vocal and musical achievement, and that they should be brought to the attention of the public, which knows nothing about them and already knows about Caruso and Tetrazzini.

Let me point out, also, that our heritage includes other great performances which Victor should make available to the public again: the Kreisler-Rachmaninov performances of sonatas by Beethoven and Schubert; the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performances of trios by Schubert, Beethoven, and Haydn. And there are the fine recordings that Victor stopped pressing during the war and has not yet begun to produce again.

There are no plant, materials, and labor for the Glyndbourne "Marriage of Figaro," but only for a volume of "Highlights from 'Madama Butterfly,'" well-sung by Albanese, Melton, and Lucielle Browning with an orchestra under Weissmann, and excellently recorded (Set 1068; $3.85). And for a volume of the favorite vocal excerpts from "Carmen," well-sung by Swarthout, Albanese, Ramon Vinay, Merrill, other minor singers, and Robert Shaw's chorus with an orchestra under the direction of Leinsdorf. These performances are well recorded (Set 1078; $7).

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Christianity and Poetry

Dear Sirs: Your reviewer, Robert Fitzgerald, is the only critic so far who has realized what was the main problem gnawing at me while I was writing "King Jesus": namely, how far can Jesus be historically as well as poetically identified with the doomed hero of the "one story and one story only" assumed in my poem, "To Juan at the Winter Solstice" (published in *The Nation* of July 6). In other words, is Christianity compatible with poetry? I am grateful to him for his generosity, since his point of view is plainly Catholic, in treating my presentation of the problem with such respect.

A few points to be corrected. I am not Welsh except by grace of serving with the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in the last war but one; but Scots-Irish on one side, grandson of Bishop Graves of Limerick, the antiquarian and mathematician, and German-Danish on the other, grand-nephew (not grandson) of Leopold von Ranke, the father of modern history.

The "cultist" survival in Palestine is not one of my assumptions but an unshakable historical fact; I recommend Mr. Fitzgerald to read Sozomen, the Byzantine ecclesiastical historian, on the primitive goings-on at Hebron, an original center of Judaism, which were suppressed by the Emperor Constantine—yes, "a mysticism to do with oak trees" and concerned with the patriarchs buried in the cave of Machpelah.

The "late and propagandist Gospel of St. John" does contain, as emphasized, a submerged Aramaic original, the historical details of which are essential to the understanding of the Gospel story.

I will leave Mr. Fitzgerald to argue the meaning of *Amen* with the Hebraists. The view I quote is the most recent. Jesus seems to have been the first to preface his statements with this word, which had hitherto been used only as a final clinching in God's name of religious sentiments.

Aholah and Aholibah are personifications of Jerusalem and Samaria, because the cult of Anatha, the Juno with a lion, was centered at Jerusalem, that of Ashima, a Minerva with a dove, was centered at Samaria; the Jews accused the Samaritans of Ashima-worship in very late times. Ezekiel referred to Aholibah and Aholah as Jehovah's wives; and meant it, as the Elephantine temple records—read in the light of the analogical cult of the Syrian trinity at Hierapolis—prove. Lucian's "De Dea Syria" is of paramount importance in this context.

About Jesus and Lazarus. Jesus himself said that Lazarus was not physically dead but only in a trance; nevertheless, when he delayed his coming and Lazarus was officially committed to the grave, a life was required in payment for the restoration. The flaw in poetic logic with which I am charged—namely, that Jesus did not in fact pay with his own life—is not a flaw: I make it clear that Judas, repenting of his disobedience, paid the debt on Jesus's behalf—not by the knife or water or the sword but by hanging, a death that would necessarily give him over to Sheol, because of the Deuteronomic curse.

Yes, Judas, the only true Jew among the twelve disciples, the rest being Galileans, was of superior intelligence. This is proved by his asking thirty shekels from the Temple Treasurer: it showed that he understood exactly what prophecy Jesus was trying to fulfil. If he had asked fifty or three hundred he would have been in the same class as his fellows, whose eyes had been blinded and ears stopped.

I apologize for the shortness of the "Historical Commentary"; this defect will be repaired in my "White Goddess," to be published next year, a full-length study of "The Female" against whom Jesus declared war, and of her rebellious sons.

St. John's Gospel as we have it is second-century Gnostic. Gnosticism is a fantastic theological muddle compared with the fine Apocalyptic literalness of Jesus.

ROBERT GRAVES

Deya, Mallorca, Spain, October 28

The Deeper Cure

Dear Sirs: Dr. Martin Gumpert, in his article, "What to Do with Neurotics" (*The Nation*, November 16), refers to a paper by Dr. Peter G. Denker on the "disability" records of some 500 patients, under the diagnosis heading of psychoneurosis.

Dr. Gumpert compares the percentage of the cessation of disability with statistics of the cures of psychoneuroses. He should know that the patient suffering from psychoneurosis is not necssarily

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JACK BARRETT'S CROSSWORD puzzle has been crowded out of this Christmas Book Number by the pressure of reviews and advertising. It will appear as usual next week.

cured when he starts working. In the statistics of psychoanalytic clinics a cure is understood not only as the ability to return to work but as the regained ability to enjoy life, to be free of sexual inhibitions, and to function on the highest level. Statistics of insurance companies do not say anything about the continued suffering of these patients after the resumption of work.

Many of the conclusions drawn from Dr. Gumpert's comparison are therefore very possibly false.

OTTO E. SPERLING, M.D.
Brooklyn, November 18

Aid for Prisoners

Dear Sirs: If your readers know anybody in prison as a result of injustice, we urge them to send such prisoners' names to the Prisoners' Aid Bureau of the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y. The bureau will thus be able to make Christmas a little less gloomy for some of those unjustly jailed. The A. F. of L., C. I. O., I. W. W., N. A. A. C. P., and Indonesia League are all helping in this work. In sending in the names of prisoners, readers might include a small check, since the bureau is in need of funds.

WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE
New York, November 15

Answering a Charge

[*In a letter printed in* The Nation *of October 5 Juergen Kuczynski accused Mark Starr of misstatements in a review of Mr. Kuczynski's book, "Labor Conditions in Great Britain." Mr. Starr was in Japan at the time, and has only now been able to reply.*]

Dear Sirs: My abbreviated review of Mr. Kuczynski's book originally went into more detail about the claims made by the book jacket. My information was received directly from the A. F. of L., and apparently it disagrees with Mr. Kuczynski's recollection.

The quotation used in the short review of his book is enough to answer the charge that I twisted his conclusions. Apparently, both Mr. Kuczynski's memory and his understanding of his own writings are somewhat less than perfect.

MARK STARR
New York, November 14

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The Shape of Things

DEAN ACHESON'S STATEMENT ON FOOD AND armies has a plausibility about it which will appeal to persons who think of relief in terms of politics. What sounds more reasonable than an argument that we should cease supplying the human needs of nations that are impoverishing their people in order to maintain vast armies? The catch is that it injects a threat of unilateral intervention into a debate on disarmament which, during the last few weeks, has made significant progress. The United States happens to be the one nation with a large surplus of food and, at the same time, preponderant military resources. It has consistently urged that arms reduction and arms control must come under international direction. Now, it appears that nations judged by us to have inordinately large armies must cut these to the bone if they are to receive food from the one nation capable of supplying it. Moreover, Secretary Acheson's ultimatum comes as a culminating move in a series of point-blank refusals to continue the work of UNRRA, today more desperately needed than ever. Mr. LaGuardia, who surely cannot be accused of sympathy with totalitarian regimes, has made a moving protest against the State Department's punitive conception of one of the Four Freedoms. His words should be heeded. We suggest that Mr. Acheson leave the armaments discussion to the General Assembly and Security Council, where it properly belongs. And we direct a last, urgent plea to the State Department that it consider the plight of the starving men, women, and children of Europe and revise its stand in favor of Mr. LaGuardia's original proposal for an emergency fund of $400,000,000 to be placed at the disposal of the United Nations.

✶

JOHN L. LEWIS VAINLY ATTEMPTED TO MAKE his back-to-work order sound like a strategic retreat; it was, in fact, as James Wechsler makes clear on page 683, unconditional surrender. Sure of his own strength, contemptuous of the Administration, Lewis challenged the government and found himself maneuvered into fighting on the issue of the sovereignty of the state. That is an indefensible position for any sectional group, and defeat became inevitable unless the President lost his nerve. He didn't: on the contrary, having gained the initiative in the court phase of the struggle, the Administration indicated its readiness to counterattack at all points. And, despite bitter criticisms by labor of the use of the injunction, Mr. Truman appeared to have most of public opinion behind him. What can Lewis do now? He has set March 31 as the day for renewal of the struggle, but unless the courts uphold his claim of the right to terminate unilaterally the contract between the United Mine Workers and the government, his position then will be weaker, not stronger. His one hope is to negotiate an agreement with the operators, but they will not prove easier to deal with than before the strike and may well stall in view of the prospect of stringent anti-labor legislation in the next session of Congress. Lewis, in fact, has committed the classic blunder of dictators: through overconfidence he has exposed himself to a concentration of superior forces and suffered a defeat which may prove disastrous not only to the miners but to all labor.

✶

TWO OF THE PROFESSED OBJECTS OF THE German merger agreement are to lighten the burden of occupation costs and to stimulate the economy of western Germany by removing barriers to the flow of goods. The third Anglo-American object is admittedly to counter the Russian policy now being followed in eastern Germany: if the Soviets continue to hinder the unification of the German economy while organizing industry in the east according to their own needs, then Britain and the United States will incorporate their sections of Germany into the Western economic system. The Russians are invited to join us, but if and when they do so they also will meet an accomplished fact. It would be unreasonable to deny all justification for the Anglo-American merger, since the western zones, after more than eighteen months of delay in making effective the economic clauses of the Potsdam Agreement, have sunk to a dangerous level of destitution. Unless their inhabitants are to subsist indefinitely on doles from the American and British treasuries, industry must be sufficiently revived to enable payment to be made in goods for the necessary minimum

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of imports. The question is whether such a revival will require an increase in production above the level previously sanctioned by the Big Four. If it does, we can expect violent protests from Russia and France, both of which fear the restoration of the German war potential under Anglo-American auspices.

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THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT THE GROWTH of such suspicions would be to expedite British proposals for socializing the major German industries and to give new life to the accepted principles of denazification and economic decentralization. So far, unfortunately, all plans for basic economic reform in the American and British zones appear to have bogged down: Washington and London issue directives, but the men on the spot ignore or circumvent them. The Meader report has pointed to Brigadier General Draper, chief of the American economic staff in Germany, as one of the leading opponents of decartelization. In Britain, there are constant complaints about the difficulty of getting the occupation authorities to tackle seriously such matters as socialization and the revival of trade unionism. And, in both zones, denazification appears to have proceeded on haphazard lines, with many industrial bigwigs receiving undeserved clearance. For instance, Alfred Hugenberg, the old Nationalist leader who gave powerful support to Hitler, is not only free but still nominally head of his big coal and steel combine. There is no very good reason to suppose that the merger of the zones will lead to a change in this situation. On the contrary, there is grave danger that the Anglo-American economic staff, composed for the most part of men antipathetic to socialism, will concentrate on the "practical" job of reviving industry and exports and neglect the even more important task of institutional reform. The result would be doubly evil. It would arouse the intense antagonism of Russia and France; it would tend to thrust Germany into a new Weimar cycle with all its frustrations and incentives to desperate action.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF AN AMBASSADOR IS not often accompanied by an obviously inspired press campaign designed to show that he holds opinions the exact opposite of those held by the government with which he is to deal. But such has been the case with O. Max Gardner. That the new ambassador to the Court of St. James's is an able man we knew without being told by complacent journalists. We are also aware that Mr. Gardner has been one of the most stubborn opponents of the progressive reforms inaugurated by President Roosevelt, to whom the new ambassador gave the grudging loyalty of a Democratic Party machine politician. It is to be expected that the British and American peoples will derive some profit from Mr. Gardner's knowledge

of orthodox finance and his skill in business negotiations. We hope, too, that the British government will enjoy his pleasant Southern accent and courtliness. It is also our hope that when Mr. Gardner displays his talents as a crusading free-enterpriser he will be met with a certain dour skepticism expressed in a good Scotch burr or homely west-of-England drawl.

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THAT'S A HANDSOME CHRISTMAS PRESENT which the Interstate Commerce Commission has handed to the railroads and charged to Mr. and Mrs. Consumer. A cool billion dollars in added freight charges and indefinite continuation of the "temporary" 10 per cent passenger-fare increase granted in February, 1942, offer prospects of a very happy New Year to the recipients. For the rest of us, it means another upward thrust of the cost of living, a new twist to the inflationary spiral. One consequence is that, although the miners have gone back to work without any pay increase, there will be a 15 or 20 cent increase in the price of a ton of coal. The railroads could hardly have expected more generous treatment, but they are not manifesting much gratitude. The increase, some of their spokesmen have indicated, is only just about sufficient to make possible a modest profit for the Class I roads as a whole next year. Operating costs, they point out, have risen by $2,166,000,000 since 1939, with pay increases alone accounting for $1,457,000,000. They omit to mention, however, that estimated gross revenues this year are about double those of 1939 and that the railroads' net income, even if we accept their own pessimistic forecast, is likely to be well above the pre-war level.

Small-State Revolt

THE unavowed intentions with regard to Spain that have involved London and Washington in so many glaring inconsistencies have had their familiar results at Lake Success during the past week. The American resolution presented by Senator Connally contained a double invitation: it urged Franco to surrender his power to an interim regime that would hold a free election, and invited the Spanish people to "establish the eligibility of Spain for admission to the United Nations." Yet in the course of debate upon amendments to this resolution, the old arguments were brought out: that it would be a violation of sovereignty to "intervene" in Spain and that civil war was the one great evil to avoid. In other words, we nominally threaten Franco with a revolution that we declare must never take place and shall do nothing to help. The inconsistency is purely verbal, of course, for the underlying meaning of the resolution is unmistakably clear: it was an invitation, not to the Spanish people, but to cliques and cabals within the reactionary classes—to the "strong" and the "influential men" in Spain, as Senator Connally put it.

It is to be expected that the charge of conspiracy with palace revolutionists and military putschists will receive official denial. Yet nothing else can explain the inconsistencies, the endless equivocations, of the American delegate which were pointedly brought to the attention of the State Department and the delegates in a letter from the Nation Associates to Secretary Byrnes. And denial is further robbed of its force by too much in the sordid history of our political intervention in Europe—the courting of Vichy, Darlan, Badoglio, and the House of Savoy, and the disastrous maneuvers in Greece.

It is useless to say that the melancholy spectacle presented by Senator Connally and Sir Hartley Shawcross at Lake Success is merely the result of an inherited policy. True, before he quit office, Mr. Churchill had begun to negotiate with the Duke of Alba and his cabal for a restoration of the Spanish monarchy. But the failure of that effort would have given a truly democratic successor the right to abandon the policy. Nevertheless, Mr. Bevin, while professing to abstain from intervention, has merely added a few variants and decorations. At the recent Bournemouth Conference of the Labor Party, he made a blundering confession. "I believe that if other countries had not intervened in the internal affairs of Spain, Franco would have been gone," the British Foreign Secretary said, evidently referring to Russia and other states with similar views. A moment later, he added: "And, therefore, I believe that the steps we are taking . . . which, for obvious reasons I am not going into here, and the policy we are following are right." He was against steps, but he had taken steps. The Spanish people did not want war, "but if left alone there are wide classes in Spain anxious to get rid of Franco." Presumably these "wide classes" are the reactionaries with whom Mr. Bevin was negotiating in the summer of this year.

For once, a United Nations subcommittee, to which the various amendments were referred, contained a majority of pro-Republican delegates. The result has been something of a revelation, for the Big Two have had few lieutenants and less control of strategy, and their speeches have been countered by others of exceptional quality. In particular, the delegates of Guatemala, Venezuela, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Norway presented fully documented and rigorously logical answers to Mr. Connally's stump speeches. In fact, so formidable has been the opposition that Senator Connally seriously embarrassed his colleagues by declaring that even if the United Nations decided upon a rupture of relations with Spain, the U. S. would not consider itself bound by the decision.

As we go to press, the subcommittee has agreed upon an amended resolution urging the United Nations, which have collectively refused to maintain relations with

Franco, individually to sever relations, and also to end imports of food from Spain. What will be the fate of this resolution in the full committee it is impossible to say, but it is difficult to believe that the Connally version can be forced through by Anglo-American insistence; and it must not be. For, to revert to its central point, the resolution would justify the taking of a plebiscite by an undesignated group and without guaranties. It is not likely that the dictator will abolish the Falange or neutralize the army and his repressive forces, without which measures an election would be a farce and a tragedy. Senator Connally's resolution could easily serve at a later date as legal justification for the recognition of a regime lacking all democratic guaranties, a regime that would condemn Spain to endless and costly turbulence. But if the outraged small states maintain their resistance, the British and Americans will have to back down.

Time to Act on China

A DECISION must be made soon on American policy in China. A year ago, President Truman issued a detailed statement of policy in which he made continued American aid conditional upon the "modification of the one-party 'political tutelage'" and the creation of a "broadly representative government." The opening of the unrepresentative National Assembly a few weeks ago marked the final breakdown of General Marshall's efforts to achieve the aims outlined in the President's statement. As the Assembly continues its sessions, the situation grows steadily worse. Instead of adopting the reasonably democratic draft constitution that had been worked out at the All-Party Political Consultative Conference last spring, the hand-picked Assembly has apparently decided to return to the totalitarian pre-war draft. Acceptance of this would so crystallize the Chinese government in a totalitarian mold as to make any future democratic settlement almost impossible. It would mean that war-weary China was doomed to the agony of a protracted civil war which could only end in exhaustion and even more complete economic collapse, carrying with it the added danger of a general world conflict.

The determination of the right-wing Kuomintang leaders to retain their dictatorial control of the government appears to spring from a conviction that they will continue to get American aid irrespective of their behavior. This conviction has been nurtured by the steady and substantial flow of American goods during the past few months, when it was obvious that General Marshall's efforts were proving unsuccessful. The reactionary wing of the Kuomintang has taken this as evidence that in a showdown the United States would support the government against the Communists in order to keep China in the "democratic" orbit as a bulwark against Soviet Russia. And statements by irresponsible American military leaders have encouraged them in that belief.

Within the last week or so there have been indications that we are trying to extricate ourselves from what every American agrees is an intolerable situation. The number of marines in China is being gradually reduced. Reports have been published, without confirmation, that China would get no further financial assistance at this time. And John Carter Vincent, director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State, has warned private capital against investing in China under present conditions. But as huge amounts of American excess war materials are in the process of being turned over to the Nanking regime and American officers are still cooperating with the Kuomintang general staff, these indications of a gradual shift in policy mean very little. The Kuomintang reactionaries cannot be blamed for believing that with existing American aid they can crush the Communists in five or six months. Only immediate dramatic action on the part of the United States can shake this belief and stop the drift toward catastrophe.

Another official statement of policy is clearly called for. As a minimum, in order to make it clear even to the irreconcilable diehards that we want no part in China's strife, the President should announce immediate and complete withdrawal of American military forces in China and order the present flow of financial and military aid to be stopped completely, with no further assistance given until the terms of the directive of December 15, 1945, are carried out.

Molotov's Olive Branch

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WITH the effect of brushing off cobwebs, Mr. Molotov last week swept away half a dozen issues which for long months have served as concrete roadblocks in the way of international agreement. In the Council of Foreign Ministers, the peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland were all but finished; the points remaining unsettled are so small compared with those cleared up that further prolonged wrangling is most unlikely. In the General Assembly, Russia accepted the principle of international inspection and enforcement—without benefit of veto—once a system of atomic-energy control and general disarmament has been agreed upon by the Security Council. So suddenly did these things happen that incredulity rather than satisfaction was the first reaction in the press. But doubt has tended to disappear as Molotov's mild replies to the provocative comments of Connally and Shawcross have been reinforced by one specific concession after another.

What remains in the minds of observers seems to be a vast bewilderment over Russia's probable reasons for "coming around." The view most generally expressed is that American firmness has at last accomplished its purpose, but a few people who know Russia well are insisting that firmness by itself would have got nowhere if Molotov had not sensed behind it a will to peace rather than a threat. If this is a true explanation of Moscow's conciliatory attitude, then the new Russian policy is even more encouraging: in other words, it represents confidence rather than appeasement.

Not to be ignored as part of the story are Russia's and Eastern Europe's material needs. Acceptance of the principle of free trade and navigation on the Danube, for example, may be a small sacrifice to make in return for larger imports of necessary supplies to that area, especially if UNRRA contributions are cut off and no substitute relief system set up. And so with other concessions, notably the Trieste agreement. Right or wrong, Russian objections to the safeguards demanded by the Western powers in the statute for Trieste have been an obstacle not only to establishing the Free Territory itself but to a whole complex of arrangements essential in restoring the economic life of Italy and Eastern Europe. The long stalemate has meant chaos and hunger and political tension, the sort of death-in-life described last week by G. E. R. Gedye in his article on Austria. It is no disparagement to the Russians to suggest that the new policy reflects, in part, a realization of the need for a revival of trade within Eastern Europe and with the West—plus credits if any are available. If Russia has given up any legitimate social objectives to get this result, such as a planned economic development of the Danube area geared into its own economy, the sacrifice may be more theoretical than real. At this stage, bare survival is the problem rather than schemes of economic coordination. Those can wait, for whatever Russia may yield in matters of trade or international control, the tides are running strong against Western capitalist ideas; and America is far away; and Russia is near.

One interesting line of speculation has been set off by Moscow's disarmament proposals. If all weapons of wholesale destruction are outlawed along with the atomic bomb and the veto is eliminated as "irrelevant" to the job of punishing violations, Mr. Molotov has perhaps calculated that, in the end, the balance of advantage will be with his country. This possibility was analyzed the other night by Raymond Swing, who said:

> People who have figured that the Russians were opposing our plans because they could not afford to have foreigners inspecting behind their so-called iron curtain may not have realized the basic facts of the problem. Russian strength lies chiefly in man-power, which cannot be reduced. Our strength lies in our war equipment, which can. Thus we have a navy, now fully twice as large as any navy that could be brought together to oppose it. We have a great strategic air force. We are on the way to develop the long-range rocket, with the best German scientists and engineers giving us the fruit of their invention. And we have atomic energy, which we shall continue to make even if it is not for use in atomic bombs. So inspection will have a wide field in this country, which may be one reason why the Russians favor it.

Not only will inspection have a wide field, but our mechanized power cannot be quickly reconstructed once it is reduced or scrapped. Russian military power, consisting largely of a huge army, less highly mechanized, can be reduced to nothing and then reassembled, in case of need, with relative ease. One can see hard reasons why Molotov advocated a broad scheme of disarmament and the elimination of the veto over enforcement.

For pointing out this aspect of the Russian proposals, Mr. Swing was attacked by Arthur Krock in a column in the New York *Times* that was both underhanded and, in my opinion, libelous. Krock did not mention Swing by name but merely quoted several sentences from his broadcast and then charged him with speaking, in effect, as a Moscow stooge. The broadcast suggested, it is true, that the United States might find itself "caught in a kind of trap" if for some political reason we should want to go slow on disarmament. We have talked so much about the veto that any further effort to stall in the matter of arms control would open us to the charge of "maintaining our military power solely to exert our will in the world." In saying this, Mr. Swing was only stating a patent truth. No one can doubt that some of our military men will be reluctant to extend to all forms of armed power the restrictions which sheer self-preservation dictates in the case of the atom bomb. Mr. Swing concludes with the urgent hope that, now the veto hurdle has been removed, "we shall be able to interest the Russians in our atomic plan, to set up a world authority to which is assigned the entire mining and production of atomic energy. For our experts have come to the conclusion that only such a plan will in any way adequately bring safety to the world in the use of atomic energy. Having such an authority, the great scientists will themselves be the chief inspectors, and atomic energy can become a servant of peaceful industry. No elaborate inspection system to prevent the illicit manufacture of atomic bombs seems to meet the requirements. This still may be a theme that the Russians need to have made clear to them. If it is, and they accept it, then despite the toughness of negotiations, this weary and woebegone world might still be steered into the channels of peace." If these are the words of an agent of Moscow, I wish Mr. Krock would sign up with the Kremlin, too.

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

The Issue Is Sovereignty

Lake Success, December 7

EVERY subject the U. N. Assembly touches on—Spain, disarmament, the treatment of Indians in South Africa—sooner or later brings about a discussion of the fundamental issue of our time: the need to adapt the traditional concept of national sovereignty to the realities of modern international society. Where are we going to draw the line between matters of solely domestic concern and matters of concern to the entire community of nations? Is the production of armaments within a country a proper subject for international inquiry, inspection, and control? If it is, should not political regimes bent on producing armaments and using them for aggressive purposes also be subject to inquiry by other nations? Is racial discrimination to be blinked at by the international community as long as it has not been specifically interdicted by treaty, or is it a proper matter for investigation wherever it occurs, under the human-rights provisions of the U. N. Charter?

In the course of committee discussions at Lake Success two schools of thought are gradually emerging on this general question of sovereignty versus international organization. One school adheres rigidly to the letter of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which states that "nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter." The United States, on the question of Spain, has constituted itself the chief supporter of this position, defending the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of nations and, on that ground, vehemently opposing the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Franco government.

This view was presented with violent intransigence and at one point with cheap theatricalism by Senator Connally on December 7, when he asked rhetorically, waving a water tray, whether the United Nations should offer Spain democracy on a platter—displaying shocking ignorance of what Léon Jouhaux of France, with dignified eloquence, had pointed out earlier in the debate: that the people of Spain had achieved democracy in the 1930's, only to have it snatched from them by Nazi-Fascist intervention, which the democratic powers declined to oppose. Yet the United States apparently considers it consonant with the principle of non-intervention to urge Franco to surrender his power to a provisional government and to invite the Spanish people, over the dictator's head, to liberate themselves—an appeal which, as several Latin American spokesmen have pointed out, could turn out to be incitement to bloody civil war, without the slightest offer of help on the part of the United Nations. Nor is it clear how the United States squares its insistence on non-intervention in the case of Spain with its demand for strict international control of the use of atomic energy and its constant inquiry into the political situation in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Poland (although Washington would justify this action by the existence of the Yalta pledges). Yet in all fairness it must be recalled that when this country *has* intervened in the internal affairs of countries in this hemisphere, it has been subjected to criticism not only by the Latin Americans but by many of our own liberals; and it is not mere coincidence that one of the strongest supporters of the doctrine of non-intervention in the Assembly turns out to be Nicaragua, which has not forgotten the American marines.

Yet it is among Latin Americans that the second school of thought, which supports a broad interpretation of collective action, has found its most vigorous spokesmen. Future historians of the U. N. will unquestionably point to the speech made on December 3 by Dr. Alfaro, the judicial-minded former President of Panama, as one of the trail-blazing statements of our times. Dr. Alfaro, discussing Spain, declared without any "ifs" and "buts" that intervention is a "fetish word." In the wars of the nineteenth century, he said, we were struggling to achieve national *independence* (and this, of course, led to strong emphasis on the concept of national sovereignty); in the wars of the twentieth century we have been struggling to achieve *interdependence*. The theory that no *individual state* can intervene in the affairs of another, contends Dr. Alfaro, does not bar *collective action* by the community of nations. The clause in the Charter about domestic jurisdiction does not, in his opinion, prevent U. N. intervention in the affairs of individual members. Otherwise the U. N. would be powerless to act, and the Charter would not be worth the paper it is written on—for every nation could resist U. N. action on the plea that, for example, the production of armaments is a matter of domestic jurisdiction.

Dr. Alfaro's concept of national sovereignty in the atomic age would not at the present time receive the whole-hearted support of either the United States or Russia, both of which support only the kind of intervention that happens to suit their national objectives. Mr. Baruch would be on Dr. Alfaro's side with respect to atomic energy; Mr. Molotov would be on his side with respect to Spain. Gradually, however, the no man's land of national action regarded as closed to international inquiry is being narrowed in the Assembly committee debates; and this will be an accomplishment of lasting significance even if no concrete action comes out of the current session.

Unconditional Surrender

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, December 8

JOHN L. LEWIS has not retired from public life or fallen on his rusty coal pick, but it will never again be possible to take him quite so seriously as the nation—and a large part of the world—have taken him for the past decade. His grip over the mines will survive this débâcle; conceivably he may strut the boards again in a few months, assuming magnificent postures and reciting grandiloquent lines. But the audience will remember that less than seventy-two hours after he had risen in a courtroom to shout his defiance of the judicial process, the United States government, the cruel coal barons, and the perverse fates, he made a bow to the Supreme Court and surrendered unconditionally to diminutive Harry Truman. He could have yielded earlier with grace, but he insisted upon setting the stage for the biggest show of all.

The proportions of this defeat are infinitely greater than that of 1919, when he yielded to a court injunction, or than his strategic retreat in 1943, when he halted a strike on the eve of a Roosevelt broadcast. In 1919 no such speeches had been made for the history books; no similar self-portrait had been painted showing preparation for martyrdom. In 1943 the government was split, the nation was at war, and neither Roosevelt nor Lewis had drawn the issue of sovereignty so sharply or committed themselves so far. This time all the chips were down. The struggle was a naked test of power.

Lewis's climactic bluff was staged in the courtroom on Tuesday and Wednesday. On Tuesday, after the defense unexpectedly rested without calling any witnesses, he sonorously read his anti-injunction manifesto, picturing himself as labor's voice in the legal wilderness, declaring his readiness for any punitive ordeal. The next day, after the $3,500,000 fine had been imposed on the union and sentence was about to be pronounced on himself, he wrathfully stood up again, inviting the court to deal him any blows it saw fit. His manner exuded contempt as if he were exulting in the quaint notion that the banner of Debs was being held aloft by the Republican Lewis.

But on Saturday the flag was white. Displaying neither anger nor sadness, acting as if he had almost exhausted his emotional repertory, he prefaced the reading of his statement to the press with a long, rambling discourse. "Questions as to motives will be pure speculation," he intoned; "a philosopher has said the pursuit of motive is the most elusive task in the world, as you gentlemen well know." The scene was the crowded, smoky basement of the Mine Workers' Building, pervaded with the Lewis legend of invincibility. He provided little to sustain the legend.

Lewis was a badly whipped man, and he knew it. If there is any bitter solace for him, it lies in the knowledge that all of labor, as the opening of Congress approaches, is in the most precarious position since pre-New Deal times. The United Mine Workers may ultimately pay the contempt fines, but all unions will pay the legislative bill.

Lewis was beaten because he could not divide the Administration and he could not write the law. Mr. Truman has great tenacity once he fully embraces an idea; the pity is that he has reached that state of passionate conviction only twice during his administration—in the rail strike and the mine stoppage. Similar purposefulness might have impressed the steel magnates when they extorted higher prices last winter, and the meat interests when they put on their autumn sitdown. In the coal crisis Truman finally relied on Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug, Clark Clifford, and the Justice Department attorneys who repeatedly outmaneuvered the union. Lewis could not get anywhere through friends at the President's court any more than he could score in Judge Goldsborough's bailiwick. In retrospect it is clear that the courtroom orations were a final attempt to frighten the Administration by conjuring up images of disaster.

Lewis's desperation was mounting even while he held the stage in court. On Wednesday his attorneys, meeting with Goldsborough in chambers, asked for delay in imposition of the sentences to permit new negotiations with the operators. Young John Sonnett, who directed the government's legal strategy, went secretly to the White House. The President was adamant.

The suddenness of the surrender amazed the White House. A deal between Lewis and the operators had been regarded as the most likely way out; Mr. Truman was merely taking the position that he would not actively promote the deal. But the government's stand and the courtroom results stiffened the operators. Lewis's admirers in industry could not swing a backroom settlement. Lewis was alone and he was cornered. What was probably more crucial than all these factors, his lawyers were finally telling him the grim news; they could not guarantee reversal of the contempt verdict.

It is widely felt here that the union made its fatal legal mistake when Lewis ignored the initial restraining order and let the strike proceed on schedule. The order was not contested until the contempt action was begun. By that time the government could contend that, regardless of the applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia act, the union was guilty of contempt. It stood a strong chance of sustaining that view in the Supreme Court. If the strike dragged on and the high court upheld the government, on the narrow ground, Lewis and the United Mine Workers might be paying an additional $250,000 for each day's delay in ending the walkout.

That reasoning, I am told, brought the decision to capitulate. Lewis was reduced to a choice between saving

his face or his neck: destruction of the union treasury meant the end of his rule.

None of the major labor leaders who voiced the courage of Lewis's legal convictions offered any tangible help. When the government wisely opposed imprisonment of Lewis it averted the threat of sympathy strikes. Heads of other unions were increasingly restive over mounting unemployment; other wage negotiations were imperiled. Lewis has a talent for hell-raising, but intellectually he is a conservative, with no social idealism to sustain him in a seemingly lost cause and no long-range solution to the crisis he had created. The threat of nationalization might have induced the operators to temporize. Lewis never uttered the horrid word.

In this hour of hard-won triumph President Truman may be forgiven momentary delusions of grandeur. It will be tragic, however, if the celebration obscures the storms ahead. Lewis's defeat does not resolve the legitimate grievances of labor in an uncontrolled, inflationary economy; nor does it cure the chronic malady of the coal industry. The danger is that powerful industrial and financial interests will be stimulated by Lewis's defeat to revive their oldest, ugliest habits in labor relations and to resist reasonable union demands. The Congressional atmosphere will encourage that form of folly. Mr. Truman may swiftly get a new chance to demonstrate that his toughness is not exclusively reserved for intransigent labor leaders.

Free Press in a Free World

BY WILLIAM K. REED, JR.

THE American concept of freedom of the press is now on trial before the world. During the next few months it will be weighed against foreign views by three different United Nations bodies attempting to formulate a plan for freedom of information throughout the world. The U. N.'s interest here, as in other international affairs, is based on its interest in preserving peace. Misunderstandings between peoples, the belief is, could be prevented if the free flow of news across national borders were insured. It is hoped, too, that this freedom, once secured, would protect such other human rights as freedom of religion and racial equality.

It was, in fact, the Commission on Human Rights that first grappled with the issue by recommending the creation of a Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press. Last June the Economic and Social Council granted authority to put the recommendation into effect. Because of the tedious administrative procedure required to establish a new U. N. body, the subcommission probably will not meet until next spring. Meanwhile our State Department has drafted a plan which has been presented by Chester Bowles to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization now meeting in Paris. This plan asks for a removal of all barriers, political or economic, to the free flow of information. A proposal to prepare a report on the subject has been passed by a UNESCO subcommittee on mass media.

A less ambitious project has been adopted by a committee of the General Assembly. Proposed by the Philippine delegation, this asks that the U. N. call an international press conference for the purpose of obtaining greater cooperation among journalists of member nations. Further interest in the topic was aroused recently when the inter-American press conference at Bogota, Colombia, authorized the establishment of a commission to investigate freedom of the press in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Much international debate on the problem is thus slated for the future. The Subcommission on Freedom of Information and the Press is enjoined "in the first instance" to "examine what rights, obligations, and practices should be included in the concept freedom of information." The need for a definition was properly emphasized, for different interpretations of what constitutes freedom of information have been at the bottom of many international disputes.

Since government control of radio and motion pictures has long been accepted in most of the major countries, it is around the question of control of the press that the conflict rages most fiercely. Complete independence from government control is, primarily, what is meant by freedom of the press in the United States. A press thus free is believed to be automatically a responsible press. How this works in actual practice was explained by Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York *Times*, in a recent speech before the eighteenth annual Boston Conference on Distribution. Press evils must be dealt with by newspaper readers, Mr. Sulzberger asserted, "through a slow but remorseless selective process. . . . The people have the power, under our system, to perpetuate the paper of their choice." Responsibility for a good press, therefore, rests not only on the conscience of the publisher but also on the readers at the newsstand.

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The proposal of the State Department goes one step farther. After asking that the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization remove all obstacles to the use of information media, it states plainly that the organization should concern itself with "the protection of the peoples of the world against any misuse of these media such as might result in their degradation and perversion to the point of fostering international ill-will and misunderstanding." This was apparently a concession to other nations which had already voiced concepts of freedom that differed considerably from those of American publishers.

Dr. C. L. Hsia, Chinese member of the Commission on Human Rights, opened the discussion of the recommended subcommission by declaring that a plan viewing the world problem through "American eyes" could not be applicable to all nations. He suggested, therefore, that the subcommission include "representatives of countries at different stages of development in this field." Dr. Hsia's point is worth attention. In a country with a high rate of illiteracy, a low standard of living, and relatively undeveloped communications, there is something to be said for the traditional double role of the Chinese journalist—to inform and to lead. And it is questionable whether the inhabitants of such a country could deal with press evils through the "selective process" Mr. Sulzberger suggests for American readers. Conceivably, then, there is an argument for international control of press policies in certain parts of the world. Some of Dr. Hsia's colleagues thought that such control should be universal.

Dusan Brkish, the delegate from Yugoslavia, said flatly that the subcommission should study measures to be taken "against those who abuse freedom of information by publishing false information and poisoning public opinion." His idea was warmly supported by Professor René Cassin of France, who noted regretfully that the privilege of a free press in his country had been "used by the enemies of freedom against freedom itself."

When the debate reached the Economic and Social Council, similar opinions were expressed. The delegates from Greece, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, and Belgium agreed that any plan for world freedom of information should contain provisions for preventing its abuse. There was a difference of opinion, however, about what these measures should be. Opinions ranged from the view of the Belgian delegate, Fernand de Housse, that "information supplied by the United Nations should be inserted compulsorily in the press of all contracting states" to that of Philip J. Noel-Baker, British delegate, who thought the U. N., "in cooperation" with the press and radio, should attempt to restrain "perversions" of the truth.

As if further to accentuate the divergence between American thinking and that of other countries, the first meeting of the International Organization of Journalists in Copenhagen passed a resolution that "press freedom can never be fully assured while newspapers, news agencies, and broadcasting systems are solely in the hands of individuals or private monopolies with no resposibility to the people." Obviously aimed at the Anglo-American press, this statement may have had its first actual repercussion when journalist members of the House of Commons in England recently sponsored a proposal for an investigation of newspaper monopolies. The fact that the resolution was passed in a free vote indicates that the United Kingdom may go hand in hand with other powers on some of the less radical demands for press control. The British, like the French, have begun to question whether their cherished ideal of press freedom has been an unadulterated good.

Faced with this array of clashing world opinion, it is well that our UNESCO delegates carry instructions which support the idea of protecting people against the irresponsible use of freedom by the press. Their directions do not, however, presume to state exactly in what manner effective control measures can be reconciled with our understanding of press freedom.

It should be noted that the choice is not simply between the independent American press and the rigidly controlled government press of Russia. Gradations of control may be found in other industries in the United States and in the publishing industry in other countries. Of these various systems, American publishers would probably be most willing to accept a form of voluntary control within the newspaper business. As early as 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted indisputably high professional standards, which they set forth in the "Canons of Journalism." At that time Herbert Bayard Swope insisted on putting "teeth" in the canons, but he was overruled and they have never been enforced. With the canons as background, however, it is possible that American publishers would agree to punitive measures in a similar international code, provided they themselves drafted and administered it.

Another form of control within the industry is that exercised by unions of journalists. The Australian Journalists' Association, which claims nearly 100 per cent of the newspaper writers in the country, enforces through fines and suspensions a rigid code of ethics dealing with distortion, untruth, and gross inaccuracy. It is not concerned with opinion unless the opinion is based on something said to be not a fact. At present the code cannot be enforced against non-members—that is, publishers and certain editors—but the union is agitating to obtain this right through statutory action.

Control by a combination of publishers, journalists, and printers is suggested in a proposed French press law. This provides that newspapers shall be run by a council

of administration composed of representatives of both capital and labor. Printers' and writers' unions will elect the labor members; capital members will be appointed by the owners. The council will elect its own chairman, but no man can be chairman who owns or controls another business enterprise.

While the control of press policies by the industry itself is closest to the desires of American publishers, foreign publishers might be more willing to accept a control exercised by the United Nations. The authority for examining newspapers and monitoring radio broadcasts to detect propaganda injurious to world peace could rest with an autonomous U. N. unit, as recommended by the University of Chicago Commission on Freedom of the Press. Such a body would make periodic reports to the General Assembly about "areas in which distortion of facts and fomenting of international discord are being carried on."

Another step in the same direction would give an international group the same power over the press as our own Federal Communications Commission has over radio. But if this step were taken, constitutional safeguards should be established to preserve freedom of comment.

A third form of control is exercised by political parties. This is still prevalent in a large sector of Europe and in some areas in the Far and Near East. In many countries political groups subsidize newspapers which follow the party line in their editorials and, too often, in their news columns as well. Pre-war France had a notoriously biased and venal political press. A provisional press law in Czechoslovakia permits only political, labor, cultural, and religious organizations to publish newspapers and magazines. This, I am told, has had the effect of turning the press of the country into political or quasi-political organs. An interesting method of preventing such subservience has been set up in the American zone of Germany, where each newspaper is administered by a board of directors representing all shades of political opinion. Among the members, for example, would be Christian Liberal Democrats, Social Democrats, and Communists, with a non-partisan member thrown in if he could be found. I am informed that in some areas our occupation officers have taken great pains to find Communist newspapermen to round out the boards.

As these illustrations show, there are other ways of controlling press policies than by the restrictions of a dictatorial government, the scruples of a publisher, or the choice of readers as it is reflected in the popularity of newspapers.

The problem is not simply whether it is practical to extend the American concept to all the United Nations. Other countries are already on record as opposing this. The question is how far we are willing to go, in order to prevent war, in compromising a basic American tradition. If we are inclined to be adamant about it, the world project will degenerate into a cosy corporation of nations which already think exactly as we do. We have seen international corporations in other fields that failed to include everybody. They have almost always been a threat, rather than an aid, to world peace.

What Russia Wants

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 3

NEVER before probably has the Russian average citizen been so world conscious or so "disarmament conscious" as in these days of the disarmament debates at the U. N. The press prints columns and columns of verbatim reports, with comment, of what Molotov and Vishinsky, Connally, Shawcross, and Noel-Baker say at Lake Success; all these columns are carefully read by the ordinary citizen—you have only to watch him in the Moscow subway any morning; and every day there are countless meetings at which it is all discussed, explained, and digested. The interest is not just academic; everybody feels that the decisions reached in the U. N. will affect the whole course of events in the world.

Sometimes I wonder whether in any other country today the rank and file follow so conscientiously the tortuous progress of the disarmament discussions precipitated by the Molotov proposals. Russians are convinced not only that the issue is of the utmost importance but that the Soviet Union took the initiative in opening up the whole subject. American reactions, too, are being eagerly watched. "So the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* are beginning to pay tribute to Soviet initiative, and no longer just *PM*—our people must have made a big impression," Soviet citizens note with satisfaction. They also feel that Molotov is making a serious effort to cut the ground from under the feet of his critics, and

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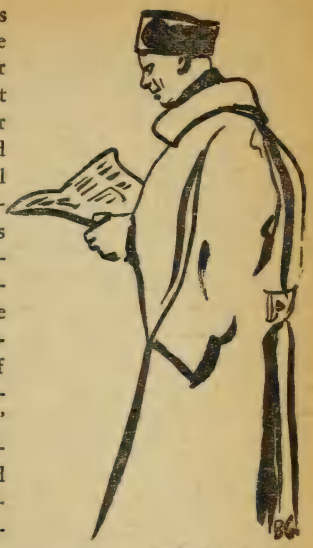
heaven knows there has been more criticism than is good for anybody.

Do the Americans wish to extend the inventory of troops in non-enemy countries to troops abroad generally? O.K., say the Russians. Do they assert that all disarmament talk is futile unless the Russians accept inspection? O. K., say the Russians; we not only accept but formally propose control and inspection. But when Bevin demands in effect, Tell us the number of your home troops, the Russians again reply O.K.—provided you people tell us what arms you have. And when that is refused, the Russians are in a position to say, We have offered to put all our cards on the table, but you other fellows won't. That is how the disarmament discussion presents itself to the Moscow reader: the Soviet delegation is ready for all-out disarmament with disclosure of effectives and arms, while Britain and America are willing to disclose the number of their home troops, which is of very minor interest to the Russians, but want to keep their weapons a secret.

Russia, in the midst of economic reconstruction, is not anxious to engage in an armaments race, is willing to go to considerable lengths to avoid it; it is even prepared to accept inspection. It considers the outlawing or, better still, the abolition of atom bombs of cardinal importance; they are the sword of Damocles hanging, as Vishinsky said, on a thin—very thin—thread over humanity's head. One of the chief reasons why the Russian public is so passionately interested in these disarmament discussions is just because they may put an end to the atom-bomb menace. It thinks this may be accomplished in the U. N., and its anger is great when papers like the London *Daily Mail* or *Telegraph* say the U. N. might as well close down since the Russians will not compromise on the veto question. And when the *Daily Mail* asks, "One world or two?" the Russians reply fiercely, "It is we who want one world; it is you and Winston Churchill who want two."

Russia has undoubtedly a genuine desire for disarmament—"and don't pickle the atom bomb like cabbage or cucumbers for the winter, just in case," Vishinsky emphasized. Behind this desire are both home and international reasons, one of the latter being the wish to obtain the good-will of ever-growing sections of world opinion by taking the lead in this matter. There has been too much propaganda abroad about Russia putting a spoke in the wheels. The Russians want the world to see that their proposals, if they are not torpedoed, will make the United Nations a reality.

It is recognized here that in all countries some people want to live peacefully with the Soviet Union and others, whether they want it or not, "don't believe in the possibility." The world is in a state of flux, and progressives everywhere realize that Russia is the source of ideas for millions of people in Europe and Asia; the new economic democracy is one of these ideas, race equality another. Other people either won't recognize this fact or refuse to accept it, and consider a physical clash, a great ideological war, more or less inevitable. The Russians have been following with immense interest all manifestations in the world of what they call "progressive humanity," people who do not forget Russia's war record and who admit its present importance—Wallace and other groups in America in both the Democratic and the Republican Party, the anti-Bevinites in England. The *New Times* this week prints a survey of the world showing the growing leftward movement in every country of Europe. It is important to show these groups and as many other people as possible that the Soviet Union stands for peace and disarmament, that it is "an ally of all progressive forces in the world," that it is in the vanguard of the struggle against Franco, that it is a "supporter of good causes."



Drawing by Golden

All Russian writers who have recently visited America —Simonov, Ehrenburg, Korneichuk, Galaktionov—report that anti-Soviet propaganda there has reached alarming proportions. Regarding America two things are now noted with some satisfaction—the relatively favorable reaction to the Russian disarmament initiative, and the fact that the principal clashes of the Russian delegates are not with the Americans but with Bevin, the Americans at some stages even mediating between the Russians and the British, though the Anglo-American front is invariably soon restored. The fact that there have been moments when the Americans were "more progressive" than Bevin has been noted with interest. Russians are also convinced that among the small nations of the U. N. the Soviet proposals have caused much thinking and heart searching: "Wouldn't it be a better world if the Russians really got the atom bomb completely eliminated from human affairs?" If the disarmament talks break down completely, the disappointment will be acute, for with an armaments race in full swing everything is thought likely to go from bad to worse. Hence the immense public interest in the U. N.

It is considered gratifying that the discussions among the Foreign Ministers have also been going well lately,

that they have been, indeed, proceeding on a slightly different basis—not always with Britain and America against Russia. Thus on the question of Bulgarian and Italian reparations the British were on one side of the fence and the Russians and Americans on the other. An extremely detailed report in *Izvestia* this week on the Foreign Ministers' discussions registers great satisfaction over the progress achieved on Trieste and other questions; it is very conciliatory in tone and not only pays tribute to the Soviet delegation's firmness, patience, and capacity for compromise when necessary, but clearly indicates that the Western Allies too were determined to lead the peace talks to a successful conclusion.

The Russians have never believed there was any ground for the pessimism which marked the comments on the peace conference at Paris, for they are convinced that in the last analysis all the great powers are equally anxious to arrive at a settlement. The danger that separate treaties would be made by Russia on the one hand and the Western powers on the other never existed, they feel, except in the imagination of those who wanted to see "two worlds." In the Russian approach to the final stages of the peace settlement with Germany's allies, one observes the same desire for conciliation, for a peaceful *modus vivendi* in the years to come, and the same wish to impress this upon world opinion, as in Russia's approach to disarmament. Germany is admittedly a far more difficult problem than Italy and Bulgaria, but the present Russian attitude creates a more hopeful atmosphere for the impending inter-Allied discussions on Germany.

I have often asked my Russian friends why their obvious desire to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the rest of the world is accompanied by such a sharp ideological line at home. Apparently the incentives to work must be created, rigid discipline must be restored, and the people must be persuaded that it is vitally important for them to behave always as conscientious, self-respecting citizens for whom the common good is more important than individual profit. Private profit-seeking has been vigorously denounced on numerous occasions in the recent past, by Stalin personally and by the Zhdanov decree against the abuses and malpractices that have developed on the collective farms.

Literature, the cinema, and the theater have all been mobilized for what is called the education of the masses. What is taken abroad as long-term policy is often in fact relatively short-term policy dictated by conditions and dangers existing during the present transition period from war to what, let us hope, will be peace. "Our writers must march in serried ranks, and he who steps off the road to pick flowers in a field is like a deserter," Constantine Simonov recently said. "Our views on the duties of literature are different from what those duties are conceived to be in the West," is one of Zhdanov's themes.

Writers who are not "divorced from reality"—J. B. Priestley, for example—continue in high favor in the Soviet Union; others, we are told, should not be imitated by Soviet writers. The current issue of the literary magazine *Znamia* says that critics must be intransigent in condemning writers who imitate Proust, Remarque, or Hemingway. Proust is obviously too introspective, individualistic, "morbid." Remarque is a debunker of military heroism. True, Remarque portrayed the horror and squalor of an imperialistic war, but any such treatment of the recent war must be avoided by Soviet writers. Hemingway took the glory out of war in "Farewell to Arms," but he is out of favor for other reasons also, even though he has numerous fans among the intelligentsia and has been highly praised by Ehrenburg. He is too individualistic, he has stylistic mannerisms which the Russian writers must avoid, and he often lapses into "obscenity" and eroticism. Eroticism is not favored in Soviet literature. Recently a novel was denounced because its hero developed "dark instincts" which turned his family life into a sordid triangle. The critics said that although such things unfortunately did happen, they were not typical of Soviet family life and were therefore not worth portraying.

But all this drive for a "purer and nobler" literature cannot be treated separately from the general policy of smartening up the people in the post-war period and of avoiding a lapse into the atmosphere of the early twenties. This approach to literature is so different from the Western approach that any common intellectual undertaking, say in UNESCO, seems impossible. Russia's present literary policy is very sharply defined. The great question is whether it is a short-term or a long-term policy.

The Russians are much concerned over the future of UNRRA. All their sympathy is with LaGuardia's stand, and they are strongly against making further aid the subject of bilateral agreements. Under these, if the political implications of the proposal are what the Russians suspect them to be, Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine would be unlikely to benefit. Nor would countries like Poland and Yugoslavia; and it is considered an ominous sign that the first of such bilateral agreements was reached with Greece. Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, as LaGuardia knows, really need UNRRA help; the urban populations of these countries have been largely dependent for the past year on UNRRA supplies for meat and fats. If they have to depend on Soviet reserves, which as a result of the poor harvest are not high, they will suffer increased hardships. Gromyko, therefore, has strongly pressed for a purely humanitarian and non-political approach to the question of extending UNRRA.

How to Stop the Depression

BY CHESTER BOWLES

IN LATE June, 1946, a combination of Republican Congressmen and Senators and some reactionary Democrats finally succeeded in knocking the props out from under effective price control. The Rube Goldberg price-control bill which the President signed in July had little chance of success. In the next four months the cost of living rose two and one-half times as much as in the three previous years.

As prices have risen, the working people of America —the sixty million men and women who man our assembly lines, drive our trucks and combines, work store cash registers, and run office comptometers—have watched their war-time prosperity fade, their real income dwindle. And they face additional troubles in coming months.

Corporation profits *after taxes* and net farm income, after the payment of all expenses, will be far greater in 1946 than they were during the peak production of the war years. Labor's take-home pay will be less; it will be roughly the same as in the spring of 1943. And yet conservative editorial writers and radio commentators, taking their cue from the propaganda of certain business groups, have been proclaiming to high heaven that it's time labor was taught a good lesson.

Since the crushing Republican victory of November the more reactionary industrial interests have been making it abundantly clear that from now on they will have the whip hand. This can spell considerable trouble for all of us in the months ahead. Out of such a situation can grow a depression which will shake our economic system to its foundations. Much of our ability to maintain full employment will depend on government action. But to an even greater extent the success of our efforts to keep our economy rolling at top speed will depend on the wages and salaries which are arrived at by collective bargaining.

In every generation since the Civil War the productive capacity of our industrial plants has doubled. Certainly in the new age of atomic energy we can expect this rate of increase to be continued. Unless we increase proportionately the amount of purchasing power in the hands of the people, all the people—workers, farmers, and business men—we shall not be able to buy the volume of goods which we are capable of producing. Production will then slow down, workers will begin to be unemployed, purchasing power will be reduced still farther, and we shall find ourselves headed for trouble. Our forty million families will have the funds with which to buy our increasing output of goods only if wages, salaries, and farm income move steadily upward. How fast they will move will be decided by agreements reached through democratic collective bargaining. A constructive approach on both sides will be called for and a clear understanding of the economic issues involved.

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THREE WAYS TO RAISE WAGES

There are only three ways in which wages can be raised. The first is to increase the productive output of each worker and to pass on to him in the form of higher pay a major part of the results of his increased efficiency. By and large, this is the way we have raised our standard of living in the past. It is by all odds the best method because it assures the consumer stable or even lower prices and allows business to maintain the profits which are essential for enlarging plant facilities and further stepping up industrial efficiency.

Opponents of price control used to tell us that higher wages invariably meant higher prices, but this statement betrays grave ignorance of the workings of a modern economy. Between 1919 and the spring of 1946 the average hourly earnings of our factory workers slightly more than doubled, profits trebled—and prices remained roughly the same. In many industries increased efficiency has enabled manufacturers to improve markedly the quality of their product, lower prices, raise wages, and increase over-all profits. That is the way our economy must work if we are all to benefit from a rising level of prosperity. Any other course spells economic disaster, not only for the workers but for business men.

In the absence of increased output per hour of effort, wages can be raised by adding the increased wage cost to the price charged to the consumer. In certain industries greater efficiency is unattainable, and this method of raising wages may be justified. But if we followed such a policy extensively enough to affect our whole economy, we should clearly get nowhere. The extra money paid out in wages would be spent, not on additional goods, but on higher-priced goods, and the standard of living would remain the same.

Another way to increase wages in those industries where labor productivity has not risen is to decrease profits. Certainly this approach is justified where profits are exorbitant, as is the case in several areas in our economy today. But if profits generally are decreased

Drawing by Seligson

below a certain point, the whole economy will bog down. This is not simply theory. We saw it happen in England and France in the years before the war. The capital necessary to increase the efficiency of British and French plants was lacking. As a result, the output per worker remained stagnant in England from 1929 until the outbreak of the war. In France it was actually reduced by 25 per cent as machinery became antiquated. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the British and French people to increase their standard of living.

Except in industries where profits are out of all reason, our ability to increase purchasing power depends on our ability to increase industrial efficiency. How, then, can the output per hour of industrial workers be raised? By far the most important way is through the use of better machinery and improved techniques of engineering and management. We can look for tremendous advances in this field during the next two or three years. And with the development of atomic energy, almost anything is conceivable.

Many business men also say that production can be increased by more effort on the part of their employees. In some cases this claim may be reasonable. But studies have proved that when production falls off, the cause is usually, not labor's unwillingness to work, but the inefficient *use* of labor. In most instances the drop has occurred when assembly lines have been disrupted by an inability to maintain a reservoir of certain basic materials and key parts.

If in some industries workers are actually putting in less physical effort, what is the remedy? In 1939, with eight million workers unemployed, a foreman could step up production by simply reminding the men that there were plenty of others who were anxious to work. This fact has led some of our more hard-hearted industrialists to the conclusion that what we really need to keep the workers on their toes is a permanent pool of four or five million unemployed. In a civilized economy, however, factory workers should not have to be goaded to increased effort by the fear of losing their jobs. A better method is to improve working conditions and set up some modified system of incentive payments.

Many labor leaders are opposed fundamentally to the whole idea of incentive payments. They can remember only too vividly how in the days before labor was organized such incentives were used to speed up the work tempo until men over forty-five found it impossible to maintain the pace. In an age of strong labor organizations this objection seems somewhat unrealistic. The unions today are in a position to bargain for high minimum pay for those who are capable of a certain output, with increased hourly wages above that figure for those who are willing and able to add to their weekly pay check through extra effort.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MUST WORK

The responsibility of both management and labor in the field of collective bargaining will be a heavy one during the next few years. The health of the national economy, and indeed our ability to preserve the advantages inherent in our modified free-enterprise system, will depend on the result of their efforts. If the economy once starts into a tailspin, we can be sure that government will be forced by the will of the people to take a far more active part in managing our economic affairs. Let us not fool ourselves. Unless we do a better job in dividing the increased income produced by our factories, the government will eventually have to handle the job for us.

Probably the greatest hurdle in our way is the lack of economic understanding shown by many powerful business interests. American business men, in general, have a far greater knowledge of engineering, organization, and merchandising than their British counterparts. But British business men, producing in a country of limited demand which depends largely on foreign trade, have perforce learned more about how economic forces operate. Last winter a prominent British industrialist said to me: "I am deeply disturbed about the lack of economic understanding in America, particularly among those who make the most vital decisions. I found the greatest awareness of economic principles among the workers on your assembly lines. The next best-informed group are your

foremen. Most of the business men with whom I talked seemed dangerously ignorant of what makes your economy function. But the greatest ignorance of all is displayed by your bankers."

Labor leaders must also be held responsible for our economic progress or its lack in the years ahead. Blind demands for nation-wide wage increases in advance of increased productivity can only result in higher and still higher prices. On the other hand, if labor leaders fail to bargain aggressively for a major share of the greater income which comes from greater output, unemployment will be inevitable.

A good deal of the heat and bitterness in collective bargaining could be removed by the establishment of labor-management committees which would determine the increase in output per worker from year to year in individual industries. Reliable statistics would give each side a sound basis for bargaining. With efficiency likely to increase rapidly in the next two or three years, labor has everything to gain from the collection of such statistics.

Labor should recognize the need for some system of incentive payments in many industries. It is strong enough today to make sure that the principle would not be abused. Labor should also insist on its right, as a major factor in the creation of economic wealth, to know all about how an industry is run, including the division of profits. In the past thirty years the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have developed an efficient working relationship with their employers—a relationship based on a full knowledge of the profits of the industry from year to year. In times of economic stress this knowledge has given the men who head the Amalgamated a sense of responsibility. In good times it has enabled them to obtain for the workers their proper share of the industry's total dollar income.

The next few months are bound to be uneasy. Many industrialists will view the results of the election as a signal to crack down on labor. Reactionary Congressmen will try to push through punitive labor legislation. The situation calls for understanding and tolerance on both sides, for much will hang on the final outcome.

Our ability to maintain an essentially free-enterprise system in a world tending toward socialism will largely depend on the ability of labor and management to construct a solid economic basis for the equitable division of the wealth produced by American industry. The purchasing power of all our people, with organized labor as a spearhead, must be pushed gradually upward year after year as we increase our national wealth. If we can solve this problem through collective bargaining, a great victory will be won for the American ideal of economic democracy. Failure could start far-reaching changes in our entire economic system, for Americans will no longer accept economic stagnation and unemployment in a land of potential plenty.

The Klan: Post-War Model

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, December 1

GOVERNOR ARNALL of Georgia has been racing against time to smash the Ku Klux Klan in that state before Governor-elect Talmadge takes office. On November 9 Assistant Attorney General Daniel Duke, designated by the Governor to prosecute the Klan, filed new charges in the Superior Court at Atlanta as an amendment to an earlier suit to revoke the Klan's charter. In them the state alleged that in 1940 the Klan sought to merge with the German-American Bund in one racially supreme all-Aryan organization and that even now it is trying to combine ultra-nationalist veterans' groups with anti-Semitic and anti-Negro factions. The state asked revocation of the Klan's charter on the ground that the KKK was "systematically carrying out a policy designed to violate the rights of Georgia citizens guaranteed under the constitution of the state and of the United States."

On November 29 the Klan asked that the state's suit be thrown out of court, filing a claim of improper service of the papers and a plea in abatement containing demurrers to every paragraph in the state's amended suit. The plea in abatement cannot be heard until after the disposition of the traverse-of-service claim, to which the court has ordered that a reply be made by December 13. Since court recesses on December 15 for the rest of the year, there is now little likelihood that the state's case against the Klan will go to trial. Governor-elect Talmadge is expected to order it dropped as soon as he is inaugurated.

But not in Georgia alone is the Klan again in the news. For a year the papers have been carrying accounts of its revived activities throughout the South and also in other parts of the country. It is difficult to obtain

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precise information on the vigor and extent of its resurgence, but a general report can be patched together from news stories, magazine articles, and the investigations of private agencies.

An effort to revive the KKK was anticipated before the war ended. Elmer Roper predicted it in April, 1945, for the Roper polls indicated a general rise in racial feeling, with the scapegoat group varying in different regions. At about the same time Dr. Scudder Mekeel of the University of Wisconsin warned of "the imminent creation of such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan." "So far," he said, "we have not had a hate and super-nationalist organization that combined with prejudice a definite ideology to apply to government." But the fact that "the active use of racial prejudice in this country is definitely associated with reactionary and illiberal ideas," suggested, he thought, that such a combination might be made in the post-war period.

It should be noted that the KKK was never actually dissolved after the First World War. From a peak of 8,904,871 reached about 1924, the membership dropped to 2,000,000 in 1926, to 321,000 in 1927, to 82,609 in 1929, and to 39,694 in 1930; but the organization itself never ceased to function. All during the thirties there were news stories of attempts to revive it. Finally, on April 23, 1944, the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., the parent organization behind the 1915-to-1924 revival, being pressed by the Treasury Department for payment of delinquent taxes in the amount of $685,000, held a national convention in Atlanta at which the officers "repealed all decrees, vacated all offices, voided all charters, and relieved every klansman of any obligation whatever" (New York *Times*, June 19, 1946). It is apparent, however, that this was a dissolution *de jure*, to avoid the processes of the Treasury Department, and not *de facto*, for it was decided at the same convention to keep the charter alive and, pending reorganization, to establish an informal Association of Georgia Klans. But at any rate, the Ku Klux Klan suspended its corporate activities on June 4, 1944, and for purely fiscal reasons went underground.

BURNING CROSSES APPEAR AGAIN

The first sign of its emergence came on October 10, 1945, when a fiery cross was burned on Stone Mountain near Atlanta. Shortly afterward Drew Pearson reported that Klan chapters were holding regular meetings in Atlanta, Knoxville, Birmingham, Key West, and a number of other Southern communities. This upsurge of activity seems to have been related to the fight in Congress, in the summer of 1945, over an appropriation for the continuance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. When the filibuster against the FEPC began in the Senate in January, 1946, rumblings of KKK activities could be heard all over the South. The defeat of the motion to invoke the cloture rule on February 9, 1946, was followed on February 26 by the Columbia, Tennessee, race riot—the first after the war.

On March 21, 1946, a corporate registration fee was paid for the KKK in Atlanta, and the 1943-46 franchise taxes were paid. On May 10 another meeting was held at Stone Mountain with much fanfare, including the burning of crosses, the appearance of seven hundred hooded members, and the initiation of several hundred new members. Even before this meeting, however, the sparks had begun to fly. On March 21 crosses were burned in Flint, Michigan, in response to the announcement that George Friley, a Negro, would be a candidate for a city commission. Between V-J Day and June 1, 1946, eleven crosses were burned in Chattanooga, and Mrs. Kate Robbins, a Jewish woman, was compelled by Klan threats to close her store in Redbank, a suburb.

On June 14 President Green of the A. F. of L. filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that Willie Dudley, a Negro trade unionist, had been abducted and beaten by masked Klansmen at Gordon, Georgia. Incorporation papers for the Klan were filed in Birmingham on July 12, and a statement was issued that there were four "klaverns" in Birmingham, with a membership of about 1,000, and some forty or fifty others scattered over the state. In a letter to the Wheeling, West Virginia, *News-Letter*, the Exalted Cyclops announced that the Klan had been revived throughout eastern Ohio and boasted of cross burnings in a dozen communities. A two-column paid advertisement inserted by "reliable persons" in the Chambersburg *Public Opinion* of August 23 said in part: "Now, folks, you judge if there is any un-Americanism in the Klan. The Jews have their organizations, the Catholics theirs, and the Protestants have the Klan. We are here to stay, and God help America if we die." On September 9 the United Press reported Klan activity in fourteen states.

Even more alarming if less spectacular than these stories have been the evidences of mounting racial tension. On April 19 last the B'Nai B'rith reported increasing discrimination in employment and a marked rise in discriminatory advertisements. On the same day *PM* carried the report of Colonel Homer Garrison, Jr., director of the Department of Public Safety in Texas, stating that racial clashes had increased 900 per cent in 1945 over 1944. On May 1 the American Jewish Congress revealed that ads carrying discriminatory specifications had tripled in number in the Philadelphia press.

Public reaction to these events has been delayed and somewhat confused. Since some of the cross burnings were found to be the work of juvenile hoodlums, there was a tendency, encouraged by many officials, to write off all KKK incidents as unimportant. The setting up of a fiery cross, however, is a manifestation of the Klan spirit, whether the torch is lighted by an adult member or a juvenile hoodlum.

THE OFFICIAL COUNTER-CAMPAIGN

Credit for initiating a counter-campaign, on an official basis, must go to Attorney General Robert W. Kenny of California. After a cross was burned at Big Bear, Mr. Kenny lost no time in bringing a successful court action to revoke the charter of the KKK in California. This is the necessary first step in any effort to outlaw the organization. In order to carry on its "racket," the Klan must have its name and legal standing protected: if a dozen different groups solicit funds and membership in the name of the KKK, the "take" is inevitably lessened. Loss of a corporate charter makes it impossible for any one group to monopolize the magic letters KKK. Mr. Kenny's prompt action was quickly followed by similar applications in Georgia; in New York, where the charter was revoked on July 30 and the names of 1,100 Klansmen turned over to the FBI; in Kentucky, where the charter was revoked on September 14; and in New Jersey. Official investigations have been launched in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

While this type of action has checked the reorganization of the Klan, it is by no means certain that the setback is more than temporary. It is noteworthy that the Klan has been most active in the South wherever trade-union organization drives, particularly the C. I. O.'s "Operation Dixie," are under way. A Birmingham industrialist who was interviewed by Harry T. Brundidge in the August *Cosmopolitan* said that hell was "already a-poppin'" in many towns in which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' drive was on. *The Covington County News* (Alabama) carried an open invitation to the citizenry to join the KKK in order "to Klean out the union organizers." Brundidge also found three organized Klaverns in St. Louis, where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been active.

The federal government has moved even more slowly than it did after the First World War. Since the Wood-Rankin committee has announced that it does not intend to investigate the Klan, there should be action by the Treasury Department to collect delinquent taxes, an official Congressional inquiry, a daring use of the skeletonized remnants of the Civil Rights act, and a nation-wide investigation by the FBI. National opinion should be mobilized by an ambitiously planned and systematically promoted publicity campaign.

The immediate objective of such a campaign should be the restoration of law and order in the South. The wave of lawless beatings and shootings that is sweeping over the South, whether Klan-inspired or not, is the most dangerous symptom in American life today. Much of it has not been reported in the national press, but the Negro press has noted the steadily mounting violence —the blow-torch lynching of a Negro near Minden, Louisiana, on August 8; a Negro whipped to death at Lexington, Mississippi, on July 30; the uninvestigated lynching of two Negroes in Marshall, Texas; mob violence at Magee, Mississippi, on August 20; at Athens, Alabama, on August 10; at Crowley, Louisiana, on August 26; and at Florence, South Carolina, on September 19.

THE NEGRO VETERAN

Russ J. Cowans, in a series of articles from the South which have appeared in the Negro press, says that much of the trouble is caused by white resentment of the Negro veterans. These veterans, a Louisiana Negro told him, "enjoyed a freedom during the war that they had not enjoyed here in the South. They've come back home and they want to keep getting that freedom, but the white man here is just as determined to keep them from having it." Harold B. Hinton in a dispatch from Atlanta to the New York *Times* reported that Klan members were trying to find a basis of collaboration with veterans "in the specter of returned Negro war veterans getting out of their place."

It may be recalled that Senator Bilbo's speech in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 22, when he appealed to "red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" to bar Negroes from voting and said that "white men have the right to resort to any means at their command" to achieve this end, was prompted by the attempt of Elroy Fletcher, a Negro veteran with twenty-three months' service in the Pacific, to register. For this offense Fletcher, a G. I. student at Jackson College, was flogged with a heavy wire cable. It is the position of the Negro veteran, as seen against the background of the current trade-union drive and other industrial and cultural changes, that warrants the most serious apprehension about further violence in the South.

While the Klan's tactics are much the same as those used after the First World War, the objective situation in the South and in the whole country is by no means comparable to that which existed in the years 1922-24. Today Negroes are voting in sizable numbers even in Georgia and Texas; new organizations such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the C. I. O. are active in their behalf; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has discarded its traditional taboo against political action; the United States Supreme Court continues its gradual encirclement of Jim Crow with one important decision after another; indus-

trial change has begun to undermine the whole structure of bourbonism in the South, and a large section of the white population is reported "cool" toward the Klan. The way in which national opinion recoiled from the frightful murders in Monroe, Georgia, was quite unlike the reaction to similar occurrences in the past. Moreover, the traditional alliance between the South and the West on racial questions has been severed: the FEPC was sponsored in the Senate by Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Wayne Morse of Oregon.

A Christmas Amnesty

BY DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

WE AMERICANS, even the thoughtless, take-it-easy, insensitive ones among us, are very nearly distracted these days. During the war we were torn by anxiety and sorrow and fear, but we were not so oppressed by uncertainties as we are now—uncertainties about such life-and-death questions as how to handle the atomic bomb, how to organize the world for peace, how to find a way to live in peace (well, without war anyhow) with nations whose basic ideas don't jibe with ours.

But there is one question to which we know the right answer, in our hearts, at least. We know that we should free between 700 and 1,000 young Americans still in federal prison because their consciences would not let them take part in war, and restore their rights as citizens to the 5,300 others who have finished their prison terms as conscientious objectors. The penitentiary doors have shut behind them, but because they have a prison record they are not yet full and free citizens. Their professional or business life and their personal happiness must suffer from a continuing disability unless the President of the United States extends amnesty to these men, who, like Thoreau, felt that to obey the legal law was to break the moral law.

The C. O.'s have not committed a crime, nor are they the kind that is likely ever to commit a crime. They are thoughtful, earnest, idealistic young men who have proved their willingness to suffer for their ideals. We may not think that the means they used to forward the cause of peace was the most effective way to go about it, granted the situation of the world after Pearl Harbor. But practically all of us feel that the effort to attain peace is now the one cause for which every decent human being should be willing to make any sacrifice. To exclude from freedom and citizenship those who have gone to prison for that cause seems unbearably illogical.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER, novelist and critic, served in various volunteer capacities during both world wars—in the first war largely as a relief worker in France, in the second through her contributions to magazines and the O. W. I. Her only son, Captain James Canfield Fisher, was killed in action in Luzon.

Hundreds of clergymen, labor leaders, authors, artists, and other distinguished Americans have addressed amnesty appeals to the President. The Washington *Post*, the Chicago *Sun*, the New York *Times* have published editorials calling for an amnesty. The Synagogue Council of America, the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, the American Veterans' Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, these and other groups have gone on record as "in favor of the release of all conscientious objectors from federal custody."

An overwhelming body of public opinion of this same kind exists outside America also. On August 15 the Canadian Minister of National Defense made an official announcement which amounted to a general amnesty for 14,000 men. Since the end of the war political prisoners have been freed in Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, India, Italy, the Soviet Republic, and Yugoslavia. A year ago General MacArthur released about a million political prisoners in Japan, including conscientious objectors; and last August Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay proclaimed an amnesty for a million German political prisoners under twenty-seven years of age.

Why do we lag so far behind in America? Not because of a rigid tradition. On the contrary, nine American Presidents have availed themselves of their amnesty powers under the Constitution. George Washington was the first, when in 1795 he pardoned participants in the Whiskey Rebellion. And these were men who had actually borne arms against our government.

But we need not go so far back. A Supreme Court decision some months ago reversed the conviction of two young men who belonged to the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses. In his comment on this vital decision Justice Frank Murphy said, "All the war effort will have been in vain if, when all is finished, we discover that in the process we have destroyed the very freedom for which we fought."

The best of the 365 days in the year, the kindest of festivals, draws near. Shadowed with dark forebodings though it will be, Christmas, 1946, will have its hour of glory if on that day our government acts on the one moral certainty which almost all of us feel.

The People's Front

LAST week's debate on the Spanish question at the United Nations revealed Great Britain and the United States as poor spiritual leaders of the democratic world. In a recent speech British Prime Minister Attlee charged that the Russians are using the U. N. as a propaganda instrument to discredit the Western democracies. But the angry observations of Mr. Molotov and the witty, caustic perorations of Mr. Vishinsky have done far less damage to Britain's good name than the speech delivered by its own delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, during the debate on Spain. To judge from comments I heard later in the corridors, his argument embarrassed even supporters of the Anglo-American position, while critics of the present British government openly rejoiced at the spectacle of a Labor Minister defending a bad cause in much the same language Alexander Cadogan has used. As for the Socialist delegates at the U. N., they felt deeply ashamed. Two weeks ago I promised to discuss in this page the causes of Socialist decline in Europe. I could easily base my whole analysis on quotations from Sir Hartley's speech. For in it was epitomized the whole record of the British Labor Party on foreign policy in the past eighteen months, which has done more than any one other thing to undermine the influence of the European Socialist movement.

The British Attorney General was very eloquent in his condemnation of Franco—almost as eloquent as he had been at Nürnberg in his indictment of the war criminals. One wonders, in retrospect, whether he would have pressed his case so vigorously at Nürnberg had the Soviet Union insisted on its indisputable right to put Franco in the dock along with the other defendants. (The Russians did not insist only because they wanted to avoid an issue that might have aggravated already existing frictions and perhaps prejudiced the conduct of the trial.) Yes, Sir Hartley was ruthlessly explicit in his denunciation of the Spanish dictator; yet when elementary logic called for the condign punishment of a criminal such as he described, the British delegate ended with a plea for clemency, largely on the ground that a break with Franco would deprive Britain of orange juice.

The Thirteen Points which constituted the program of the Republican government during the Spanish war did not, it is true, specifically provide for shipments of Valencia oranges to England. But the Attorney General and his Labor friends might reasonably assume that a government capable of eliminating the present economic chaos in Spain should be better able to promote trade between the two countries.

Senator Connally used his rhetorical gifts to subtract further from the meaning of the American proposal, which was already 50 per cent meaningless. The first part of the resolution offered by this country was a forthright attack on the Franco regime; the second half was confused and contradictory—because it was meant to be confused and contradictory: a hymn sung to the Munich tune of non-intervention with an obbligato on the theme of a clerical-military regime along lines approved by Washington, London, and the Vatican.

In a magnificent speech that went beyond the limits of the Spanish problem to examine the whole international situation, Léon Jouhaux, the French labor leader, ripped away the fabric of untruth and hypocrisy which cloaks the Anglo-American policy toward Spain. He served a warning that should be pondered seriously by diplomats here and in Britain: if the masses of the world—and Jouhaux was surely thinking of the French workers as he spoke—see that the U. N. is incapable of fulfilling its obligations, they will take into their own hands the task of helping to restore democracy in Spain. Nothing in the repeated statements of the American and British delegates sounded more insincere than their pious desires to avoid "civil strife and chaos" in Spain. In fact, it has been the Anglo-American strategy of supporting Franco with action while repudiating him with words which has produced the civil strife and chaos that rule in Spain today. As Léon Jouhaux said, "You talk of avoiding another civil war; you seem to forget that the civil war in Spain has never ended, that Franco means continuing civil war. You talk of avoiding international complications; by preventing the U. N. from accomplishing its duty, you will cause Spain to be transferred into a battleground of antagonistic nations." This was equally true in 1939, and the diplomats who precipitated World War II are today laying the groundwork for World War III.

Unable to answer the solid argument of Ambassador Oscar Lange of Poland for severance of diplomatic relations, the speakers who followed him, particularly the Latin American delegates, turned to an involved historical discussion of the non-intervention principle. But they received a verbal thrashing from Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panama's Foreign Minister, who exposed the thesis advanced by Connally and his Latin American disciples as a shameful pretext for continued support of Franco. Dr. Alfaro, Pedro Zuloaga of Venezuela, Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, Jorge Garcia Granados and Vicente Saenz of Guatemala, and the delegates of Chile and Uruguay managed to save the prestige of the Latin American republics. But if the Good Neighbor countries had, from the beginning, more strongly resisted Washington's pressure, the whole discussion on Spain might have taken a very different turn. Nevertheless, after three days of heated debate, the Anglo-American attempt to "drown the political aspects of the case in a sea of juridical interpretations and definitions," as Mr. Gromyko described it, failed. In spite of Anglo-American opposition, a subcommittee was appointed to seek a unanimous formula for action.

In this debate Great Britain and the United States have forfeited whatever authority they may have claimed until now to speak for the Western democracies. When next they address a note to the Rumanian or Bulgarian or Polish government protesting against undemocratic procedures, those countries will certainly reply, "You had better look first to your own record on Spain."

DEL VAYO

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Export Drive

AN AMERICAN business man just back from England recently remarked at a press conference that the British people were getting tired of "austerity." Of course they are: the kind of austerity they have been enduring for the past six years is nobody's idea of fun. But while there is a certain amount of grumbling, there seems to be a broad understanding in Britain of the absolute necessity for continuing restraints on consumption. It is realized that the abolition of rationing, for instance, would mean a breakdown in the price-control system. That might bring about an appearance of plenty in the stores, but it would be a plenty available only to the moneyed few; the masses would suffer greater hardships than at present. A major virtue of the British war-time controls has been their assurance of a fair distribution of necessities to all, irrespective of income. That is why, on the whole, they have been accepted cheerfully.

What has been harder to take in the past year has been the priority given to exports. All sorts of goods which are in extremely short supply in Britain are being shipped abroad by government order. American department stores display large quantities of fine British china, while the only kind of cups and plates that can be bought in Britain is the plain white "utility" variety. It is a similar story with many other sorts of consumer goods from penknives to automobiles; despite an almost unlimited home demand a large proportion of the output is being set aside for export.

Naturally enough, the British woman without sufficient ration "points" to buy a new dress, even if she could find one in the stores, feels a little sore when she sees pictures in the papers of magnificent gowns labeled "for export only." Yet Britons have so long lived by foreign trade that they have an almost instinctive grasp of the reasons why so much production must be diverted to foreign markets. The housewife buying New Zealand lamb, Danish butter, Canadian bacon, California canned peaches, Alaska salmon, cannot fail to be aware of the extent to which she depends on overseas products; the worker in the factory handling Texas cotton, or Swedish wood pulp, or Moroccan iron ore, or Rhodesian copper, or Australian wool knows that his job hangs on a steady flow of foreign raw materials. But such goods have to be paid for, and Britain's ability to finance imports was severely reduced during the war, first, by the liquidation of foreign investments which produced an annual income of some $400,000,000, and second, by the contraction of foreign debts the repayment of which will impose a heavy charge on external income for many years to come.

If Britain is to meet its obligations and to pay for its pre-war volume of imports, it must sell vastly more goods to the world than before the war. The only alternative would be to cut down its expenditure on imported goods, which means in effect, since few of these commodities are or can be produced at home in sufficient quantities, resigning itself to a permanently lower standard of living. Britain has chosen to solve the problem by expanding exports even though, at first, that requires skimping the home market for the benefit of foreign customers. The government's economic advisers have estimated that it will be necessary to raise the volume of exports to 175 per cent of the 1938 volume.

This is an ambitious goal, but since the end of the war considerable progress has been made toward it. Taking 1938 as 100, the export index figure for the first quarter of this year was 84, for the second, 97.6, and for the third, 104. Preliminary returns for the month of October indicate an export volume about 17 per cent above the 1938 monthly average. The extent of this achievement is best appreciated by recalling that during the war British exports fell to under 30 per cent of their 1938 volume. "Our total overseas deficit," Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House of Commons on November 26, "is likely, in terms of sterling, to be substantially less when this financial year has run its course. This reflects great credit on the export drive, which has succeeded beyond expectation and beyond estimate."

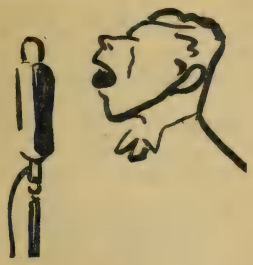
In some quarters, however, fears have been expressed that the upward curve is beginning to level off. Certainly a great many obstacles have yet to be surmounted. One of the most serious is a shortage of steel, since it tends to cut down production of machinery and vehicles, which are among the most rapidly expanding exports. The present rate of British steel production is around 12,700,000 ingot tons per annum, which is near capacity, while effective domestic demand could absorb 16,000,000 tons. Hopes that imports, particularly from this country, would fill the gap have been disappointed, and now the coal strike postpones to a still more distant date the time when our steel will be available.

An even more formidable problem is the shortage of man-power in Britain. This is the main reason why such former export staples as coal, cottons, and woolens today make a very poor showing in the trade returns. In 1937, 53 per cent of Britain's production of cotton piece goods went abroad; today there is a worldwide unsatisfied demand for cloth, but after providing for minimum home needs only 16 per cent of the output can be spared for exports. The reason for this situation is not shortage of raw material but the drift of textile workers to more lucrative or pleasanter occupations. And with almost every industry clamoring for more labor, it is not easy to arrest this movement.

With Britain's total working population, after deducting the armed forces, more than a million less than before the war, it is fairly obvious that only through greater productivity will it be possible to turn out the additional exports required and at the same time to meet home needs, including the vast demand for houses. To this end the Labor government is supplementing its export drive with a production drive and is covering the hoardings with the slogan: "Extra Effort Now Means Better Living Sooner." The question is whether a tired people, lacking the emotional stimulus provided by the threat of invasion, is capable of that extra effort unless some additional incentive is provided. It may be that, in the long run, the export drive would benefit by the release of more goods for the home market.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL



IN THE flood of mail pouring in, I find various formulations of an extremely provocative question. I will quote a few of them and then attempt an answer.

Dear Sir: What has become of John W. Vandercook? I hope he was not put off the air because of his progressive views?
Hollywood B. S., JR.

Dear Sir: Orson Welles was suddenly dropped as a commentator by ABC, and right in the midst of his campaign for the apprehension and trial of the South Carolina police official who had beaten and blinded a Negro veteran. Welles was extremely popular here. The cancelation of his program brought a deluge of telephone calls to the station and a pile of letters to the radio editor of the Cleveland *Press*. My own hunch is that the networks do not care for the red-blooded type of crusading done by Welles. Robert St. John's dismissal strengthens my belief.
Cleveland E. S. N.

Dear Sir: As the special West Coast edition of *The Nation* stated, liberal commentators have been completely kept off the air in this area. Sam Balter has disappeared; James Roosevelt has had no commercial sponsor for weeks; Alvin Wilder has disappeared from his weekly evening spot; Frank Kingdon was scheduled for a daily fifteen-minute evening program on KFWB but never came on; Averill Berman is struggling along with no commercial sponsor; and now even Raymond Swing has been dropped. This, I feel, is the most severe blow that has yet been dealt to the listening public.
Santa Monica

Numerous other listeners and readers are upset about the swing to the right in radio. There are three reasons for it: First, the political trend of the nation is to the right, as the recent election shows. Second, radio is reacting to the change in political temperature. Third, the popularity ratings of the commentators reflect the political shift; consequently the networks, which by nature are in sympathy with the thinking and desires of the conservative camp, are not hesitant about dropping the progressive spokesmen.

There is one other factor in this reshuffle of the commentators. Radio today is reverting to the lack-luster, non-controversial type of news coverage of the period before the New Deal. In those days about the only personalities in radio news were the late Floyd Gibbons and Walter Winchell. Executives leaned over backward to keep their news coverage straight. Then, as the political tempo of the nation speeded up under the New Deal, news broadcasting took on more color, and personality journalism came on the air. There were liberals and conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders among these commentators just as there are now—except that now there are fewer liberals.

What can be done about it? In order to influence the FCC literally thousands of persons must write to it and to their favorite station and network as well. Say something like this: "I want to hear the liberal viewpoint on my air. Give us liberals and progressives in at least the same proportion as the vote in the last election." The idea is to capitalize on radio's responsibility to minorities by arguing that while liberals are now a minority, they are not so infinitesimal a minority as the number of liberal commentators in proportion to the conservative.

But remember this: be realistic; don't expect liberal commentators to stay on the air if people don't listen to them.

One more letter:

Dear Sir: It was high time! Lou Frankel's column can do a lot of good; not all radio executives are morons, and not all are sunk in greedy commercialism. We may achieve valuable reforms by means of publicity, appeal to common sense, and persistent moral pressure.

I'm writing this brief note to urge you to insist on two reasonable concessions by the radio chains and stations.

1. Let the ads for the sponsors precede and/or follow the program, whatever it is—lecture, news, music, debate. No interruptions, please, in the middle. Two ads should satisfy any sponsor. The interruptions are nuisances, and very offensive ones. They do not pay. We get mad and boycott the offender.

2. The radio chains give us very little chamber music, though it is eminently suitable. Thousands of music lovers are thus deprived of a pleasure which radio, if intelligently managed, could bring them. "There's no money in it"—therefore sponsors for chamber music are hardly to be expected. Still, a few sustaining programs of good chamber music would not bankrupt our chains.
Chicago VICTOR S. YARROS

My reply is that the middle commercial will not be removed until radio presents a solid front to the advertisers. This in turn will not happen until research shows a majority of listeners antagonistic to middle commercials. Right now both the advertiser and the broadcaster know, from detailed surveys, that the practice is not unpalatable to most of the audience. However, not all advertisers present their interruptions with the same deft touch. When enough listeners are annoyed by blatant midway announcements, the practice will cease.

The presentation of chamber music, so far as the networks are concerned, is a case of satisfying thousands at the expense of millions. Look to your local stations for the more specialized programs such as chamber music. Talk up, write, ask for it, and you will get it.

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The *Nation* has included seventeen Borzoi Books in its selection of Outstanding Books of 1946. You will find each of the seventeen described on these pages, and they can all be examined at your leisure at any good bookshop.

I believe several forthcoming Borzoi Books will also be of interest to you. If you will send me your name and address, I will arrange for you to receive our catalogue of books to be published between January and April, 1947, as well as occasional news bulletins regarding Borzoi Books.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Dialectic of the Thaw

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FOR about half a century Tolstoy has been for many idealistic people a kind of one-man National Academy representing top standards in such departments as Letters, Philosophy, Religion, Politics, Domestic Affairs. On the other hand, for much the same reasons he has appeared to lovers of a more formal art as a busybody of genius who spoiled the effect of noble descriptive passages with his theories and moralizing. Were his scene-painting and ideas all there is to Tolstoy we could abandon him forever to the controversies of these two camps.

There is, however, a dialectical life in Tolstoy that makes it impossible to pass him by either as a monument or a corner preacher. Drawing on one of his most famous chapters, we might call it the dialectic of the thaw. What happens in Tolstoy's world is that a static social structure has been formed, hard as ice or a bureaucrat's routine, and made up of innumerable commonplaces; then something attacks this structure from within or without, undoes its joints, and threatens to disintegrate it into a mass of debris; the old form resists; and finally the enemy retires and a healing begins with a new burst of life and hope. You find this movement, or part of it, in the large novels and in all of the eight shorter ones gathered in the present collection.

Thus Tolstoy builds his art out of two systems of elements —the details of social and natural life which constitute normal existence, and the movement from the "outside" which invades the normal. As an observer of the normal, Tolstoy ranks with the best of naturalists. But what is most magnificent is his tenacity in following the fate of the invading movement—whether it be Napoleon's army, or the slow opening out of the emotions of the lovers in "Family Happiness" until they cover all routines like a flood, then ebb and turn inward, dividing into sluggish streams and at length drying up, while the shapes of the social begin to emerge again in their separateness; or the coming of the pain that nudges into Ivan Ilyich's side and turns him on his proud magistrate's seat, then sinks away, only to return again and again, more furious, suddenly almost vanishes, but inexorably appears once more, until it becomes the very substance of Ilyich's existence and he can only howl in anguish for three whole days and die.

The relation between the conservative social organism and the outsider who comes into it, more or less violently, provides the terms of Tolstoy's values and his speculations on the good life. Even in the early "Two Hussars" the issue is the different effects of the arrival of father and son in the same provincial village. In "The Cossacks" and "Hadji Murad," which would otherwise be pure "noble-savage" documentaries, Tolstoy tests the communes of the Caucasus against the Russian occupying troops. He admires the native *aoul* for successfully resisting the foreigners quartered on it, just as he admires the serf Nikita for his resistance to the conditions that drive his more "civilized" master to madness and destruction. In this capacity to resist the strange which he finds in the primitive and the passive lies the ground of much of Tolstoy's thinking on different levels—his military conceptions, his antagonism to medicine and science in general, his mystique of the organic, his archaism.

The thoroughly doomed are those whose flesh and spirit are grown into the dead substance of polite society. "Ivan Ilyich's life had been most simple and most ordinary and therefore most terrible." Had Tolstoy been capable of creating a literary form exactly equivalent to the quality of petrified life he imagined for Ilyich, his hero would have turned into some sort of monster, as in Kafka's "Metamorphosis" or "The Burrow," both of which, despite Philip Rahv's contention in his preface that "the theme of death is absent in Kafka," deal with the same final invasion of a structuralized life as "The Death of Ivan Ilyich."

Yet Tolstoy will not permit the victims of convention to escape their living death either through personal passion or through becoming outsiders themselves. Like Anna Karenina, the hero of "The Devil" is destroyed by an outlaw love affair. Tolstoy's norm is always the social, even when he rejects a particular society as hostile to life. And this fact suggests the limits of Tolstoy as a writer and the explanation of why in all matters he needs to play the prophet. It accounts also for his enormous official popularity in the U. S. S. R., where all values are social values.

That, absorbed in the onslaught of the destructive outsider, Tolstoy never forgets the image of the normal, the value of normal living, makes him seem more "whole" and "healthy" than writers like Dostoevski or Kafka, who "distort" the normal or even eliminate it altogether. But this "wholeness" can be looked at another way. Since the society that Tolstoy is describing is actually disintegrating, the individual who lives most fully is already, like Tolstoy himself or his revolutionary contemporaries, mostly outside the social norm. But Tolstoy refuses to deal with this fuller man projecting hugely out of society. He prefers to look back from the superior height of his own "revolution" upon the social organism and those who are still stifling in it, and condemn and instruct them. Thus instead of Dostoevski's "geniuses" and suffering isolated men, who really represent the dynamics of modern life, he gives us abstract social types who do not so much feel as they are carried away by feelings.

Since he never gets beyond the socially given, Tolstoy ought not to be regarded, as he is by Chestov and others, as a philosopher of life and death. Neither "The Death of Ivan Ilyich" nor "Master and Man" actually deals with the situation of humanity in the face of death, but with an extreme criticism of conventional life, the life of the special type committed to success in social terms, who is much more

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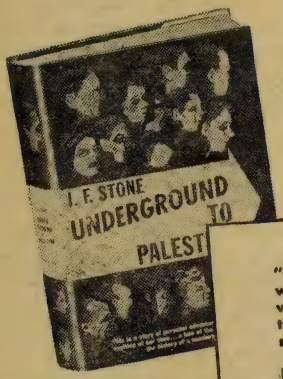

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frenzied than most men in holding on to existence, and who even when the end comes sees it through the eyes of his author not as an inescapable fate but as a *lesson* on how to live better. ". . . Worse than the physical sufferings were his [Ilyich's] mental sufferings which were his chief torture. . . . 'What if my whole life has really been wrong?'" As if Ilyich could, as Tolstoy *says*, have avoided dying had he lived properly.

By his translations of extreme human situations into social problems which he could solve Tolstoy consistently betrays his themes and emerges as the great sectarian. On no account will he admit himself baffled by beauty or by tragedy—deliberately he makes himself the ally of the practical man against all the uncommunicative chimeras of art from "Oedipus" to "Hamlet." If Tolstoy is "whole" and "healthy" it is in contrast not only with the "morbid" modern artists but with art itself, and even with life itself. Neither Homer nor the Old Testament is so healthy as Tolstoy, since the gods and fates that "sicken" the epic world cannot always be managed by formulas for right living.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

FICTION IN REVIEW

THE jacket of Robert M. Coates's "The Bitter Season" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) is misleading when it tells us that this is a novel about how men who were a "little too old or a little too frail to be warriors" felt about their exclusion from war service. Actually it is a novel about all of us in war time as we are seen by Mr. Coates's narrator and as this one person is representative of a broad segment of civilian life. The novel's protagonist is a painter-writer, a typical decent, thoughtful product of his century, who came to maturity—or supposed he did—in the period following the First World War. Now, in the midst of another war, he finds himself very little farther than where he started in both his personal life and the life of his country. The parallel between his narrator's personal history and the history of our times is Mr. Coates's means of tracing some of the antecedents and possible consequences of the present condition of the world; through the eyes of this sensitive observer of human behavior in a period of stress Mr. Coates attempts to assess the society that makes and is made by war. It is a large fictional undertaking, larger than the effort to analyze the state of mind of people unfit for military duty—though this too, of course, would be a good subject for a novel—and if Mr. Coates is not wholly successful in it he at least deserves the credit of his attempt.

The failure of "The Bitter Season" to be equal to its intention is chiefly due, I think, to the confusion of its method; and this in turn seems to me to be due to Mr. Coates's lack of confidence in the power of a fictional incident to communicate more than it may superficially appear to. Thus Mr. Coates's personal narrative not only follows no time sequence but is constantly interrupted for philosophical asides and for quick sketches of war-time habits and manners. And even these contemporary social observations are so crowded and handled so fancily that their import is lost; it is only with a certain effort that one realizes that a single principal thread—the thread, and threat, of suppressed or only half-suppressed violence in our most ordinary human encounters—runs through all of them. There are few current novelists who see the small business of life—how bartenders and bar customers, waiters, taxi drivers and bus conductors act and talk—with Mr. Coates's accuracy and intelligence, which makes it all the more regrettable that "The Bitter Season" is not a better job of dramatic distillation.

Jerome Weidman's "Too Early to Tell" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3) is about the undisciplined goings-on in a bureau of psychological warfare which its author does not call the OWI. It bears very little relation to Mr. Weidman's earlier novels. Certainly one never thought to be able to accuse the author of "I Can Get It for You Wholesale" of dulness, of lack of narrative flair, of spreading himself transparently thin, of—in short—sweating out a novel. It is true that because Mr. Weidman's bureaucrats and other civil-service types are not particularly attractive people "Too Early to Tell" has been easily labeled another of his usual caustic efforts. But this is to look for trouble where for this reader any kind of trouble would have been preferable to tedium.

The literary case of Mr. Weidman interests me very much. Never a major talent or even the promise of one, if only because his imagination has so limited a range, Mr. Weidman has yet seemed to me one of the quirkily arresting writers of our time who have received a peculiarly bad deal from the critics. I have the impression, in fact, that he has been singled out as whipping boy for the bad conscience of a literary period sanctified to the doing of good works. The notable instance is the outraged response that has greeted his writing about Jews. Conspicuously ignoring the question whether the characters in his earlier novels were faithful representations of a section of the Jewish population, Mr. Weidman's critics have taken the attitude that Mr. Weidman himself was as wicked as the people he described just because he described them, that practically single-handed he was bringing Hitlerism to America. The result of this kind of moral pressure was that, in his novel called "The Lights Around the Shore," Mr. Weidman sublimated a group of obviously Jewish characters into Gentiles, thus robbing them of an important reality, and that in his newest novel he touches virtually no reality at all. Present-day liberalism, in all its astigmatism and self-righteousness, has many large cultural as well as political sins to account for at the Day of Judgment; I am not saying that its pressure upon one minor literary figure is among the largest of them. But I do feel that the unofficial censorship of Mr. Weidman cannot properly be overlooked if we are to understand the relation of politics and literature in our time.

"The Liberators" by Wesley Towner (A. A. Wyn, $2.75) is a pedestrian but thoroughly earnest, decent study of the problems of the occupation of Germany. While I cannot recommend it as a work of fiction, I can recommend it as an unusually enlightened and honest report on our conduct in victory, rather a relief after such sentimental fantasies as "A Bell for Adano."

If you have been puzzled by announcement of the publication of "The Memorial" by Christopher Isherwood (New Directions), you might want to know that this is an early novel published in England in 1932.

DIANA TRILLING

BRIEFER COMMENT

The War

IT IS CERTAINLY too early to write a definitive interpretative history of the war that shall be both a vigorous treatise on the controlling social processes and an accurate and comprehensive account of the military campaigns. To trace the operation of causes implies selection, fulness here and condensation there, and much speculative effort. Nevertheless, Professor Hall's "Iron out of Calvary" (Appleton-Century, $4) will be an extremely useful book to those whose interest in the war is not primarily military.

Professor Hall, a liberal historian, prefaces his account with a quite objective survey of the confusion out of which the war developed. In his view the three principal phenomena of that confusion are economic maladjustment, intensified nationalism, and a steady loss of confidence in the liberal heritage of the nineteenth century. The association of capitalism and democracy had been weakened and its validity called in doubt by unmanageable economic crises. The result was that new authority principles attracted many followers. In this state of confusion the desire for peace as often as not worked in the interest of war. While radical thinkers on the right and left worked vigorously for peace on their own terms, or for war in behalf of their aims, great masses of people lost their nerve or suffered a repressive frustration of their energies.

The narrative section of this book is very good indeed. Professor Hall possesses great powers of organization and a sense of proportion; his book contains an immense amount of significant fact. One of its merits is that it deals in some fulness with the political and social measures that were taken by the various governments in support of their war effort. And the book is written vigorously but does not draw its vigor from journalistic devices.

Yet it is not improper to suggest that the criticism given above applies even to the historical part. Professor Hall is a liberal Democrat. He is not a mere partisan of the social and power aims of any one of the great powers. Yet he does not sufficiently weigh that view of the war which Russian thinkers once called "the theory of Parallel War." That British and even American strategy differed from Russian strategy he is fully aware, but he does not adequately relate this awareness to the phenomena he describes so well. It would be unfair to press this criticism too far, however, and one's final opinion must be that this is the history of the war that, to date, *Nation* readers will find most useful.

RALPH BATES

Poems

IN WRITING ABOUT "A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry (Edited by Oscar Williams, Scribner's, $2.75) it is easy to be hard on Mr. Williams. He asks for it by writing introductions full of pompous and affected half-truths, such as, "When a poet promulgates the sensuous pleasures he is no less moral than when he paints the hope of heaven or reveals the truth of tragedy. To be on the side of life is to be moral." He asks for it by including nine of his own poems, presumably on the ground that each of them "gave me that experience which I have learned comes as a reaction to reading a true poem." He asks for it by including, on this ground, a careful selection from the works of such other distinguished poets as Sarah Cleghorn, Timothy Corsellis, H. H. Lewis, and Shamus O'Sheel. It is easy to be hard on Mr. Williams, and, up to a point, quite right. No good book would include any of these things; mere common sense would exclude most of them.

But there is another side to Mr. Williams's book which ought also to be noticed. There may be defects in his taste and deficiencies in his common sense, but I would guess that his devotion to poetry is very real; there is an earnestness about him when he is talking of such things as "promulgating the sensuous pleasures" which convinces you in spite of the absurdity; and—what is after all the main point of a book like this—there are more good poems by more good twentieth-century poets here than in any other book of the kind.

For all its occasional foolishness and minor irritants, its curious notions about what is light verse and what is not, its refusal to arrange the poems in any reasonable order, its photographs of the poets, its dust-jacket account of how well-known a poet Mr. Williams is (with a photograph), this is the best single collection of twentieth-century poetry you can get right now. Scribner's have made it a handsome little book, too.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Meat

LIKE THE OLD FORD, Stefansson in his "Not by Bread Alone" (Macmillan, $3.50) rambles, rambles right along. In the midst of all these "meat" discussions, we have discourses on the Stone Age man, the dentist, scurvy, pemmican, and so on. There is much of interest to the anthropologist when Stefansson deals with customs among the Eskimos; there is little of importance to the scientist when he discusses necessary foods. Just as Hindhede became notorious by his advocacy of low-protein diets, so Stafansson has been pushed to the forefront because he is all out for meat eating. At least, so I thought until I came on this passage in the book (page 52): "These months on fish were the beginning of several years during which I lived on an exclusive meat diet. For I include fish when I speak of living on meat, using 'meat' and 'meat diet' as if I were a teacher of anthropology rather than an editor of a housekeeping magazine. The term in this book, and in like scientific discussions based on my work, refers to a diet from which all things of the vegetable kingdom are absent."

In the light of this strange definition of a "meat diet," it merely remains to be added that the Committee on Foods and Nutrition of the National Research Council would approve of such a diet *provided* fruits, vegetables, and cereals were included. And with all due respect to the estimable author, the collective opinion of the best brains in the field of nutrition—based as such opinion is on (a) experimental findings, (b) enormous statistical data, (c) war experiences, (d) army needs—more than counterweighs Stefansson's prejudices.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Books of 1946: A Selected List

BELLES-LETTRES

The Old Country. By Sholom Aleichem. Crown. $3.
Joy. By Georges Bernanos. Pantheon Books. $2.75.
Do I Wake or Sleep. By Isabel Bolton. Dutton. $2.50.
Ivy Gripped the Steps and Other Stories. By Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. $2.50.
The Stranger. By Albert Camus. Knopf. $2.
The Bitter Box. By Eleanor Clark. Doubleday. $2.50.
King Jesus. By Robert Graves. Creative Age. $3.
We Happy Few. By Helen Howe. Simon and Schuster. $2.75. (First half.)
Thieves in the Night. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $2.75.
The Sudden Guest. By Christopher La Farge. Coward-McCann. $2.50.
Woman of the Pharisees. By François Mauriac. Holt. $2.50.
The Street. By Ann Petry. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Passage from Home. By Isaac Rosenfeld. Dial. $2.50.
David the King. By Gladys Schmitt. Dial. $3.
States of Grace. By Francis Steegmuller. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.
All the King's Men. By Robert Penn Warren. Harcourt, Brace. $3.
Memoirs of Hecate County. By Edmund Wilson. Doubleday. $2.50.

North & South. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
Lough Derg and Other Poems. By Dennis Devlin. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.
Poems, 1938-1945. By Robert Graves. Creative Age. $2.
Lord Weary's Castle. By Robert Lowell. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
The Bridge. By Ruth Pitter. Macmillan. $1.50.
Selected Writings. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $3.50.
Paterson (Book I). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $2.50.

Hotel Bemelmans. By Ludwig Bemelmans. Viking. $3.
The Portable Blake. Selected and Arranged with an Introduction by Alfred Kazin. Viking. $2.
The Short Stories of Dostoevsky. Edited, with an Introduction, by William Phillips. Dial. $4.
Hawthorne's Short Stories. Edited and with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. Knopf. $3.
Tales of Hoffmann. Edited by Christopher Lazare. A. A. Wyn. $7.50.
The American Scene. Together with Three Essays from "Portraits of Places." By Henry James. Edited with an Introduction by W. H. Auden. Scribner's. $5.
The Great Wall of China. Stories and Reflections by Franz Kafka. Shocken. $3.
Metamorphosis. By Franz Kafka. Vanguard. $2.75.

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And He Hid Himself. A Play by Ignazio Silone. Harper. $2.
Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Carl Van Vechten. Random House. $3.50.
The Shorter Novels of Stendhal. Translated from the French by C. K. Scott-Moncrieff. Liveright. $2.49.
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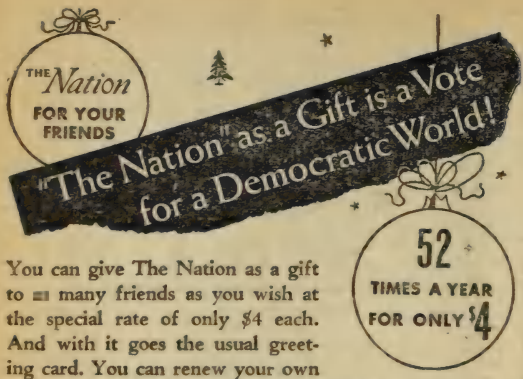

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"NO EXIT" (Biltmore Theater) is the English version of a phenomenally successful French play by Jean-Paul Sartre, high priest of existentialism. The scene is hell, the running time only a little over an hour and a quarter, and the total effect that of a rather ingenious shocker of a sort which would not have been out of place on the program at the Grand Guignol a generation ago. Three people—a Lesbian, a male collaborationist, and an American playgirl who murdered her child—find themselves after death shut up together in a hotel room. They enter at once upon a brief cycle of disputation in the course of which each manages to torture the other; then, as the cycle begins to repeat itself exactly, the curtain goes down. The three, it is evident, will pass eternity going over the same painful ground again, and again, and again. Since they will never sleep, hell, as one of them says, is merely life with no time off.

Of existentialism I know only what I read in the papers—including *The Nation*. It is, I have been told on various occasions, the theology of Kirkegaard with God left out; the conviction that though the world is both evil and without meaning nothing much can be done about it; and, finally, the determination to reject society while acting as an atomic individual. So far as I can see, it neatly combines the disadvantages of religious faith with those of nihilistic atheism. It seems, in other words, to assert moral responsibility while at the same time insisting that virtue has no reward, and it thus enables M. Sartre to revive the ancient proclamation, "There is no God and I am his prophet." But if this summary is inadequate, the fact is of no great importance at the moment, since no more—indeed hardly that much—could be deduced from the present play, whose virtues and limitations are obvious enough even to a spectator who has received no previous indoctrination.

Chief among the virtues is a genuinely macabre quality which makes itself felt most effectively during the first fifteen minutes, when the central conception is being presented and the atmosphere of horror being established. The ugly room, furnished in rather expensive bad taste and hideously lit by an unshielded chandelier in the ceiling, is just small enough to generate in the spectator a disconcerting claustrophobia, and as the victims are introduced one after another we share to some real extent both their nervous apprehension and the horror with which they realize the implications of their situation. Baudelaire talked about the *frisson nouveau*, and though it is no longer exactly new the shiver or thrill can still be provoked. Unfortunately, like most plays based upon a conception which can be effectively stated in a few words, "No Exit" suffers from the fact that the interest tends to decline steadily from the moment when the conception has been grasped and the playwright begins to try to fill in with sufficient material to stretch the action out beyond playlet length. In the present instance the revelation at the very end that the action is to repeat itself exactly through all eternity does provide an effective curtain, but up to that moment the tension has been going down rather than up, and there is no very good reason why the whole should not have been presented in half the short time now given it.

The popular French actor Claude Dauphin, who has been brought over to undertake the leading male role, gives a very effective if necessarily unpleasant performance as the bad-tempered, cowardly, neurotic, and self-despising collaborationist. Indeed, he seems to feel and transmit the emotions called for to a degree never approached by Annabella and Ruth Ford, who play competently enough the other two principal parts. But not even the genuineness of his performance can conceal the fact that the main action itself is not very different from that of a sensational triangle play as, let us say, Bourdet or even Bernstein might have written it. It is one thing to say that hell will merely be life lived eternally and without respite. It is another to illustrate that statement by an action not essentially different from one which has been presented many times by dramatists who were saying merely that life is sometimes hell, not—what is really quite different—that hell is life.

To compare the reaction of an American audience with what is said to be the reaction of Parisians is to realize how much the success of the play in France must be the result of the special state of the post-war mind. Here it was being discussed during the one brief intermission merely as a *tour de force*, a sensational novelty; there it obviously means something to a population whose pessimism has become not so much an intellectual conviction as a neurotic derangement. Existentialism would appear to be less a philosophy than a state of mind, and less a state of mind than a state of nerves. "Hell," said Shelley, "is a city much like London," but that does not make Shelley an existentialist, for the simple reason that he was neither cold, nor hungry, nor defeated. And the difference makes the artistic as well as philosophical difference between "Peter Bell, III," and "No Exit."

Films

JAMES AGEE

[*This is the concluding section of Mr. Agee's review of "The Best Years of Our Lives." The first half was printed last week.*]

IT SEEMS to me that the movie's basic weaknesses are in the script—or are, more likely, in the writer's knowledge of all that he would have to go easy on as a part of the rather remarkable bargain by which he got away with all that he managed to. Yet this is a most unusually good screen play. Although the dialogue has a continuous sheen of entertainment slickness it is also notably well-differentiated, efficient, free of tricks of snap and punch and overdesign, and modest in its feeling for how much weight it should carry on the screen; and most of the time there is an openness about the writing which I don't doubt every good screen writer tries for but which few achieve. By openness I mean simply that the scenes are so planned, and the lines so laid down, that every action and reaction, every motion and everything that is seen, is more centrally eloquent than the spoken lines. The movie thus has and takes its chance to be born in front of the camera, whereas the general run of screen plays force what takes place before the camera to be a mere redigestion of a predigestion.

With a director and camera man in charge so gifted as Messrs. Wyler and Toland it is impossible to guess which of them, or Mr. Sherwood, is most to be thanked for the great force, simplicity, and beauty of some of the scenes and countless of the camera set-ups; so it is purely my hunch, with apologies in advance, that the real heroes in this film are Wyler and Toland, with invaluable assists credited to the set designer and art director, who provide some of the

best stages for the action that I have ever seen in a movie. I can't think of a single shot of Toland's that doesn't show the amount of will, creative energy, and taste, and doesn't add with perfect power and modesty its own special kind of expressiveness, which of course ought to be evident in every shot in every good movie, and which of course plenty of people try for without more than spasmodically achieving. I can't remember a more thoroughly satisfying job of photography, in an American movie, since "Greed." Aesthetically and in its emotional feeling for people and their surroundings, Toland's work in this film makes me think of the photographs of Walker Evans. Toland either lacks or subsumes any equivalent intellect, irony, and delight in the varieties of texture, edge, meaning, mystery, and shape in clothing and in all inanimate things; but it is a question how much such powers of perception could be used in telling a story in motion.

William Wyler has always seemed to me an exceedingly sincere and good director; he now seems one of the few great ones. He has come back from the war with a style of great purity, directness, and warmth, about as cleanly devoid of mannerism, haste, superfluous motion, aesthetic or emotional overreaching, as any I know; and I felt complete confidence, as I watched this work, that he could have handled any degree to which this material might have been matured as well as or even better than the job he was given to do. His direction of the non-professional, Harold Russell, is just an exciting proof, on the side, of the marvels a really good artist can perform in collaboration with a really good non-actor; much more of the time it was his job to get new and better things out of professionals than they had ever shown before. One conspicuous failure —good as it is in its regrettable way—is March in his drunk scenes; and Myrna Loy, as his wife, is surprisingly uneven. But March is far outside his normal habits, and very good indeed, in, for instance, his interview with Dana Andrews over the question of the March daughter. And such a scene as that in which the sailor's father helps him get ready for bed seems to me so quietly perfect that I would set it in the world with the best fiction, or poetic drama, or movies that I know.

Almost without exception, down through such virtually noiseless bit roles as that of the mother of the sailor's fiancee, this film is so well cast and acted that there is no possible room to speak of

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all the people I wish I might. I cannot, however, resist speaking briefly, anyhow, of Teresa Wright. Like Frances Dee, she has always been one of the very few women in movies who really had a face. Like Miss Dee, she has also always used this translucent face with delicate and exciting talent as an actress, and with something of a novelist's perceptiveness behind the talent. And like Miss Dee, she has never been around nearly enough. This new performance of hers, entirely lacking in big scenes, tricks, or obstreperousness—one can hardly think of it as acting—seems to me one of the wisest and most beautiful pieces of work I have seen in years. If the picture had none of the hundreds of other things it has to recommend it, I could watch it a dozen times over for that personality and its mastery alone.

I can hardly expect that anyone who reads this will like the film as well as I do. It is easy, and true, to say that it suggests the limitations which will be inevitable in any Hollywood film, no matter how skilful and sincere. But it is also a great pleasure, and equally true, to say that it shows what can be done in the factory by people of adequate talent when they get, or manage to make themselves, the chance.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is a pre-Christmas list of important works—well-performed and recorded, in my opinion, except as otherwise noted—that have been issued during the past year:

Bach: Concerto in D minor; Istomin and Busch Chamber Players (undistinguished performance, poorly recorded); C Set 624, $3.85. "Brandenburg" Concertos Nos. 3 and 4; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (ponderous performance and recording); V Set 1050, $4.85. Sonata in E for violin and harpsichord; Menuhin and Landowska (gigantesque and coarse-toned performance); V Set 1035, $3.85. "Goldberg" Variations for harpsichord; Landowska (overblown, distorted performance); V Set 1022, $6.85. Passacaglia and Fugue and lesser works for organ; Biggs (recorded sound occasionally blurred); V Set 1048, $4.85.

Beethoven: "Coriolan" Overture; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (recorded sound on first side poor); V 11-9023, $1. "Leonore" No. 3 and "Prometheus" Overtures; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set SP-2, $2.25. *Abscheulicher! wo eilst du hin?* from "Fidelio"; Bampton with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (recorded sound poorer on second side); V 11-9110, $1. Piano Concerto No. 1; Dorfman with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (characterless playing by Dorfman); V Set 1036, $4.85. Piano Concerto No. 3; Rubinstein with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (Chopinesque playing by Rubinstein; poor recording); V Set 1016, $4.85. Quintet Opus 29; Budapest Quartet and Katims (poorly recorded); C Set 623, $4.85. Sonata Opus 102 No. 2 for cello and piano; Piatigorsky and Berkowitz (second half ineffectively played; piano poorly recorded); C Set X-258, $2.85. Symphony No. 2; Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony (performance a little explosive); C Set 597, $4.85. Symphony No. 6 ("Pastoral"); Stokowski and New York City Symphony (poor performance); V Set 1032, $5.85.

Bellini: Casta diva from "Norma"; Milanov (superb style, but clouded by tremolo and not securely on pitch); V 11-9293, $1.

Berlioz: Fantastic Symphony; Monteux and San Francisco Symphony; V Set 994, $6.85. "Roman Carnival" Overture; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V 11-9008, $1.

Chopin: Gimpel's performances in Vox Set 604, $3.93, are preferable in style to Horowitz's in V Set 1034, $3.85.

Copland: "Appalachian Spring"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V Set 1046, $4.

Debussy: Preludes, Vol. 1; Schmitz (bad performances, poorly recorded); V Set 1031, $6.

Franck: Symphony; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance and recording); C Set 608, $5.85.

Handel: Siciliana, and Purcell's "I Attempt from Love's Sickness to Fly"; Thebom; V 10-1178, $.75. Concerto in D; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (inflated performance); 12280-D, $1.

Haydn: Symphony No. 98; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1025, $4.85. Symphony No. 97; Beecham and London Philharmonic; V Set 1059, $3.85 "My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair" and "She Never Told Her Love"; Marian Anderson (not well sung); V 10-9010, $.75.

Mahler: Symphony No. 4; Walter and

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Wagner: Two monologues of Sachs from "Die Meistersinger"; Janssen; C Set G-269, $2.85. Act 1, Scene 3 of "Die Walküre"; Traubel, Darcy, Rodzinski, New York Philharmonic-Symphony (poorly sung); C Set 618, $3.85. "Siegfried Idyll"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (not well-performed; imperfectly recorded); C Set X-265, $3.85. Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin"; Traubel with Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (uneven singing); C 12321-D, $1. Bridal Chamber Duet from "Lohengrin"; Traubel, Baum, Rodzinski, New York Philharmonic (poorly sung by Traubel); C Set X-261, $2.85.

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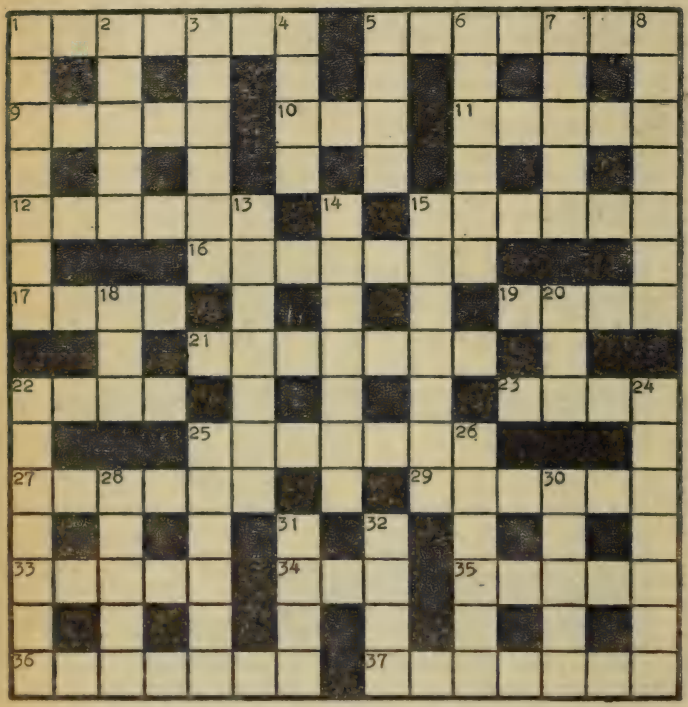
Crossword Puzzle No. 190

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Educate chiefly in the use of the telephone (5 and 2)
5 May be ferreted out
9 It didn't crack despite rough Japanese handling
10 "As the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and - - -, very wittily said to ■ niece of King Gorboduc, That that is, is"
11 Indian capital
12 As much as an urn will hold
15 Hop it—it's a kid's game!
16 Overworked, he might describe himself as a galley slave (3-4)
17 "A Persian's heaven is easily made: 'Tis but black - - - - and lemonade"
19 The sound of wings
21 Simple Simon's direction?
22 Old convicts
23 They make themselves known by signs
25 Hardened
27 Hand in hand
29 Flat on your back
33 The American one is a hawk
34 Welsh river
35 Cut it out
36 Mowers with curved handles and curved blades
37 A man of letters

DOWN

1 It stands to reason
2 I am on something fiercer than the wooden horse
3 Not an English dictionary
4 Bucket with a lip
5 Every woman is one at heart, according to Pope
6 Decorate the deck between A and C?
7 There's a concealed stile in this ait
8 Hitler's making slips!
13 Runs away to dodge ■ debt
14 Made mock of
15 Consoles
18 Boiled by the vulgar and roasted by the learned (again Pope)
20 Don't call a female swan this!
22 Desks in the House of Keys?
24 An old-fashioned speak-easy
25 Let it be better than silence—or be silent
26 We see you in ■ frock which allows no freedom of movement
28 Heated
30 Most of this dialect comes from an idiot
31 Studies hard—they need to!
32 Bound to escape the rope

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 189

ACROSS:—1 COSSACK; 5 FOX CUBS; 9 PAVLOVA; 10 REALIZE; 11 LOSER; 12 ILL; 13 SMITH; 14 TAPLASH; 16 GUERDON; 18 MATADOR; 21 DUFFERS; 24 ALOOF; 26 FIG; 27 PERDU; 28 OLD SALT; 29 IMPOUND; 30 SENORAS; 31 HEATHER.

DOWN:—1 CAPULET; 2 SAVES UP; 3 AMOUR; 4 KNAVISH; 5 FORELEG; 6 X-RAYS; 7 UNIFIED; 8 STEPHEN; 15 AND; 17 ELF; 18 MEADOWS; 19 TRODDEN; 20 REFUTES; 21 DOGFISH; 22 ENROUGH; 23 SHUDDER; 25 FLAIR; 27 PIPPA.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 163 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 21, 1946 NUMBER 25

Can Industry Pay More?

THE C. I. O. has opened its new wage drive by publishing a report showing that real wages have fallen sharply in the past two years, while corporate profits have tremendously expanded. Prepared by Robert N. Nathan, the well-known economist and former deputy director of reconversion, the report seeks to prove that, with the present trend of industrial profits, "a substantial wage increase is possible, justifiable, and essential"; in fact it concludes, "without that, or a sharp drop in prices, we are flirting with collapse."

As was only to be expected, Mr. Nathan's arguments are being hotly attacked by the spokesmen of business who continue to insist that a new round of wage increases will inevitably be reflected in prices, and give another boost to the inflationary spiral. That, however, is not necessarily so. Now that OPA is abolished, prices in many instances are being determined not by any fixed relation to costs, but on the principle of "what the traffic will bear." Corporations faced with higher labor costs will pass these costs on, if they think the customers will stand for it; if not, they will trim margins and, as the Nathan report indicates, many of them have margins which can stand some trimming without reducing their shareholders to poverty. Suppose, for instance, that all corporations reduced their average rate of return on sales to the average of 1936-39; their net earnings would then be running at an annual rate of $8,250,000,000 instead of $15,000,000,000.

It is, of course, true, as the New York *Times* has hastened to point out, that the profits of industry as a whole are not a pool which can be drawn from to pay higher wages in any branch. One cannot, for example, lift the earnings of steel-workers on the basis of the inordinate profits of the liquor companies. But that point is fully recognized by the unions. Philip Murray, when introducing the Nathan report, was careful to say that the conditions it described did not necessarily apply to every collective bargaining situation and that it would be adopted by C. I. O. unions only as a "guide-post."

Actually, while some industries encountered heavy weather in the first half of this year, there are now few which are not sharing the general prosperity. Steel, automobiles, and electrical-equipment manufacturers are often mentioned as particular sufferers from the squeeze between labor costs and prices, but all three seem to be convalescing rapidly. The steel companies reported very fair profits for the third quarter of this year, while the other two groups appear to have hit their stride in the last three months. Most leading concerns in the "depressed" categories, it is interesting to note, have continued to pay substantial dividends, even though these were not earned—good evidence that their directors regard their troubles as transitory.

But the opponents of increased wages are not so anxious to question the accuracy of Mr. Nathan's figures and forecasts as to argue that they are irrelevant. They are no more inclined than were the General Motors' managers, a year ago, to discuss the level of profits or ability to pay. The orthodoxy of the present hour is that wages can only safely be raised *pari passu* with increased production. One weak point in the argument is its failure to recognize the fact that labor productivity is not just a matter of increased effort or skill. In a mass-production industry, full labor efficiency can only be obtained when output is at or near capacity. That condition has not been achieved in many plants since the war, partly because of strikes, partly because of shortages for which labor is not responsible. But we are told that these difficulties are being overcome, and that if the workers will only refrain from strikes, it will be possible to reach a sustained flow of production. But will it? That condition implies a sustained flow of orders, and at present wage and price levels the only group in the country which can provide such a flow, the wage and salary earners, is being excluded from the market by lack of purchasing power.

It may be said that, if the workers are patient, this situation will be corrected by the lowering of prices as production rises and costs fall. But this argument presumes the operation of an intelligent self-interest on the part of business men which, experience warns us, we cannot count upon. In practice, we know that business always waits too long to cut prices; waits until depression has arrived and demand has evaporated, even at a lower price level. There is very little hope, in fact, that the price-reduction method of holding on to prosperity, even though it is supported by conservative economists, will

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voluntarily be followed by business. That leaves wage increases as the only practical method of getting a better balance between the rewards of labor and capital.

We hope this objective can be achieved without a new round of strikes. So, clearly, do the leaders of the C. I. O. who are fully aware of the dangers involved in long stoppages. They will, we are certain, be prepared to accept reasonable compromises and if employers, refraining from the temptation to exploit the Republican victory, will do likewise, there is no need to anticipate another winter of labor warfare.

The Laski Libel Case

NATION readers do not need to be convinced that Harold Laski has never advocated revolution by violence as a method of social change. But he was accused of just that by several journals in England in the course of the election campaign in 1945, and he brought suit against one of them, the *Newark Advertiser and South Notts Gazette*, to put a stop to libelous charges which might easily have damaged Labor's chance. The other day he lost his case, and the full account of the trial, now available in the London papers, provides an instructive example of British justice tempered by British reaction. Ten witnesses swore they had attended the meeting at which Mr. Laski was reported as having advocated violence and revolution without hearing any such statement made; four said they believed the report was substantially correct. Mr. Laski himself testified that he had merely said, in response to a heckler —who was, incidentally, the press agent of the Conservative candidate in that district—that with the end of the war, if reforms were not brought about by constitutional means, there was danger of a drift toward violence and revolution.

But the final verdict probably resulted less from the evidence than from the provocative tactics used by Sir Patrick Hastings, the noted barrister, formerly a Labor Party member himself, who represented the defendant. His cross-examination was clearly designed to expose the plaintiff to ridicule and contempt, and his address to the jury cleverly blurred the distinction between advocacy of revolution and a prediction that revolution might occur. In the end, the jury was undoubtedly left with the impression that Laski was at best a rather dangerous sort of fellow who might easily have used the words quoted in the Newark weekly. A friend in England has sent us this comment on the verdict:

> The jury played hell with Harold Laski's case. Hastings did not misunderstand them. He gave them a few simple stimuli to vulgar prejudice, and they reacted accordingly. I guess Freud shows the limitations of all

jury trials in which a demagogue is allowed to play on the subconscious while the judge stays upstairs with the law.

The action had to be brought, in the opinion of Mr. Laski and his friends, in order to stop the unprincipled attempt of the extreme right to discredit the Labor Party in the midst of the campaign by smearing its leaders with the revolutionary label. Now that the case has been lost, we are glad to see that the Labor Party and the trade unions are asking for contributions from members to meet the exorbitant and obviously punitive costs charged against Mr. Laski—costs that will amount to something like $60,000. It is unthinkable that he should be allowed to shoulder any part of this outrageous burden.

Germany Next

THE Moscow session of the Council of Foreign Ministers will at last bring the Big Four face to face with the gravest and most complex problem of all, that of Germany. While we do not underrate the importance of the agreements that have been reached to date, it is clear that the treaties with Italy and the Balkan Axis satellites will lose all meaning if we fail to solve the German question. A breakdown over Germany would mean a division of Europe into two blocs, each having its own mode of life and oriented towards powerful and hostile states. In such a situation, the agreement about the Danube would be meaningless and the long discussions of frontiers and constitutions utterly futile.

The comparative ease with which the Foreign Ministers have reached agreements within the last few weeks gives ground for a balanced optimism. Positions have been taken, and bargaining points have been made, in readiness for the Moscow session. Yet there are unmistakable signs that the Big Three are ready to yield on matters that, in the earlier stages of negotiations, seemed beyond the reach of compromise.

It is not the question of frontiers that will endanger success at Moscow, but the necessity of evolving a plan for the structure of German society, upon which depends the whole future of Europe. Here, again, steps have been taken that at first sight seem irreversible. Russia has largely socialized the economy of eastern Germany, and has incorporated it into its own system of exchange. London and Washington, no doubt, had the forthcoming session of the Council in mind in signing the recent merger agreement by which the industry of their zone, cut off at present from eastern and western European sources and outlets, may find markets in the Western world. That these measures are drastic must be admitted. The orientation of eastern Germany's economy toward Russia tends to freeze existing economic and political divisions, condemning western Germany to an artificial and poverty-stricken existence. The merger of the British and American zones may have a similar effect, although in the short time before the Moscow conference the situation cannot be greatly changed. It is a known fact, however, that American policy has been strongly influenced by those who wish to abandon denazification and decartelization. The champions of free enterprise are energetic and powerful and they see in the Russian program an excellent justification for establishing the merger on a firmly conservative basis. This intention can be frustrated only by a determined effort on the part of the British government, backed by democratic elements in Germany, to socialize the basic industries of the western zones in spite of American opposition or indifference. Any sign of Russian willingness to compromise and so assist the unification of German economy, would also help cut the ground from under the feet of the conservatives, both in England and America.

This, then, is the problem which the Foreign Ministers must consider during the Moscow meeting. The dangers to which they will be exposed are different in each case. The Soviet leaders must be prepared to give up their doctrinal rigidity and take a more sober view of the problem of their security. The British must throw off the burden of fear concerning their empire, and must be bold in following the implications of their tentative and timidly executed plans for German industry. For both Russia and Britain, this will be difficult. America, lately emerged from isolation, needs even greater courage and imagination. Private enterprise is a dying system in Europe and if we attempt to revive it we shall, in the long run, invite catastrophe.

The Shape of Things

DESPITE FIORELLO LA GUARDIA'S GOOD fight, the State Department has succeeded not only in blocking a new U. N. relief agency, but in injecting politics into the disposal of the remainder of UNRRA's funds. Of course, the American representatives in U. N. and UNRRA councils have flatly denied that the United States has been motivated by political considerations in seeking to change the existing relief pattern. They have insisted that their desire to give additional aid to Italy, Austria, and Greece, and less to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, is based solely on the greater need of the former countries. There is at least a grain of truth in this contention. The food situation in Austria is extremely grave, as our recent article by G. E. R. Gedye clearly showed, and it is not much better in Italy. But reports from Poland, White Russia, and the Ukraine indicate that any diversion of the food which has been promised these areas would lead to acute mal-

nutrition. If, as a result of American pressure, the existing commitments to these countries are repudiated, it is going to be very difficult for the United States to persuade the world that it is not utilizing food for political purposes. Senator Wherry is somewhat more honest, if less concerned for our reputation as a Good Samaritan, in declaring that the "cause of democracy is being lost" in Europe because "the United States is not getting credit" for the relief distributed by UNRRA. Significantly enough, neither the State Department nor Mr. Wherry has complained about the use of UNRRA supplies without credit where they were used, as in Greece and China, to buttress reactionary governments.

✶

VICTORY ON THE SPANISH ISSUE CAME AFTER one of the most heated and interesting debates that has yet taken place in the United Nations. Perhaps the most important lesson of the fight has been to show that the big powers can be defeated when the cause for which they stand is an indefensible one. The American resolution was voted down—despite the fact that many countries were originally inclined to go along with Washington—because it tried to put across a proposal that would have meant a negotiated settlement with Franco and other reactionary elements in Spain. On the positive side, the adoption of the Belgian resolution by an impressive 32-to-6 vote is the first clear admission that Spain is the business of the United Nations. Until last week, the entire argument in the Security Council and the General Assembly had revolved around the single question of whether or not the United Nations were empowered to take any action against Franco, beyond that of barring him from membership. Now, the Belgian resolution places the Spanish issue squarely within the jurisdiction of the international organization, disposing, once and for all, of the nonsensical belief that action by the U. N. would constitute intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. We have no assurance that the British and Americans will abandon their efforts to replace Franco's hated regime by a clerical-military government. But last Thursday's vote will make such a maneuver much more difficult.

✶

THE CHOICE OF NEW YORK AS THE SITE FOR the permanent home of the United Nations was made by punch-drunk delegates wearied by a two-months' bout of unremitting debate, exasperated by the frustrations of commuting, rendered claustrophobic by their rabbit-like existence in the dark warrens of the Sperry plant at Lake Success. The promise of a skyscraper City of Peace made by the builder and creator of the magic Radio City seemed like an apocalyptic vision at the end of a nightmare. Not even the eminently rational choice of the parklands of Philadelphia, which the site committee had settled on, could stand up against John D.'s dramatic munificence. The whole matter was signed and sealed with a speed more reminiscent of a Florida boom than the serious counsels of responsible men. It may be all right. New York *is* the world's capital in more than a peaceful sense. Intelligent planners and good architects can do something useful with those seventeen acres in midtown Manhattan. And *Nation* editors can reach the U. N. at the third subway stop. But we have certain qualms. The baby U. N. will find it has not much room to grow. Then there is the question of housing. The members of the permanent U. N. staff who found the commuting from New York to Great Neck irksome are going to discover that commuting from Great Neck to Forty-second Street is just as tiresome—that is, if they are lucky enough to find homes in Great Neck. We wish the United Nations luck on their new site, but we can't help feeling that when they begin to work out the details they may find they have married Mr. Rockefeller's millions in unseemly haste.

✶

LAST JUNE, THE SENATE VOTED 49 TO 16 TO reform itself in several ways and, in particular, to renovate its barnacled and incoherent committee system. Leading Republicans, among them Senator Taft, supported the measure. Unimpeachable in itself, the theoretical case for it was made irresistibly attractive by provisions for a 25 per cent salary increase and pensions for retired legislators. And, finally, the act promised a monumental headache to the majority party, which would have to divide fifteen chairmanships among thirty-three ex-chairmen. What the Republican Senators failed to figure on, last June, was that they themselves would constitute the majority only six months later. Faced with an outburst of intra-party jealousies and a factional struggle for power, they now find their ardor for the Reorganization Act rapidly congealing. Senator Taft complains that the Republican Committee on Committees has been "practically put in a straitjacket" by the plan, and his remarks have been widely echoed. The revolt has gone even farther in the House, which originally passed the act by a vote of 229 to 61. Six members are hard at work, canvassing Republicans of the lower chamber, to force an amendment whereby the Naval Affairs Committee and the Military Affairs Committee will continue to go their separate ways. We hardly believe that the Republican leadership will be brash enough to scrap the act outright, especially since the House Steering Committee, less than a month ago, voted overwhelmingly to give it a try. But if an exception is made for the military and naval committees, the act may as well be filed in the nearest wastebasket. Once this "bulge in the line" is established, it will be only a matter of time before the whole plan collapses, except the pensions and the salary boost—both of which, we can report, are being accepted with remarkable party discipline and good spirit.

THESE RUMBLINGS OF DISCONTENT, AND A rather raw effort being made to rig committees by increasing the Republican majority, tell something of the conflicting currents in the G. O. P. The seniority rule is under fire from the Senate's Westerners, who added appreciably to their ranks in November but who will have only a small voice in policy-making unless geography is introduced as a determining factor. As Senator Robertson of Wyoming points out, "No Senator from west of the Dakotas will get a chairmanship under the seniority rule." To make more posts available, and to reduce a dangerous concentration of power, the Westerners and other rebels are out to prevent dual job-holding. Specifically, they hope to stop three men from holding down six top posts: Taft, who heads the unofficial but powerful G. O. P. Steering Committee; Wallace White, slated to be floor leader; and Vandenberg, who is certain to be elected president of the Senate. All three have their eyes on crucial committee chairmanships as well. There will be a fight to break up this concentration of control—and another, we hope, over the attempt to swell the Republican majority on four key committees. The count, in the Senate as a whole, is 51 to 45 for the Republicans. It is fair enough, therefore, for the Republicans to have a 7-to-6 majority on thirteen-man committees. The fact that they are asking for an 8-to-5 ratio is an indication that they are not certain of their own solidarity. We suspect they are afraid that on the Labor Committee, for example, Senators Morse and Aiken might on occasion vote with the Democrats—which, if a single vote were decisive, would probably give a dangerous impression of party weakness and spoil a lot of fun.

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THE RESIGNATION OF WILSON WYATT AS National Housing Administrator has meant the death of the veterans' housing program. A Washington letter by Bryant Putney on page 722 describes the triumph of as slick a lobby of selfish interests as the country has ever seen. The only meager consolation in the whole shameful business is that it has awakened a public which has been somnolent too long, and focussed that public's attention on the nation's number one social and economic problem. Unfortunately, even those most concerned about the problem are apt to think in terms of a "post-war emergency." Too few will accept the fact that the plight of veterans who deserve better from their country simply dramatizes a dismal situation which millions of Americans have been putting up with, year in and year out, war or no war. The responsibility of the government is conveniently stated in terms of the post-war emergency, but the roots of the housing scandal run deep into the economics of an archaic building industry, into the callous disregard of an acquisitive society, into an abyss of public ignorance, into a bankruptcy of public policy. For these reasons, *The Nation* has asked Charles Abrams, one of the country's outstanding housing experts, to write a series of articles, the first of which appears on page 723, exposing and explaining the basic causes of America's failure to provide homes.

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OF COURSE, WE SHALL BE DELIGHTED IF AND when Theodore Bilbo is booted out of the Senate. But the question of his departure seems to us far less important than the process employed to get rid of him. It begins to appear now that, if he is ousted at all, it will be for a war record of outstanding shadiness. Bilbo would then return to Mississippi merely as a crook, utterly without significance. We had a grander role blocked out for him. We saw him as an historic, if unsavory, figure: the first Senator to be barred for campaigning on a platform of intimidation and anti-democratic incitement. It now appears that this hoped-for precedent will not be set, thanks to the audacious whitewashing job performed by Senator Ellender. The hearings he conducted in Mississippi were useless, since he was determined from the start to excuse Bilbo. More important, the hearings were needless. It did not have to be proved that Bilbo's inflammatory speeches kept a single Negro away from the polls; much less that he would have lost the election without such intimidation. When the Senate barred Boss Vare, some years ago, it did not first require proof that his slush fund had purchased certain specified votes, or that the results would have been different without his money. It was held sufficient to show that his actions had "tainted the seat with fraud." Bilbo was widely reported to have called repeatedly "on every red-blooded white man to use any means to keep the niggers away from the polls." All that was needed was to verify the quotation. That alone should have "tainted the seat"—and cleared the air.

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BREAKDOWN OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE on India, following the withdrawal of the Moslem League from the Constituent Assembly, has produced a new crisis of extraordinary complexity. Farsighted patience and tact will be required for its solution; and one can understand the British government's reluctance to yield to the demand for a Commons debate. In the light of his long record of obstruction, Mr. Churchill's object was clearly to hinder the achievement of Indian liberty. The event has justified the government's fears, for in a speech shot through with malice the former Prime Minister did his utmost to sharpen the conflict in India. By charging Sir Stafford Cripps with angling his plan to favor Hindu domination of the Moslem minority, and by calculated prophecy of civil strife, Mr. Churchill has incited Mr. Jinnah to continue the obstructive tactics he has so tragically employed in recent months. That the government's reply would be more than cautious was to be expected. British Labor is

irrevocably committed to the course it has taken. Fearing renewed bloodshed in India, it cannot boldly challenge Mr. Jinnah by declaring that it will unreservedly accept whatever proposal the one-party constituent Assembly may make. Yet its failure to do so must necessarily weaken Mr. Nehru and undermine his prestige with both right and left opposition. The only available recourse would seem to be to persuade Nehru to make further concessions. And since the Congress Party will never consent to a divided India, the only hope would seem to lie in adoption of the federal idea. No one knows how far the Congress Party will be willing to go in this direction, or whether Jinnah, who would prefer British rule to a free and united India, will accept anything less than an extreme interpretation of Pakistan. The answer to these questions will be given in Delhi, not London.

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THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC SEEMS TO BE IN danger of turning back to the days of the infamous Padlock Law of the thirties. Those most persistent and humorless proselytizers, the Jehovah's Witnesses, have recently been distributing, on the streets of Montreal, an anti-Catholic pamphlet entitled "The Burning Hatred of Quebec." When a dozen or more Witnesses were arrested, bail was provided for some of them by Frank Roncarelli, a well-known restaurant owner. In a sprightly retaliatory spirit, Maurice Duplessis, in his dual role as Premier of the province and Attorney-General, ordered the revocation of Roncarelli's liquor license. M. Duplessis, the Premier, attempts to justify his action by the quaint argument that to permit Roncarelli to aid the Jehovah's Witnesses with funds derived from the sale of liquor would make M. Duplessis, the Attorney-General, an accomplice. Religious dissenters are not the only objects of Duplessis's campaign. On December 10, Captain Jack Ennis's anti-subversive police detail made simultaneous raids on the headquarters of the English, French, and Jewish branches of the Labor Progressive Party (the present vehicle of the Communist Party), and also raided the home of Michael Buhay, a city councillor. The purpose of the raids, so it has been announced, is to prevent the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Defend Fred Rose." If the trend of recent Quebec history is not altered, M. Duplessis is likely, once again, to invoke the Padlock Law.

Bilbo on the Griddle

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, December 13

THE luck of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo is beginning to play out. This little sawed-off man, with his sunken cheeks, his watery eyes which squint through metal-rimmed spectacles, has now became a political issue.

Republican Senators from industrial states feel that they are committed to throwing "the Man" out of the old chamber in the northern wing of the Capitol. Arthur Vandenberg has told reporters that Bilbo's ouster is high on the priority list.

Many Northern Democrats consider the Mississippi Senator a dangerous political liability, who might cost their party many seats and the Presidency in 1948. The Southerners, who are usually quick to defend the honor of their Dixie kin, are showing no haste or enthusiasm to support the cause of Theodore Bilbo.

The determination of many Senators on both sides of the aisle to cross out Bilbo is indicated by the fact that within two weeks two separate Senate committees have investigated his fitness to hold office.

The more sectionally sympathetic group was the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, headed by Louisiana's Allen Ellender. Its members do not show great crusading zeal. The ranking Republican, Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, apparently regards Ellender's obvious efforts not to blacken Bilbo or the South as part of a political tug-of-war in which he, Bridges, is involved only on the side.

The Subcommittee of the War Investigating Committee shows more spirit. Chairman James Mead, who was defeated for Governor of New York, has told friends that his final act on Capitol Hill will be to make a strong case against Bilbo on charges that the Mississippi Senator profited personally from war contracts. Senator Mead feels personally committed to using all his talents as an investigator in this case. Other Democrats, on the War Investigating Committee itself, are supporting him. Harley Kilgore of West Virginia, who succeeded to the chairmanship, has given his blessing and support to the Bilbo hearings.

Some Democrats see Bilbo building into an issue that could be of crucial importance in the 1948 elections. He has become a symbol to civil-liberties and Negro groups. Negro voters, after deserting the party of Abraham Lincoln in 1932, have now begun to drift back to the Republicans. The Democrats cannot win without them in 1948, and the G. O. P. must try to prevent their defection. Five Negro correspondents are covering the Mead committee hearings, and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are in the audience.

Some of the more cynical Washington politicians have decided it would be easier to send Bilbo back to Mississippi than to pass the FEPC or the anti-poll-tax bill. Bilbo is only another Senator, while these bills lead to a fundamental change in the condition of Southern life.

The war-profits hearing began on a gray and warm morning this week. Bilbo ambled into the glittering Senate caucus room with his irregular, bow-legged gait. Wall Doxey, the handsome and distinguished-looking Senate sergeant-at-arms, rushed up to Bilbo, and with much bowing and scraping led him past the press table. Doxey is a former Senator from Mississippi himself and was allied with Bilbo. Noting the curious stares of the reporters Doxey drawled happily to Bilbo, "They all got to look at you." Soon after Bilbo sat down at a place usually reserved for committee officials, Jim Mead strolled in, smiling to old friends. Noticing Bilbo, he said jocularly, "Hi, Theodore, how's your good health?" There was no note of deep concern in his voice.

Homer Ferguson, the white-haired Republican from Michigan, came next into the chamber. Photographers, looking for a picture, shouted to Ferguson and Bilbo, "Come on, shake hands there!" Ferguson kept his hand flat on the table as if he had not heard. Bilbo inched his hand forward a little, then let it rest.

Senator Mead gave the charter and purpose of the hearing in his opening statement: "The allegations will be treated in the same manner as in any other case. There has been a preliminary investigation by the staff. The committee voted unanimously to investigate. This subcommittee has an open mind, without prejudice, although the full committee does believe there is a *prima facie* case."

The Senator's voice rose strongly as he said, "All men are equal before the law, in a democracy." He did not look at Bilbo as he said this. The Mississippi Senator was calmly smoking a long, black cigar. His feet were on the table before him.

Bilbo's young attorney asked if he would have the privilege of cross-examining witnesses. Senator Mead answered a polite but firm "No." He explained, "You will be given a full chance to state your case. But we will not transfer to anyone the authority of this committee to question witnesses. If you have any recommendations to the committee, you may put them in writing."

The hearing thus far has established several points: (1) Bilbo was a nuisance around the War Department when it came time to award war contracts in Mississippi. The army's attitude was summed up in a sentence taken from a telephone transcript: "Keep Senator Bilbo off our neck." (2) Many political associates of Bilbo participated in the Mississippi war contracts. (3) The contractors contributed generously to Bilbo and to political campaigns in which he was interested. Some $30,000 was paid directly to Bilbo. One unhappy witness, a pudgy, red-haired Mississippi contractor testified to writing checks amounting to $25,000 and putting them on a desk in Bilbo's office.

Most of the questioning is done by Senator Ferguson, who won his seat on his record as a prosecutor. His questioning is slow, deliberate, even painful in its exactness. Then, suddenly, he will strike hard, and by the mere inflection of his voice raise issues of integrity and honesty. Ferguson is trying to lay a sound basis for the accusations to be leveled directly at Bilbo within a few days. There has been some melodrama in the hearing—the case of Bilbo's missing secretary, who is said to fear assassination and kidnapping—but it is aside from the real story. The real story is that a combination of influential Republicans and Democrats have decided that Theodore Bilbo shall not sit in the Senate.

The Ellender committee will probably send a divided report to the Senate on alleged election misconduct. But the Kilgore committee, without the necessity of commenting on the delicate question of whether Negroes should vote or not, seems likely to send down a scathing indictment of Bilbo. Jim Mead wants to make this document the best he has worked on during his time on the investigating committee.

Caricature by Post

Theodore G. Bilbo

United Nations' Balance Sheet

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, December 14

AS DELEGATES to the U. N., weary from an uninterrupted round of day and night sessions, were packing up their bags for departure on the Queen Elizabeth in time to spend Christmas at home, the General Assembly in a burst of intense activity wound up the second part of its first session, which is destined to leave a deep imprint on the history of international organization. To an encouraging degree the debates of the General Assembly and its committees were free from the grandiloquent phrases about eternal peace which had done so much during the inter-war period to discredit the efforts of nations to create a system of collective security. There was little glamour about the proceedings at Lake Success or Flushing Meadows, and not much oratorical display. But there was something far more important for the future of the U. N.—and that was a genuine desire to work hard on issues of concern to all nations.

The record of accomplishment of the General Assembly in the more than seven weeks that it was in session is impressive, especially considering the amount of disagreement that existed at the start. Here is a brief list of the major decisions.

Trusteeship. On December 13 the General Assembly by a two-thirds' vote accepted eight agreements under which as many territories formerly under mandate from the League of Nations will be transferred to the trusteeship of the United Nations. This decision opened the way to the creation, on December 14, of the Trusteeship Council, the last of the major U. N. organs to be established. The trusteeship agreements covering New Guinea (mandated to Australia), Western Samoa (New Zealand), Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium), Tanganyika, British Cameroons, and British Togoland (Britain) were accepted by forty-one to six with six abstentions. The six negative votes were cast by Byelo-Russia, Liberia, Poland, the U. S. S. R., and Yugoslavia. On the two other agreements, covering the French Cameroons and French Togoland, Poland changed its vote from "no" to abstention. India, which had sided with Russia in opposing the trusteeship agreements in their present form during the committee discussions, abstained from voting in the General Assembly.

Important also was the decision of the General Assembly on December 14 to disapprove the proposal of the Union of South Africa for annexation of Southwest Africa, which it holds as a mandate from the League of Nations, and to ask that South Africa submit a U. N. trusteeship agreement for that territory. The resolution covering this matter had been prepared by the United States, Denmark, and India.

To the last Nikolai N. Novikov, Russian ambassador in Washington, contended that the trusteeship agreements should be rejected because they violated the U. N. Charter, and especially because the Trusteeship Committee had failed to agree on a definition of the phrase "states directly concerned." Under Article 86 of the Charter, Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, and Britain become members of the Trusteeship Council by virtue of the fact that they are named administering authorities under the trusteeship agreements; China, the United States, and Russia, as permanent members of the Security Council which do not hold trust territories, also become members of the Trusteeship Council ex officio; and two countries—Iraq and Mexico—have been elected to the Council for three-year terms. The first meeting of the new Trusteeship Council is scheduled to be held on March 15.

Relief and Refugees. In deference to the point of view of the United States, which after furnishing 72 per cent of the funds for the work of UNRRA, slated to end in Europe the first of the year, opposed the creation of a new international relief agency as proposed by LaGuardia, the General Assembly decided not to set up a new agency to complete the task of relief. Instead, it instructed the Secretary General to arrange for consultations among governments to ascertain existing needs and available supplies. In addition, a ten-nation technical committee was appointed to report on the food needs and foreign-exchange deficits of the countries of the world.

The final decision as to the allocation of food, however, will remain with the individual contributing countries, which, as urged by Washington, will conduct their relief negotiations bilaterally after informal consultations through the U. N. Secretariat. The Secretary General was also requested to prepare a report on a suggestion made by Dr. Aake Ording of Norway that the organized workers of the United Nations be invited to contribute "one day's work for one free world"—a contribution which, it is estimated, would amount to more than $100,000,000.

Russia and several of the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans which have been recipients of UNRRA relief vigorously opposed the decision of the Assembly. In accepting this decision Andrei A. Gromyko declared

that "full responsibility" for its results "will fall squarely" on the countries supporting it.

In spite of persistent objections by Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia the Assembly approved the charter of the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which is to handle the problem of the nearly one million displaced persons still in camps, chiefly in the American and British zones of Germany. As already pointed out in this series, Russia and several other countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans contend that the D. P.'s, most of whom come from their territories, should be forced to return, and are unwilling to make any financial contribution to their resettlement in other lands; while the Western powers are unwilling to force repatriation on people who resist it on political or religious grounds and hold that the resettlement of these people outside Germany is a common responsibility of the United Nations. Probably on no other question before the Assembly was the gulf between East and West so profound—nor can it be said that this gulf has yet been bridged.

Reduction and Control of Armaments. The most far-reaching issue debated by the Assembly was the reduction and control of armaments, including the census of troops and weapons, at home and in foreign countries, both friends and ex-enemies. The tide of opinion flowed back and forth so rapidly during the closing sessions of the Assembly that at some moments, notably during the stormy night session of Tuesday, December 10, when Sir Hartley Shawcross appeared to be improvising a new British policy, few even among the experts were quite sure what was happening. On December 13, however, Byrnes, Bevin, and Molotov took pains to elucidate the position of their respective countries on the tangled skein of armaments problems. The net result of the extremely complex discussions, embodied in the disarmament resolution adopted by the Assembly on December 14 by acclamation, can be summed up as follows:

The Assembly recognizes the necessity of "an early general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces." The Security Council is requested to expedite consideration of practical measures for reduction and regulation, and to submit the resulting plans to a special session of the General Assembly.

The prohibition of atomic and all other major weapons, including those that may be developed in the future, is listed as an urgent objective, and the Atomic Energy Commission is asked to expedite its work. The core of the resolution is that the international system of inspection and control shall be "within the framework" of the Security Council (as proposed by Russia), but that special inspection organs shall derive their power and status from the conventions establishing them (as urged by Australia and Canada). Secretary of State Byrnes told the General Assembly that the United States recognizes that the veto rights of nations on the Security Council applies to the drafting of these conventions.

Veto Power. In this connection it should be noted that on December 13 the Assembly adopted by a vote of thirty-six to six a resolution urging the great powers to make every effort to use the veto in such a way as not to impede the Security Council from reaching decisions promptly. The resolution did not contain censure of the great powers for abuse of the veto, as urged by Australia. The United States and Britain voted for the resolution; France and China abstained; Russia accused the Western powers of playing "the game" of small countries and said that "warmongers" were trying to get rid of the veto, thereupon voting against the resolution.

The work of the General Assembly thus reveals a variegated pattern of diverging national views. The great powers did not by any means always agree with one another, thus at least spiking the fear of small countries that the "Big Five" would become a new Holy Alliance. On one issue after another Russia, which continued to demand great-power unanimity, opposed the United States and Britain, but without blocking United Nations action by its opposition; and it took the initiative in making helpful suggestions, notably on disarmament. France sought throughout to play the role of moderator between East and West. The Latin American countries, which at first had been regarded as a permanent bloc, split wide open on the question of Spain, and some of them, notably Chile, were found on occasion supporting Russia. The British Dominions, as is their wont, showed a spirit of independence in their attitude toward the great powers and made constructive contributions to discussions of major problems.

For different reasons many of the nations came closer to accepting the concept of collective intervention in internal affairs than could have been anticipated when the Charter was drafted in San Francisco. The Assembly adopted a resolution urging member nations to recall their envoys from Franco Spain, condemned the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and laid the groundwork for an elaborate system of international inspection of troops and armaments, as well as of the use of atomic energy for peace-time purposes. We are still far indeed from anything resembling world government, but we can hardly expect nations to make so sharp a transition overnight, without preliminary readjustments. What we do have now—and that is the fundamental achievement of the General Assembly, which has justified its assigned function of "town meeting of the world"—is a growing consciousness, in John Donne's memorable phrase, that as nations, no less than as individuals, we all "belong to mankind."

Obituary for Veterans' Housing

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

Washington, December 15

THE Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, in a serious condition since Wilson Wyatt resigned two weeks ago, died yesterday. President Truman delivered the funeral oration—an announcement that some housing controls will be abandoned and the rest greatly relaxed. The President's statement makes it clear that from now on the Administration will depend mainly on pious hopes rather than on forthright action to deal with the housing crisis. The government's housing program is no longer an emergency program. And most certainly it is not a veterans' housing program.

The President's action paved the way for a speedy return to a building free-for-all in which speculative profits will come first and homes for veterans last.

This turn of events is a signal triumph for what Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., accurately described as "one of the highest-powered, most selfish lobbies known in the annals of our country"—the combination of real-estate and banking interests, speculative builders, and building-materials producers. During the last few months these groups have whipped up one of the slickest grass-roots propaganda campaigns ever organized, in an effort to persuade the country that governmental red tape was strangling builders' efforts to put up houses.

Whatever its effect on the average citizen, the campaign made quick converts of George Allen and other members of the palace guard. One of the first moves of the Presidential clique was to block Wyatt's efforts to get RFC loans for producers of industrialized houses. This was easily accomplished, with Allen sitting on RFC's board of directors. Next, price controls on building materials were swept away in the general decontrol débâcle of early November. At this point Wyatt visited the White House to find out how the President really stood on housing.

Although the White House has, until now, suppressed Wyatt's recommendations, the contents of his report leaked out a few days ago. Decontrol of prices and wages made it "doubly necessary to utilize fully and effectively the remaining controls and other available tools to speed and aid residential construction," Wyatt told the President. He added: "There are really only two choices. The country must adopt and carry through an all-out veterans' housing program—a real emergency program—or return to building as usual. The ground between offers nothing but confusion and blasted hopes to the homeless veteran."

Truman made his choice. "We have reached the period of the relaxing of war-time emergency measures," he said. Wyatt, an honest liberal and realist, had no alternative but to resign.

Much of the blame for the defeat of the emergency housing program must be pinned on the national leaders of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Amvets. For months these outfits played along with the builders' lobby, resisting strong rank-and-file pressure to support Wyatt. The American Veterans' Committee, alone among the major veterans' organizations, consistently and vigorously fought for the program.

After the V. F. W. convention approved a resolution supporting the program last September, National Commander Louis Starr tried to disclaim it—on the extraordinary grounds that the noise of a passing train had prevented delegates from hearing the resolution on which they were voting! The V. F. W.'s executive board finally had to order Starr to get behind the program. National officers of Amvets likewise underwent a last-minute conversion, following that organization's November convention, but by that time it was too late. Legion officers have, at least, remained steadfast in their loyalty to the interests opposing Wyatt and are now advocating the liquidation of the NHA.

That Wyatt had the uncompromising support neither of veterans—who were most vitally affected by his program—nor of the Truman Administration as a whole makes the job he has done in the last twelve months the more remarkable.

The F. W. Dodge Corporation predicted last year that not more than 325,000 dwelling units would be started in 1946. But in the first ten months of this year nearly 580,000 permanent units were begun—not counting conversions or temporary structures, which bring the total up to 882,000. Total "starts" for the year are now expected to reach a million. The volume of housing units completed has been rising steadily each month and by the end of October totaled over half a million, of which 341,000 were new permanent homes and apartments.

It is important to note, also, that a substantial proportion of the houses being built are priced at levels that veterans can afford. Although the ceiling until now has been $10,000, half of the houses so far authorized will sell for not more than $7,500, or rent for $60 or less.

Wyatt's efforts to break the materials bottleneck have been highly successful. Over-all materials production is

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nearly double what it was a year ago, and more than half again as large as in 1939. "With few exceptions," says the latest report of the Civilian Production Administration, "critical building materials made spectacular production gains in October." New all-time highs were reached, CPA reported, in the production of sinks (up 42 per cent over September), watercloset bowls (up 22 per cent), gypsum board and lath (up 16 per cent), warm-air furnaces (up 14 per cent), and water heaters (up 19 per cent). Output of bricks, plywood, nails, hardwood flooring, and radiators set new post-war records.

Besides stimulating builders of conventional dwellings, Wyatt undertook to encourage the development of factory-built houses made of steel, aluminum, plastics, and other unorthodox materials. He foresaw that the machine-made, mass-produced house offered a means of emerging from the technological Dark Ages of the housebuilding industry, of cutting the cost of shelter in half, and of ultimately making home-owners out of slum-dwellers. To telescope into a few months a development that otherwise would take years, Wyatt worked out a special program of assistance for industrialized house-producers —including RFC loans to finance large-scale production, guaranteed market contracts, and other devices.

Wyatt's plan for government aid to this fledgling industry was squarely in the tradition of Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures." It contemplated subsidies which were trifling in comparison with those dealt out in the past to the railroad, steamship, aviation, and automobile industries, among others. But it aroused violent opposition from the numerous groups which have a vested interest in conventional high-cost building. These groups displayed the same stubbornness—and the same want of foresight—as the carriage-makers, who, thirty years ago, threw Tom Durant out of their shops when he suggested they convert to automobile production.

Leading the fight against this New Deal for housebuilding, George Allen's RFC first stalled, and then flatly refused NHA-backed loan applications from several promising industrial house manufacturers on the ground of "insufficient equity." (Among the applications rejected was one from the Lustron Corporation, in spite of the fact that the First National Bank of Chicago had notified the RFC it would lend this company $20,000,000 if the government would issue a 90 per cent guaranty.) The RFC's action shattered Wyatt's hopes of producing 500,000 or more metal and concrete homes next year. It made imperative the White House showdown, from which the defenders of the status quo in housebuilding emerged victorious.

Under the plan announced yesterday by the President a façade of controls will be retained to create the illusion that the Administration is taking care of veterans' housing needs. But with the $10,000 ceiling on new-housing prices removed and home building opened up to non-veterans, builders will speedily return to the pre-war practice of skimming the cream off the housing market—putting up luxury homes beyond the reach of most veterans. The promised relaxation of controls on non-residential construction, moreover, can only mean that materials which ought to be used for housing will be diverted to the more lucrative business of building juke-joints and movie palaces. There is no reason to doubt Wyatt's prediction that the scrapping of his program will make it impossible to meet the government's goal of 1,500,000 housing units in 1947.

Homeless America

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

I. Illusions About Housing

LIVING in a garage or slum is bad; living in a fool's paradise is worse. We had better realize that the housing needs of two-thirds of the population are not going to be met, even if materials and labor become plentiful. No adequate federal, state, or city program has been devised. A solution of the problem is barred by certain illusions which have confused Congressional thinking, have shaped federal policy into a mass of contradictions, and have now become the principal weapon in the propaganda arsenal of a real-estate lobby blocking a realistic approach to housing reform. Unless we dispel these illusions, the housing problem will persist, and each succeeding crisis be worse than the one before.

CHARLES ABRAMS, former counsel to the New York City Housing Authority, is author of "The Future of Housing," which was published last week. This is the first in a series of three articles in which he will discuss the housing problem in America. The second will appear next week.

Illusion 1: The housing shortage has been caused by the war. Actually, there was already a serious deficit of homes in 1936, and the housing famine was clearly foreseen. It was known that at least 7,000,000 homes would be required ten years later, that the building industry was not producing enough houses to meet that need, and that it was doing absolutely nothing for the low-income family. Our present veterans would have reached mar-

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riageable age and needed homes, war or no war. Housing shortages have occurred time and again during the last fifty years. With building costs steadily mounting, millions of families have been periodically denied the benefit of new dwellings. Two-fifths of our non-farm homes were known to be below civilized standards before the war began; two-thirds of our farm families were improperly sheltered. No private houses have been built for low-income families for decades. None will be.

Illusion 2: The bottleneck in housing production is due to the war. Yet we emerged from the war with a production capacity greater than ever before in our history. During the war we built one and one-half million houses and were set to put up many times that number if necessary. It was when the war ended that house production struck a snag. Our vast stores of building materials have been siphoned off to commercial construction; war-housing agencies have been scuttled when most needed; local housing authorities who could be building for veterans today are without funds.

The cancelation of "Order L-41," which rationed materials for construction, is the outstanding post-war scandal. Hugh Potter, brain-truster of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was made inter-agency housing factotum just long enough to cancel the rationing of materials and create the bottleneck that still plagues building today. When, months later, rationing was reinstated, the storehouse was empty; there was no longer anything to ration. With thousands of factories and millions of workers released for civilian production, with the demand for homes keen, and with mortgage money plentiful, only 286,000 new permanent homes could be built in the first nine months of 1946.

Illusion 3: Private enterprise will solve the housing problem the moment building materials are available. As a matter of fact, the building industry has failed for decades to meet both housing needs and demands. It has functioned not at all for low-income families, only erratically for the top third. In a highly industrialized society that is an absurdity. Twenty-five per cent of all non-farm families had incomes under $1,000 in 1941 and could afford a house costing no more than $2,000. Yet only 1 per cent of Federal Housing Administration homes were available at that figure. Forty-one per cent of non-farm families earned under $1,500. Only 3 per cent of FHA homes were produced at a price such families could afford. Today, with building costs up 60 to 100 per cent, only the well-to-do can live in any houses produced by the private builder. No houses can be built for rental in New York at prices within the reach of 96 per cent of the city's employed veterans.

Illusion 4: Housing is an emergency problem and will respond to emergency treatment. We have had four separate emergency housing programs in twelve years—to meet the "unemployment emergency" in 1933, the "defense emergency" in 1940, the "war emergency" in 1941, and now the "veterans' housing emergency." So long as the building industry fails to provide houses within the means of the rank and file, such emergencies are unavoidable: in consequence, slums will continue to take their toll in death, disease, and crime, and home owners will repeatedly face foreclosure when houses bought at inflated prices fail to be paid for out of reduced family earnings. Discontent, disillusionment, and lawlessness are by-products of our defunct home-building enterprise and our failure to evolve a long-range program to rationalize it.

Illusion 5: The housing problem can be met by reducing labor costs. While the building trades can be blamed for jurisdictional disputes and other disorders in house production, they are hardly responsible for all its snags and snarls; certainly not for the lag in building or the present high costs. The average annual earnings of skilled construction workers before the war were under a thousand dollars. The labor cost is only 30 per cent of the total cost of building a home. If wages of building workers were cut in half, the price of a new home would be reduced by only about 15 per cent, which is but a fraction of the recent rise in building costs.

Who, then, is at fault? The main stumbling-block to production is the home builder. The average builder puts up no more than four houses a year; 65 per cent of the builders of single-family homes produced only one house a year before the war. Most have their offices in their hats. The industry remains in the hands of small operators, undercapitalized, wastefully putting together thousands of separate parts in hundreds of separate processes. The petty operator is unable to plan ahead or anticipate housing demand; he lacks the benefit of organization, is unequipped for assembly-line techniques. His limitations have been solidified in a pattern of incompetence, trade restraints, excessive costs, and vested interests unparalleled in any other American enterprise.

Labor costs, excessive charges for materials, and high interest rates are all hinged to the home builders' ineptitude. Building-trades unions, fearful of glutting the labor market, train only as many apprentices as are em-

ployable over the long run. When housing demand is intense, a labor shortage is inevitable. When building volume subsides, unemployment follows. Since home building influences general activity, the consequences to the economy may be disastrous. The lack of organization in the industry causes workers, even in boom periods, to lose 30 per cent of their working time. If the industry were well organized, labor could be more efficiently used and work more evenly distributed.

The hundreds of participants in the building of a house are removed from the builder and the home buyer by a wall of middlemen who charge what the traffic will bear. Thirty thousand parts go into a small house; twelve trades are called upon to put them together in five hundred operations. The builder, contractor, and subcontractor add mark-ups to each item; so that a pyramid of cost-plus charges pushes up the price beyond the reach of the average purse. A dollar's worth of plaster going into the house is increased in price 300 per cent in passing from the factory to the trowel. If the final cost of a home is excessive, the builder is not concerned; he produces only for those who can pay the price. *Shelter, one of life's essentials, has become a luxury.*

Price-pegging in building materials is almost routine; competition is restricted. There is little incentive to reduce costs, since a cut in one or even a dozen items would not reduce the final cost appreciably or widen the market of consumers. More than half the contracts for fabricated steel are booked by two companies; four leading corporations control 82 per cent of prepared finished plaster and 90 per cent of molding and gauging plaster; more than three-fourths of important plumbing articles are made by four producers. Two corporations control 95 per cent of all plate-glass production; four companies, 80 per cent of copper products.

Bigness alone should not mean high prices. But concentration of power in an industry where the final product is unstandardized and the purchaser too small to be able to bargain effectively provides a field day for the manufacturer. Thus prices on steel and gypsum are often quoted from a distant basing point, though delivery may come from a nearby mill. Prices on mill lumber are rigged; base prices are maintained for window frames, stairs, banisters, door frames, cabinets, ornamental woodwork. Dealers and jobbers in plumbing supplies are forbidden to sell directly to the job on penalty of being disciplined, and jobbers' trade discounts are canceled when they sell directly to the consumer or builder. Local ordinances often specify patented products though others might be used more economically. A Pennsylvania housing authority found that brick walls leaked when the mortar mix required by a local code was used. By violating the ordinance it was able to build walls that were waterproof.

The mortgage lender, too, has been able to pursue his exactions unchecked. The mortgage system masks the speculative nature of the home-buying transaction. One no longer owns a home but an equity in a home; a mortgage debt, once shunned as a first step to ruin, has become a casual routine. Open competition in mortgages is restrained by associations of institutional lenders who oppose an open market for insured mortgage paper. The system does not allow for possible unemployment of the home buyer during the mortgage term or for any other misfortune which may bring default and cancelation of his whole investment. With each mortgage loan a separate transaction, interest—even on government-insured mortgages—is almost twice the rate of government bonds. The pressing need of the builder for money, his inability to bargain effectively with the mortgage lender, and above all his indifference are responsible for the home owners paying a tribute in excess interest of more than $40,000,000 a year on FHA houses alone.

The only solution is the public agency. The housing problem can only be met by recasting the role of the home builder, by replacing him with an entrepreneur large enough and strong enough to rationalize building along twentieth-century lines, able to produce homes in the quantity and quality needed. Only the public agency qualifies for this role in America today. There is no other way out of the housing morass.

But such a solution is being blocked by a sixth illusion: housing has become involved in a semantic war in which terms like "socialism" and "government competition" are being loosely thrown about to the terror of the uninformed public. Government building during a war emergency is permissible, but government building in the post-war emergency is taboo, paradoxical as this may seem.

A small lobby of builders and lenders has nurtured these illusions in the public mind. Its success in capitalizing on the deception is unique in the history of pressure politics.

The People's Front

THE principal reason for the decline of the European Socialists has been their failure to perceive the magnitude of the social revolution that swept Europe after World War I and, following a period of ebb in the thirties, received a fresh, powerful impetus from World War II. The present situation of the French Socialist Party illustrates the consequences of this failure.

The outbreak of World War II found the French party divided and paralyzed by the conflict, in progress everywhere, between the Communist and Socialist wings of the working-class movement. Hatred of the Communists so obsessed many Socialists as to drive them into an anti-Socialist position, even to the extent of support of the policy of appeasement, before 1939, and later of the Vichy regime. Had the party, in the first year of the war, purged itself of the right-wing revisionist elements, it could easily have assumed leadership of the French nation; the Communists offered little challenge, for their opposition to the "imperialist war" had made them thoroughly unpopular throughout France.

The Socialists failed to do so, and by 1942 the situation had completely changed. The Communists became the spearhead of the resistance from the moment they entered the struggle against Hitler and Vichy. The Socialists, on the other hand, appeared unable to counteract the poison spread by the Munichеers within their ranks; while thousands of them fought magnificently in the underground, others gathered around Paul Faure and obediently served Pétain and his cabal. True, the first clandestine conference of the party expelled these renegades, but the damage was already done. At the same time, there were good Socialists, especially among the exiles, who, in a doctrinaire mood, refused to recognize the necessity of rallying around De Gaulle. All this increased division and confusion. As a consequence, in the decisive years from 1942 until the liberation, the Communists rather than the Socialists became, in the eyes of the average Frenchman, the symbol of unity and resistance, standing not for a class but for the nation. That explains why large numbers of Frenchmen, particularly in the provinces, who had always voted Radical Socialist, because Herriot's party was for them both the patriotic and the anti-clerical party of France, voted in 1946 for the Communists.

Soon after the war the French Socialists were offered a new opportunity to assume leadership. When De Gaulle abandoned his role of first resistant to become the spokesman for reaction, he could no longer serve as balance-wheel among the conflicting forces of post-war France. At that moment the reins should logically have passed to the Socialists. Here was a challenge to their capacity for dynamic leadership. Unfortunately, they failed to meet it.

Not realizing that Europe is in another period of revolutionary upsurge, the Socialists have become dominated, once more, by the fear of Communist hegemony. In the Constituent Assembly, and in the successive election campaigns this year, they attempted to restore the political equilibrium by aligning themselves alongside the center parties. The result was a marked loss of labor support and the party's growing dependence on the unpredictable middle-class vote: many working-class Socialists, dissatisfied with the direction of the party but not ready to leave it, voted Communist. But many middle-class members, sensing the swing to the left among the rank and file, voted M. R. P. or Radical Socialist. The party lost votes on both sides.

The fundamental weakness of its position became evident in Léon Blum's famous analysis of the results of the June elections. Refusing to admit that the party's failure to provide leadership in a revolutionary period had alienated a large part of its following, he insisted that the Socialists had been too ready to assume the responsibility of governing. Instead of laying down a strong domestic and foreign policy which would help restore the confidence of the membership, he argued that the party should accept as little power and as few posts as possible in the new ministerial coalition.

Blum's recent acceptance of the premiership, even for the limited period between now and January, when the new government will be chosen, may eliminate one of the party's chief weaknesses. The Socialists could not have continued much longer in the impossible situation of having their outstanding leader refuse a post in the government or even a seat in the Assembly. No doubt the idea of rounding out his long and admirable career as a kind of Holy Spirit of Western socialism appeals to a man of Blum's temperament. But such a role would have little meaning for the cold, hungry workers of France; they want men who will lead the fight against the old privileged interests and against the danger of a fascist revival. They know that the problem of rebuilding the industrial strength of France can only be solved along socialist lines. The Communist slogan, "Produce and Build," has meaning only when it is linked with a broad program of collective control of industry and finance. This, above all, is the task the Socialist Party must assume under Blum if it is to regain its fading power and prestige.

To counteract the process of decline, the party in France, as elsewhere in Europe, must also find a way to work with the Communists without being swallowed up or dominated by them. It is a difficult problem, but one that must be faced. The masses cannot understand why it is all right to collaborate with the M. R. P. or the Christian Democrats, but not with the Communists. They want working-class unity.

Nor will the masses accept a foreign policy oriented toward a Western bloc under capitalist America's guidance. Rank-and-file Socialists are, no doubt, irritated by the frequent zigzags of the Communist Party line and even more by the Communist habit of setting up bourgeois mediocrities as temporary idols when it serves their purpose. The French masses dislike many aspects of Soviet foreign policy. But they will not be pushed into an anti-Communist or an anti-Russian position—as their leaders have at last learned, at great cost.

DEL VAYO

Students and Politics

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, December 10

A STUDENTS' organization has one of two fairly well-defined purposes. It exists either to make the path of learning an easier one, or to promote a body of specific political doctrine in which its members are interested. The first type, of which the International Student Service is a good example, is necessarily unconcerned with doctrine. Its purpose is to provide relief, to pool information, to arrange the exchange of visits. It pays no attention to the student's nationality, religious creed, political outlook, or economic views—with one exception. That exception is its insistence upon conditions which make for academic freedom. For the more open the atmosphere in which students live together and the wider the experience to which they are given access, the more creative is likely to be the intellectual adventure upon which they are engaged.

A body of this kind has no relation to a student society which promotes political doctrine. It is not Republican or Democratic, Liberal or Conservative, Communist or Socialist. It does not exist to reform the world. It has no view of the universe which it must promulgate to the exclusion of other views. It has no attitude toward the atomic bomb, or the problem of Palestine, or the future of Trieste. Its business, quite simply, is to make it easier for students to get the best out of their training and to help them meet as many students of other countries as possible. If American students meet French students or English students or Czech students, what is important is that all of them are students, and not, on this level, that they are concerned to give the world this shape rather than that, to make one set of principles more acceptable than another. Toleration and neutrality are the main pillars of the policy that a student society of this type must try to promote. The alternative is a dangerous one: it may become the instrument of purposes interested not in easing the path to learning but in narrowing it so that only those tread it who share a particular outlook.

Few people doubt that a university may well develop student societies of every political sort. It is an admirable thing for the undergraduate to have a political outlook which he can examine either in conjunction with those who share it or in organized discussion with those who believe his political views to be wholly wrong. And there is everything to be said for putting the political context of student life on the widest possible international basis. What is important here is that everyone should be aware precisely what is being done. An international of Conservative students should present itself as what it is. It should be clear to all who watch it in operation that its activities are intended for the central purpose of promoting the spread of Conservative doctrine. It has only indirect relevance to student life. Its members are of student age; they belong to organizations of the university type. But it is not because they are students in such organizations that they form Conservative bodies or meet as a Conservative international. The essential thing about members of such bodies is that they are Conservatives. If they attack Russia, or regret the policy of the Socialist government of Great Britain, or insist that nothing be done to enlarge the scope of the TVA, the important thing is to realize that they are speaking not as students but as Conservatives. What they must refrain from claiming is the right to speak in the name of a student body which has no rigidities of doctrine and no formulas to push forward save its faith in the freest possible interchange of ideas.

It is far from certain that the importance of these distinctions is being made clear by those who are spending so much energy and money in the promotion of student conferences and exchanges since the end of the war. This lack of clarity has no single source. In part, it is due to the natural anxiety of youth to express its views about the reshaping of the world. And there is a sense of frustration from the fact that the major controls of action are in the hands of what youth regards as a gerontocracy—a term which covers almost everyone more than thirty-five years old. Something is due, also, to a muddle-mindedness in youth. The group or conference passes a political resolution without having the slightest idea that it is political; or it links itself to some other group, or agrees to send delegates to some conference, without any awareness that it is lending itself to the support of a political policy.

A good example of this kind of lack of clarity was provided by the International Youth Congress which was held in London in the winter of 1945. It was attended by delegates from many countries, including the United States. The striking thing about most of the national delegations was the fact that though they were supposed to represent all sorts of youth groups in each country, delegates from the Communist youth constituted, if not a majority, at least a proportion in each national delega-

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tion far greater than any number to which Communist strength in that country would have entitled it. The sponsors of the conference did not invite the British Labor Party to be represented; its Executive Committee, indeed, was unaware that the conference was to be held. When delegates from the Socialist youth of Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and France looked for the representatives of British Socialist youth, they could not be found, and contacts had to be organized outside the conference. During its progress, it became clear, in fact, that the conference was dominated by the Communist youth, who had so arranged its program and procedure that the strategic control of the conference's policy was almost wholly in their hands. It is not, therefore, surprising that the permanent organization which has emerged from the London conference should be, to all intents and purposes, a body which is destined to play variations upon the Communist theme.

This is the source, I suggest, of the third factor which makes for lack of clarity once the original distinction I have drawn is absent. All sorts of youth groups meet together; alternatively, some youth group from one country goes to another. In the first case, the Communist group is the one delegation which has made up its mind about (a) the policy it will propose and (b) the nominations it will make. It dominates the conference partly because it has this clear sense of direction and partly because, during the conference, its representatives devote their energies to this and to no other task. They have their way because their strategy makes opposition to them futile. The opposition is hesitant, divided, uncertain. The Communist attitude cuts across all national boundaries; it elicits support from parts of other youth groups, on all kinds of grounds; and, as a rule, its delegates have been carefully chosen and have the means of being lavish in their hospitality. They create the impression that a refusal to "go along" with them would deprive the conference of value. It seems evident that if they are supported, something, even something important—though no one quite knows what—is likely to be accomplished. At the end, a permanent secretariat is pretty certain to be created of which the main positions either fall into Communist hands or into the hands of people on whom they feel they can count. The delegates then return to their respective countries unaware, or only half aware, that they have become the instruments of a purpose quite different from any they had intended to espouse.

Nor is the alternative case less interesting. A national youth delegation goes from, say, the United States to Europe. It visits London and Paris and Prague. In London it finds considerable difficulty in making any left contacts save with the Communist Party, for the British Labor Party does not have a central youth organization. It finds in Paris an uneasy but official collaboration between Socialist and Communist youth; naturally enough, the strength rather than the weakness of the collaboration is emphasized to the visitors from overseas. In Prague it finds a Communist youth which proudly introduces its American guests to a Communist Prime Minister. In each country the delegates learn of Communist enthusiasm for freedom, for experiment in social welfare, of Communist willingness to collaborate with any group which is anti-fascist and eager to make a better world. Their experience in Prague is of a government which, despite its Communist Prime Minister, seems tolerant, open-minded, enthusiastic about large-scale reconstruction. They find there a good deal of the atmosphere characteristic of Washington in the early months of the New Deal; they see the chains of servitude being thrown off by men and women who feel that they have a world to win. It is not altogether surprising that they become enthusiastic converts to the principle of all-in collaboration with the left.

The Communists, let me add, deserve the collaboration they secure. They work for it every day and all day. They adjust their attitude with extraordinary skill to the people with whom they have to deal. They give the young delegates the heady conviction of immense possibilities being open and of great achievement being possible. They give them, even more, the sense of being able to move from the position of spectators to that of actors in the great world drama that is being played. They satisfy the anxiety of youth to be accepted as mature, experienced, even significant. And the young American delegates meet each day with other young people whose work seems exhilarating, even important. They see changes occurring before their eyes. To return to an America where the political situation gives youth its opportunity only by accident and, even then, excludes it from opportunity where it is unconventional, seems a dull and drab routine.

Yet the lesson of the last twenty years is unmistakable. A students' organization which, like the International Student Service, has no direct political objectives will only destroy itself if it becomes the instrument of others. It becomes changed from a forum into an arena. Intrigue deforms every aspect of its life. Each group has to jockey for position; each purpose is set in the context of some ulterior motive which one group seeks to conceal from another. It is transformed from a cooperative adventure into a wasps' nest of party bickering in which what is important is not the general enrichment of student life but its subordination to some triumphant dogmatism which has the energy and the resolution to triumph over its rivals. The real lesson of these years is the supreme danger of premature dogmatism. The implication of that lesson is that the best a college can give is a way of thought. If it teaches what must be thought and, still more, teaches it upon what is made a battleground, respect for freedom is lost in the glitter of a false victory.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

New Blow for Consumers

IN THE schedule of freight-rate increases granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission to the railroads I find the following item: "Handling charges on all commodities except milk and cream in baggage or passenger train service, including excess baggage but *not including corpses*—25 per cent" (my emphasis).

We must, I suppose, be grateful to the ICC for not increasing the cost of dying, but most of us are more immediately concerned with the effect of higher transportation charges on the cost of living. According to the *Journal of Commerce*, the effect on prices will be "only moderate," and this is no doubt true if we consider the immediate impact of increased rates on any single commodity or manufactured article. But the total addition to our transportation bill will be about a billion dollars, the bulk of which will be passed on to ultimate consumers, usually on a cost-plus basis.

For instance, the charge for moving flour from Buffalo to New York is expected to rise by 3 cents per 100-pound sack. That amount will be paid by the wholesalers, who will pass it on to the bakers and grocery jobbers, probably with some small addition. By the time the flour reaches the retailers, the extra freight expense may be 5 cents per 100 pounds or one-half cent per 10-pound bag; and since retail prices are not usually expressed in such fractions, that could mean that the housewife would be asked for another cent a bag.

I am not saying that this will happen in this particular case. I cite it as an example of what could happen, for it is a law of economic physics that, in a sellers' market, any cost added at one end of the pipeline of distribution will expand at each stage until it reaches the other end. That is the result of what is known, in business parlance, as "maintaining one's margin."

The following examples of higher freight charges must, therefore, be regarded as basic minima, rather than the actual increases which will be shouldered by ultimate consumers:

Cement, delivered New York: 3 to 4 cents a barrel.

Lumber, from N. E. states to East Coast: $1.25 to $1.50 per 1,000 board feet.

Coal, delivered New York: 17 to 22 cents a ton.

Grains, at chief terminal points: 1 to 1¼ cents a bushel.

In certain cases where prices have recently risen very steeply, it is suggested that added freight costs may be absorbed by the producers. Certainly, in the case of metals and paper, two commodities mentioned in this connection, the producers could well afford to do so; but in view of the tremendous unsatisfied demand for their products, it will probably be hard for them to resist the temptation to make the buyers pay.

The department stores, which are making unprecedented profits, could also well afford to absorb their higher freight bill. However, except in the case of a few items in which competition is becoming keen, the customer is likely to pay as usual. "Added cost," according to the *Journal of Commerce*, "will probably have to be passed on to consumers *in toto* on refrigerators, radios, household furniture, linoleum, napery, and numerous other household goods and furnishings." The increase can be expected to average about 1 per cent of the retail price. This won't seem like an alarming extra in many cases, but it is the accumulation of such petty additions to the cost of living that threatens to break consumers' backs and undermine the post-war boom.

Why did the ICC ignore the protests of the OPA, the Department of Commerce, and representatives of the shippers, and give the railroads practically the whole of their demands? Its report declares that the rate boost is intended "to offset, partially at least, increased wages and costs of materials and supplies to which they [the carriers] have been subjected." The commissioners appear to have accepted the companies' own projection of traffics for 1947, on the basis of which a net deficit for the Class I roads was forecast. But, curiously enough, they do not directly pass on the accuracy of this estimate, though if anybody is in a position to make an educated guess at future traffic developments, it is surely the ICC. Only obliquely does the report hint at the possibility that events will prove the increases unjustified, by quoting a 1920 opinion of the late Commissioner Joseph Eastman, who declared: "If the rates prove unduly high, they may later be reduced. The present proceeding has nothing of finality about it."

It will be remembered that, early in 1942, the ICC authorized an increase in freight rates, only to rescind it a few months later (over the bitter protests of the carriers) when the tremendous surge of war traffics showed that railroad earnings had not the least need of such assistance. In that year net profits reached an all-time high of $902,000,000, and in 1943 they were not much below that figure. I am not suggesting that such bonanzas will be repeated in 1947, even with the aid of the billion-dollar hand-out just received. But the development of traffics in the past few months, in line, as always, with the curve of industrial activity, which is moving steadily upward, suggests that the railroaders' forecasts of 1947 earnings may prove far too pessimistic.

Of course, if the much prophesied slump comes along, the picture will change. If industrial production falls off sharply, and the price level breaks, railroad business would be hard hit. But, in such an eventuality, higher freight rates will not prevent many of the companies from running into the red: in fact, higher freight rates may help to worsen the position, for they will certainly encourage the kind of competition from other forms of transport which hit railroads in the thirties. Railroads can very easily "price themselves out of the market," to use the financial catch-phrase of the moment. Their crying need, on any long-term view, is not so much more revenue as more managerial imagination, brains, and energy. As the bad boy of the industry, Robert R. Young, told a Senate committee last March, railroading is suffering from "dry rot," thanks to a banker control concerned with commissions and underwriting profits rather than efficiency.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

TO MOST critics of radio, the prime example of public-service programming is the "forum" type of broadcast. Yet forums differ in technique and quality to a great degree.

And, interestingly enough, the forums you hear on the networks bear, in both style and approach, a remarkable relationship to the philosophy of the network involved.

Thus, NBC's "University of Chicago Round Table," on Sunday afternoon, is meticulously stilted, in so far as argument is concerned. Each side of the topic under discussion is presented with scrupulous fairness. The program suffers from over-intellectualism and often verges on the pedantic. Although it has a high Hooperating—4.8 as of the last report—it is outdistanced by the Sammy Kaye orchestra on ABC with a 7.7 rating.

Columbia's "People's Platform," also broadcast early Sunday afternoon, similarly reflects the philosophy of its network. Here, the moderators, Lyman Bryson and Dwight Cooke, exhibit a deft flair for keeping the participants to the subject at hand, despite an ad lib style. There is considerable leeway in the discussion; yet rarely do the speakers drift off the topic or indulge in personalities or acrimonious crossfire. And, invariably, the moderator remains in the background, coming to the mike only to keep the debate on target or to sum up at the closing. It is adult, easy to listen to, and lively without becoming rambunctious. "People's Platform" has a 4.3 Hooper.

ABC's "America's Town Meeting," heard on Thursday evening, is a carry-over from the days when ABC was the Blue network and owned and operated by NBC. Here, for the first time, the studio audience came into the picture to fire questions at the speakers. The major changes in the program, of late, are reducing the speakers from two to one for each side of the debate, and adding an interrogator for each position. With this technique, Moderator George V. Denny, Jr., has managed to spruce up both the debate and the question-and-answer session. Under the old format the show had a tendency to get windy, and opened the way for claques in the audience to gang up on one of the speakers in the question-and-answer period. Now the program is much more stable. The interrogators pick up the slack each speaker may have left, set the pace for the audience questioning, and keep the program from becoming a massacre, as it has been at times in the past.

"America's Town Meeting" has a wider appeal than other radio forums, since there's less restraint on the speakers and studio quizzers; yet, because it is up against some of the top network programs, its rating in the last Hooper report was only 3.9. To the American Broadcasting Company, this program (chiefly because of moderator Denny) has been a godsend. It has kept the network in the news, thanks to Denny's ability to handle speakers and studio audiences and to select stimulating topics, without once putting the network on the spot.

Ted Granik's "American Forum of the Air," Tuesdays on Mutual, is a perfect example of a forum gone wrong. Here, the moderator tries so hard to make the newspapers that the program, as often as not, winds up as a soapbox for much that is not on the agenda. Granik's approach is to invite a brace of speakers for each side and let them get into a free-for-all. He sits back, watches the clock, and lets the invective fall where it may. There is little, if any, attempt to guide the proceedings. The tendency has been to let emotion set the pace for both the discussion period and the session of studio-audience questions.

The "American Forum of the Air" is a blatant attempt to grab listeners by lowering the standards of public debate. Yet its last Hooperating is 2.2 for the 45 minutes, though the low figure is due, no doubt, partly to the competition of Fibber McGee and Molly and Bob Hope on NBC, a Hollywood drama and Arthur Godfrey on CBS, and the Boston Symphony on ABC. Recently, this program has taken to asking listeners to phone in a vote to stations for tabulations, presumably, of a public decision on the topics discussed.

Locally, there are a number of good forum programs that I know about. WQXR, in New York, for example, has a pip called "What's on Your Mind" that they put on before a different women's club each week. It uses two New York *Times* staff writers, plus guest speakers for each viewpoint. WMCA, another New York independent station, has a weekly debate program which uses the Commerce and Industry Association—a kind of Chamber of Commerce—as the participating organization. Another group, less identified with the business interests of the community, might have served better.

The League for Industrial Democracy and the Union for Democratic Action have less frequent programs over New York's WEVD.

One of the best local forum programs is on WSYR, the NBC affiliate, in Syracuse. This station uses the local unit of the League of Women Voters as the participating organization, thus giving the program a standard of impartiality to which it adheres, and permitting the selection of a wide variety of local, national, and international topics. And, in addition, this program does not make the mistake of overreaching itself by scheduling topics which the available speakers cannot handle without faking.

Does your local station have a forum show?

WORTH HEARING

HOAGY CARMICHAEL SINGS (CBS, Sundays). A grand quarter-hour of excellent popular music and good piano. The commercials don't measure up to the talent.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Holy Innocents

Listen, the hay-bells tinkle as the cart
Wavers on rubber tires along the tar
And cindered ice below the burlap mill
And ale-wife run. The oxen drool and start
In wonder at the fenders of a car,
And blunder hugely up St. Peter's hill.
These are the undefiled by woman—their
Sorrow is not the sorrow of this world:
King Herod shrieking vengeance at the curled
Up knees of Jesus choking in the air,

A king of speechless clods and infants. Still
The world out-Herods Herod; and the year,
The nineteen-hundred forty-fifth of grace,
Lumbers with losses up the clinkered hill
Of our purgation; and the oxen near
The worn foundations of their resting-place,
The holy manger where their bed is corn
And holly torn from Christmas. If they die,
As Jesus, in the harness, who will mourn?
Lamb of the shepherds, Child, how still you lie.

ROBERT LOWELL

The New Eumenides

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA: STORIES AND REFLECTIONS. by Franz Kafka, translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. Schocken Books. $3.

THE fullest meaning of classical tragedy is that man learns through suffering. Thus when Oedipus appears sightless and bleeding or when Achilles yields to Priam the mutilated corpse of Hector, we achieve a catharsis of pity and fear. Orestes, murderer of his mother, can at last be absolved from the literal, bloody exactions of the Old Law; expiation is no longer by eye and tooth, and under the dispensation of the younger gods the Furies are appeased. By a tragic plight entirely his own Kafka under the New Law attains an attitude of infinite resignation called by Kierkegaard the last stage prior to faith; yet the exaction of the Old Law is not remitted, and his very surrender assumes the guise of despair. Since the present collection of allegories and reflections, explicit and demonstrative, is a commentary on the earlier fictions—The Castle, The Trial, Metamorphosis—it invites us to define the nature of the Kafka tragedy.

If the usual Kafka narratives develop themselves within the "half-awake fantasies" in which, as Camus says, it would be wrong to interpret everything, these late, naked allegories with animals behaving as neurotically as men are a direct challenge to the intellect rather than the sensibility. We speculate on the symbolism of the dog that fasts or the creature that takes sanctuary in his complicated burrow, and we discover the relation of the giant mole to the faith of Kierkegaard, but at a sacrifice of the familiar "atmosphere" in Kafka's implausible, confused foregrounds. The themes are typical: the inscrutability of the will of God and its inescapable operation (Investigations of a Dog and The Great Wall of China), the involutions of anxiety far within the isolated self and the futility of either intellect or retreat before the Unknown (The Burrow), and the necessity of accepting the divine as absurd or even repulsive (The Giant Mole). At the last, evidently, Kafka was able to abbreviate the paradox of his living, his enormous fatigues, into a formal thesis instead of recording how incongruously it was revealed, perpetually astonishing as though to the eye of an amateur, within experience itself. Yet if the tone is meditative, the defensive strategy, the ruses, the eventual frustrations of these animals are those of the Kafka tragedy. Kafka's humilities and revulsions at last expressed themselves in the perplexities of the beast.

Kafka suffers, but his pain does not assure his being in the right way. Thus his little maladjustments, his acceptance of life as an interrogation chamber, amount to a distinctive tragedy—or, perhaps, a comedy—of error. The comedy issues from his belief, affirmed by Kierkegaard, that living is a wisdom whose secret is foolishness and a hope whose form is madness. Unlike Kierkegaard, he is never able to make the "leap" of faith to God. Consequently his tragedy—or his comedy—is not ultimately religious; it remains secular and ethical, but without catharsis, without purgation of pity and fear, and thus either a parody of tragedy or a parody of religion.

In this drama the very laws of probability are in abeyance; tragedy occurs by whimsy. Kafka's intimation is that "inadequate, even childish, measures may serve to rescue one from peril," an intimation due to his incorrigible naivete, the impossibility of learning through suffering or any other way. His helplessness appears as wonder: he writes of himself, "All that he does seems to him, it is true, extraordinarily new." His heroes are all amateurs to whom each triviality is a crisis. He explains in My Neighbor how advantageous it is to exaggerate often "so as to make things clear in one's mind." The paradox of living is so utter that experience is leveled off to a continuous tension by exaggerating the insignificant, somewhat as in the distortions of Dostoevski. Karl in Amerika cannot get off the boat; K. in The Castle cannot manage to telephone; Joseph in The Trial cannot speak with his clients at the bank. Each, like the animal in The Burrow, is isolated by his own crises until he resembles Kierkegaard's individual without connections or pretensions, and with all the terrible responsibilities of solitude. The insecurity of the Kafka hero is desperate, for he is without benefit of either the resignation of faith or the retribution of tragedy. No propitiation can be made. "Our generation is lost," the dog considers, "but it is more blameless than those earlier ones." In The Trial before Joseph dies, bestially, under the knife, he explains, "My innocence doesn't make the matter any simpler." And by the Old Law the Enemy will demolish the burrow and, presumably, destroy its helpless recluse.

The paradox within the Kafka tragedy, the sustained pity

and fear, its half-ethical, half-religious directions, are phrased with rich variations in the aphorisms and reflections: "Our relation to our fellow-men is that of prayer, our relation to ourselves, that of effort." In the notes on himself Kafka admits that "he has no conception of freedom" (the occupant of the burrow similarly confesses, "I have reached the stage where I no longer wish to have certainty"). His wishes are not wishes "but only a vindication of nothingness, a justification of non-entity, a touch of animation which he wanted to lend to non-entity." It will be difficult, however, to claim Kafka for existentialism after one reads Reflection 104: "One simply cannot not live. In that very 'simply cannot' lies the insane power of faith; in that denial it embodies itself." Kafka can also implicate the paradox itself, as he does in The Silence of the Sirens, where Ulysses's artifice to evade his peril raises questions of the pride of will so ulterior that "the human understanding is beyond its depths."

Then after we have read the allegories and all these subtle propositions we return to the handful of brief stories and fables printed here—The Married Couple, My Neighbor, The Knock at the Manor Gate—as we shall return to the novels, for the astonishing fantastic comi-tragedy of anxieties; in them we hasten, fatigued, "in almost guiltless silence towards death in a world darkened by others." Under a suspension of probability and the exaggeration that clarifies we revisit the psychological landscapes where a chance knock at the castle gate beneath the glare of noonday brings one, inexplicably, to the sudden and gross examinations of that perpetual court—a stone cell with bare walls and iron rings, and "in the middle something that looked half a pallet, half an operation table." When the exemption from probability is complete and the absurd is reduced to matter-of-fact, we have those vignettes of the paradox seen vividly by an amateur who is never ready for any contingency but who notwithstanding takes it for granted. In The Married Couple, for example, the implausible becomes dramatic and the comic becomes pathos: "Every now and then he would suddenly and quite unexpectedly clap his hat on his head; he had been holding it on his knee until then, slowly pushing it up and down there. True, he took it off again immediately, as if he had made a blunder, but he had had it on his head nevertheless for a second or two, and besides he repeated this performance again and again every few minutes." The crazy, intense drama of A Common Confusion cannot be played in the animal allegories, for in them Kafka capitulates to the answers that steal round the questions. His anguished "little investigations" must be followed through the strange vocations of K., of Joseph, of Gregor, of the nameless agents of these plain fables.

The Kafka malaise, it has been argued, is a symptom of the *galuth* mind, the mind of the Diaspora. In this collection Kafka's dread is not alone that of the Jew, or his trembling that of the Christian. An original sin has been committed upon man and, he concludes, "The state in which we find ourselves is sinful, quite independent of guilt." "A cage," goes another Kafka aphorism, "went in search of a bird." From this tragedy of gigantic anxiety there is no catharsis, no purification by the New Law. The expulsion from paradise is final, and the Furies still pursue.

WYLIE SYPHER

Behind America's "Iron Curtain"

BETRAYAL IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Hernando Abaya. A. A. Wyn, $3.

MR. ABAYA has here presented the first uncensored account of events in the Philippines since Pearl Harbor, with particular emphasis on what has happened there since the liberation in 1944-45. He has presented a carefully documented, damning indictment of United States policy in the Philippines since the liberation. He has presented a picture of a Philippine Republic free in name only, completely subservient to American economic interests, of a colonial state with a fascist President who collaborated with the Japanese against the United States and was placed in power after the liberation not only with the approval of the United States but with our assistance. He has presented a picture of a people who suffered unbelievably during the war years in the name of democracy and who now see their hopes, their aspirations, their ideals being stolen from them by fascist collaborators who fought them during the war years as allies of the Japanese. He has presented a picture of a Filipino people who for the first time are becoming aware of the political and economic factors that have resulted in their oppression for so many years, of the birth of a genuine Filipino progressive movement that in the past election threatened for the first time the power of the oligarchy which has ruled the Philippines for forty years under the United States and for four hundred under Spain.

In his introduction to this book Harold Ickes refers to the American "iron curtain" which has kept from the American people the truth about the political and economic situation in the Philippines. Ickes, of course, is in a position to know the facts, since as Secretary of Interior he held the powers of the American High Commissioner from 1942 until the appointment of McNutt some months after the liberation in 1945. There can be no doubt that Mr. Abaya's assertions are true. The facts are so overwhelmingly damning that the situation can no longer be glossed over or ignored.

The book begins with the first acts of collaboration committed by the leading Filipinos just after Pearl Harbor and ends with the election of Manuel Roxas to the Presidency of the new Philippine Republic last April. The Roxas record is clearly and coldly exposed, as are the records of the other collaborators now in power. A history of the much-maligned peasant army, the Hukbalahap, gives the lie to the many charges which have been hurled against them. The part played by General MacArthur in clearing Roxas of collaboration, the highly questionable tactics of High Commissioner Paul McNutt in behalf of Roxas during the campaign, the characteristic indecisiveness of President Truman on the collaboration question are all revealed.

It must be stated in all fairness that the book is in spots not well written, particularly in the earlier chapters. Some of the material is not well organized; there are some minor inaccuracies of date. These are faults which could be serious if the book dealt with a less important subject. But the book is in many spots really fine reporting; the author's analysis of the crime of collaboration, for example, is particularly good.

Mr. Abaya has been a newspaperman for a number of

years. He served the late President Quezon as confidential secretary before the war. He was a member of the Free Philippines guerrilla organization during the Japanese occupation. The picture he has presented I know to be a true and factual one. His book should be read by all Americans who are not aware of the existence of this American imperialist "iron curtain" in the Philippines or of what lies behind it. For those Americans who are less naive, or better informed, "Betrayal in the Philippines" is an excellent and absorbing sourcebook, in fact the only sourcebook.

Nor should it be thought from this that the issues presented are dead ones. They are still very much alive and quite explosive. Conditions can still be remedied. The maladorous Trade Act should be revised. American troops should be withdrawn. Mr. Abaya's book is not only factual; it is timely.

R. F. MILLON

A Scholarly History

A CRITICAL STUDY OF ENGLISH POETRY. By Herbert J. Grierson and J. C. Smith. Oxford University Press. $5.

THE Oxford editors of Donne's poems and "The Faerie Queene," works antithetically dominant in the chief age of England's poetry, would appear to be the right men for an attempt to survey in 600 pages the whole achievement from Anglo-Saxon verse to 1939; and their book, for which we must be grateful, is conscientious and instructive. That it stands quite up to its title or its subject is less clear. I propose to take its virtues for granted and confine the review to an examination of some defects.

Probably the authors wish, with their word "critical," to disclaim comparison with the much fuller narratives of Warton and Courthope. But the word is misleading. Apart from a warm and just appreciation of Spenser I observe no real attempt to modify received opinion anywhere but in the chapter on Crabbe, who receives as much discussion as Dryden and Arnold taken together. Crabbe is more vigorous certainly than his reputation, though a frightening bore in most of the endless works he preserved from the more endless works he wrote; "The Village" and "Sir Eustace Grey" will define his talent. He looks like a meager harvest from a fresh survey of the bulk of English verse. One might have expected more from critics with qualities adequate to an attempt like this. The general paucity of technical criticism and philosophical criticism suggests further that one reason Crabbe occupies, thinly, twenty pages is that it is easy to describe him at length without reference to technic or principles. With the immensely superior Herbert this is difficult, and he gets one page. His exquisite brother is missing altogether; a loss to which one is easily reconciled on realizing that if mentioned at all he would have had only a sentence, like Golding, Greville, and Churchill. These are poets of some moment. On Golding, Pound's serious and pardonably exaggerated judgment is that his "Metamorphoses" "form possibly the most beautiful book in our language" (long inaccessible, one-third of the work, or 5,000 lines, can be had now in the Everyman "Ovid"); Greville, whose stature is beginning to be recognized, figures impressively in both the sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Oxford anthologies (the

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second being coedited by Professor Grierson); Charles Churchill was after Pope, Johnson, Swift his century's most gifted satirist. Merely to mention them as existing can hardly pass for "critical," nor will the authors' sole remark about Greville, that he "made poetry of statecraft," whatever that means. Now a history of this sort, short or long, lacking freshness may yet possess *authority*, in judicious reliance upon other critics—as a serviceable anthology might be assembled by a man who couldn't tell Purney from Pope. But equally through inattention and defective sympathy I am afraid the present work can lay small claim to authority.

It is damaging, for instance, that the authors are evidently unfamiliar with Yvor Winters's revaluation of sixteenth-century lyric (*Hound and Horn*, 1933, *Poetry*, 1939); so that Googe and Turbervile are absent as always, and Gascoigne is said to be "by no means the worst poet" in the period of which he is the striking glory. Less predictable is their scanting of two magnificent poets, Wyatt and Raleigh, who have had much serious attention in recent years. Only a stanza and line, also quoted by Leguis, are given from Wyatt; the author of "The Ocean to Cynthia" is huddled into six lines as "highly individual." Their chilly treatment of Dryden continues more or less through the eighteenth-century chapters until Cowper is reached, and it is imperfectly balanced by an extreme partiality for matters Scottish. The perfunctory character of the authors' sympathy with metaphysical poetry is astonishing, considering the debt that modern study of it owes to Professor Grierson. Whether dramatic poetry should have been included in a book this size is doubtful, but if included it ought to have been discussed. Thus the whole description of Chapman's verse, dramatic or non-dramatic, runs: "His full and heightened style, often full to bombast and heightened beyond comprehension, impedes his utterance; but when he gets his throat clear he can speak out loud and bold," a banal cento of Webster and Keats. The book is enthusiastic and best about Shakespeare and the nineteenth century, though it patronizes Hood ("No poet need be altogether ashamed of his work who . . .") and traduces in my opinion the poet of "Amours de Voyage" ("Clough had no lyric gift"). In a prefatory note the authors express some diffidence as to their capacity for dealing with post-Victorian verse. But since this diffidence has not affected their dogmatic, and fantastic, account of what has taken place since 1900, it must be said with emphasis that they simply do not know in the final chapters what they are talking about. One wonders why they ventured. A history faces ridicule that closes its roll of the English poets, some women aside, with the statement that "Mr. Rostrevor Hamilton, Mr. Frank Kendon, Mr. Laurence Whistler, to name no others, carry on the English tradition."

What audience was imagined for it I don't readily see. It seems not to be designed for reference (there is a useful bibliography, but the index is casual and notes rare, even when urgently needed); if so, it is generally inferior to Legouis and Cazamian, which has the advantages of size and prose reference besides a European perspective. For the serious student it is neither detailed enough nor full enough. Yet as a narrative for the general reader—that mysterious and probably non-existent person—it is not selective enough, and often dull. Not uniformly but in large part it has to be described also as diffuse, repetitious, uneven, superficial, and ill-written. This muddle is depressingly representative: "But to enjoy Pope's Satires you must to some extent be able to share Saintsbury's conviction that in poetry the form is everything, for even he has to admit a number of qualifications to the enjoyment if, like most of us, one is interested in the matter as well as the form." The authors' wit ("Mr. Spender wore his red with a difference. . . . Mr. Spender's heart bleeds . . .") can be as embarrassing as their diction ("these lovely pictures of the dear English landscape have not faded and will not fade") and their logic ("Dryden is the first English poet who lived mainly or wholly by his pen. No Elizabethan poet did so unless he was also a dramatist. . . . Dryden too had to live mainly by plays").

"Mr. Eliot can scarcely be counted the pioneer of English modernism. That honor may fairly be claimed by Miss Edith Sitwell." This is chronologically false as it is critically ridiculous. The crucial poem, "The Love Song of Alfred J. Prufrock" (so called twice here), was printed in June, 1915, the year Miss Sitwell's negligible first book came out, and Eliot has recently written, "I had kept my early poems (including "Prufrock") in my desk from 1911 to 1915"; his book appeared in 1917, Miss Sitwell's first characteristic book in 1918. So much for a point of scholarship that should not have come up. On page 546 occurs the following sentence: "The Imagists owed their name, we believe, to Mr. Ezra Pound; but we shall excuse ourselves from discussing that person, who was never to our knowledge a British national" —as if modern English verse were intelligible without Pound. So much for the ideals of scholarship. A demon of misquotation pursues the authors, twisting even Shakespeare (for examples pp. 120, 125, 164, 191); it is now known (1931), and the fact rescues his early verse from contempt, that Middleton was born in 1580 not "1570?"; Yeats has no poem, I believe, well-known or otherwise, called "Gyrations," but can a posthumous piece "The Gyres" be meant? "Bowles certainly revived the sonnet, wholly neglected since Milton's day"; but this is the second injustice to that eccentric Thomas Warton the younger, who not only published in 1777 sonnets still modestly current, but wrote a celebrated "History of English Poetry" which was better worth mentioning, surely, than his study of Spenser. It is strange that Professors Grierson and Smith have no word for their predecessors as predecessors, nor for the poets who planned histories without writing them. Pope and Gray are familiar among these, but the spectacular loss is as usual that of Coleridge, who left characteristic memoranda, first printed in 1933, "for a History of English Poetry, biographical, bibliographical, critical, and philosophical, in distinct Essays." It has still to be written.

JOHN BERRYMAN

The Nation *will print, in the next few weeks, reviews or articles by William Empson, Allen Tate, R. P. Blackmur, Wylie Sypher, Hans Reichenbach, Delmore Schwartz, Louise Bogan, Philip Rahv, Katharine Anne Porter, Kenneth Burke, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Dwight Macdonald, Jacques Barzun, and Morton Dauwen Zabel.*

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE, first of all, are the reactions of two children—four and a half and six and a half years old—to some of the children's records that are being issued in great numbers.

I need hardly say that they were delighted by "Tubby the Tuba," an inspired job of integration of music (George Kleinsinger) with story (Paul Tripp), and an excellent job of relaxed narration (Victor Jory), finished musical performance (Leon Barzin), and clear recording (Cosmo Records). The same authors' 'Pee Wee the Piccolo," issued by Victor, and "Pancho Goes to a Fiesta," issued by Jupiter, I haven't yet played for the children.

They also loved the songs sung by Frank Luther in Decca's "Children's Corner." And I might add that Luther's pleasantly relaxed singing is something children like in his other Decca recordings; and that his informal room-sized narration makes the Decca recording of "Peter and the Wolf" better and preferable to the Victor recording with Richard Hale's declamation into the vast reverberant space of the empty concert hall. (Also—since I mention "Peter and the Wolf"—that Columbia's Stokowski performance and Victor's new Walt Disney version with its horrible narration by Sterling Holloway are things to avoid.)

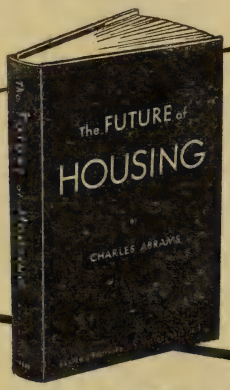
Columbia's "King Who Couldn't Dance" told by Gene Kelly turned out to be another favorite; and I expect the recently arrived Kelly recordings of "Peter Rabbit" and "The Little Red Hen" to have the same success. On the other hand Victor's "Little Black Sambo and the Twins" and "The Unsuccessful Elf" told by Paul Wing were listened to attentively but not asked for again.

Most recently, the first releases of the Young People's Record Club have made a great hit. Both children love the account of all the sounds a little dog heard on the way to the country and when he got there, on the record of "But Muffin Could Hear" for the pre-school-age group. And both love the songs on the record "Going West" for the school-age group. The bonus record of Haydn's "Toy Symphony" they listened to attentively but did not ask for again.

Columbia's recordings of the Mila Mack presentations of "Jack and the Beanstalk" and "Cinderella" on the C. B. S. "Let's Pretend" program were frightening, and were not played again. As for Vox's "Mozart, His Story and His Music" and "Schubert, His Story and His Music"—with the bits of music that one hardly has begun to hear when they are interrupted by false anecdotes, with the rushed narration and musical performance and generally hectic atmosphere, and with the atrocious female voice that is heard in the Schubert volume—I don't consider them suitable for anyone, old or young.

That is all I have space for, on this subject, until next Christmas.

Recently a young student wrote me some interesting things about the record lending library at Princeton University. It is quite large—over 7,000 records; and "undergraduate interest is terrific, the circulation for the month of October approaching 3,500 records." Not only that, but through the listening which the library has made it possible for the students to do they have developed their taste remarkably: "the most popular works around 1940 were things like the Rachmaninov Second Concerto and the Ravel Bolero, whereas the recent favorites have been things like Beethoven's Ninth, Schubert's 'Schöne Müllerin,' and Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 595." One would suppose that all this would impress the high officials of the University; but actually my correspondent mentioned it in the course of informing me sadly that the library "had to close last



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week because of lack of funds. It has been subsisting on the generosity of one alumnus since its foundation in 1938"; and "the University is apparently unwilling to support it in any way." This was confirmed shortly afterward by a Princeton alumnus who had attended a music symposium at the University, where he had learned that the sum which this great and rich institution refused to spend to keep the library going was—believe it or not—$600.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MOSS HART'S "Christopher Blake" (Music Box Theater) concerns itself with the story of a twelve-year-old boy who is compelled to chose between a mother and a father in the process of getting a divorce. The eight scenes alternate between the courthouse itself and the inside of the boy's head, where elaborate phantasies act themselves out. Obviously, therefore, it suggests Mr. Hart's extravaganza, "Lady in the Dark," but it is actually a much more sinister phenomenon. Before the curtain had been up five minutes, I found myself puzzled by something at once familiar and strange, and before many more had passed I realized what it was. "Christopher Blake" is not really a play at all, but a class A motion picture—the very first I think ever produced on Broadway frankly for what it is.

The influence of the movies is, of course, an old story. Plays written and acted with an eye to Hollywood, as well as financed from there, are familiar enough. In the past, however, they have always pretended, at least, to be plays in the first instance and the assumption has always been that they would be "adapted" to the screen. But in "Christopher Blake" the Thing, as Mr. Shaw would say, Has Happened. Here is a movie transferred to the stage as directly as the movies once tried to transfer plays to celluloid. All the stigmata of the big-budget picture are there and the assembly of stigmata constitutes the whole.

That naturally implies many things—more, indeed, than could be analyzed in less than a volume—but it also implies one thing more important than all the others: a monstrous, deliberate disproportion between the means employed and the ends achieved. Since an A picture is technically distinguished from a B by nothing except cost, and since an anecdote which has been dramatized to the tune of $2,000,000 automatically becomes an epic, the effort is to find more and more elaborate ways of saying what could be said simply and of realizing in greater and greater physical detail what could be implied or suggested. Mr. Hart seems to have been the first to dare to undertake a play conceived in accordance with precisely these aesthetic principles, and the result is that little Christopher's dreams are Colossal in the real Hollywood way and are, indeed, dreams such as only a movie tycoon could afford to have. If, as in the first scene, for instance, young Christopher imagines that he is receiving national recognition for his infallible peace plan, then President Truman and Generals Eisenhower and MacArthur are actually there, represented by the most reasonable facsimiles which the biggest casting agency could dig up. But that is by no means all. The flashbulbs really flash, the movie cameras grind, and the mob is no trio of awkward supers but a real mob filling the stage like a subway car during the rush hour. And so it goes. This is such stuff as only Hollywood dreams are made on and anyone who doubts that the result is a genuine Special Epic Super-feature (marketed separately on a percentage basis) need only to look at the cost sheets to be convinced.

Even Shakespeare, as the Victorians discovered, can be smothered in scenery, but, like most A pictures, "Christopher Blake" is less than Shakespearian in fable, characterization, and language, and it can readily be shaken down to as neat a little collection of moral and dramatic clichés as was ever assembled by a harried script-writer for either the movies or the radio. By conscious intention, apparently, the court scenes are stripped as bare as the dream scenes are overstuffed, but the effect is only to create in the former the effect of Drama's other illegitimate sister, so that the whole is exactly what a man who had never seen a play on the stage (but was perfectly familiar with the soap opera as well as the cinema) would expect a theatrical performance to be like. In real life, Christopher's parents "discuss their problem" by alternating hysterical outbursts with moments of sweet reasonableness, and as the curtain goes down on one of their big scenes it is impossible not to hear in the mind's ear the announcer unctuously repeating the question, "Which will little Christopher choose?" before going into his spiel about pink pills or crispy cereals. In the past, Mr. Hart has known how to write shrewd, knowing satire. That he has not entirely lost his gift is proved by one of the very few brief moments during which something genuine suddenly puts in an unexpected appearance; during, that is to say, the brief scene given to a typist from the lawyer's office who is delighted to meet a character from the story she has been chronicling in legal documents. But, nine-tenths of the time, Mr. Hart prefers to be merely elaborate.

Richard Tyler does give the title role a rather remarkable bravura performance, in the course of which he hams as expertly as any old stager, but quite so juicy a part is probably a doubtful boon to a beginning actor and, if he were ten times as good as he actually is, "Christopher Blake" would still be something to depress anyone really concerned with the future of the theater. As an institution, the stage has managed to survive until now because it has had a certain faith in itself. Once it accepts not only Hollywood money but Hollywood ideals as well, it is lost. Once it resigns itself to the necessarily clumsy imitations of Hollywood techniques and Hollywood effects, there will be no reason left why anyone should see a play budgeted at $200,000 when he could see a movie which cost $3,000,000. Two boards and a passion may be a bit too little for the best kind of theatrical performance. The machinery of "Christopher Blake" is far too much.

"Years Past," Ruth Gordon's life with *her* father now current at the Mansfield, is a pleasant enough little comedy probably destined to considerable popularity in spite of the fact that it is not exactly original. All the "nostalgic" touches are by now pretty familiar and the parallels with another very successful play are a bit uncomfortable. Suffice it to say that Gordon *père* was a manly, irascible man with a heart of gold and that the action concerns itself with the successful efforts of his wife to maneuver him around to the acceptance of a proposal which horrified him when he first heard it. He was a good deal less prosperous than father Day, and no one wanted him to be baptized, but his daughter did want to go on the stage and after much ado she did set out for New York. Fredric March and Florence Eldridge give sturdy performances. Patricia Kirkland exhibits considerable charm as the daughter.

Letters to the Editors

Achievement vs. Ineptitude

Dear Sirs: Realizing the space limits of *The Nation*'s book reviews, it is still my opinion that G. R. Walker's review (November 16) of C. E. Ayres's "The Divine Right of Capital" overlooks the original contribution Ayres has made: a theory of economic inquiry reflecting value in terms of the demands of technology and scientific method (*cf.* his chapter on "The End: Achievement").

In January, 1939, Ayres wrote that our civilization has become a contrast of "achievement and ineptitude." By "achievement," he meant the products of scientific method; his own theory of value demonstrates this process by having successfully combined the inquiries of Veblen and Dewey (who had previously carved their theories out of the rough of other evolutionary studies). Ayres admits this of himself and of all others who invent things, whether the *res* be ideational or technological. Both are elements of the same process of making objective judgments based on factual knowledge. All human progress, then, has been in terms of evaluating objects in a matter-of-fact sequence resulting in values which are "real, certain, permanent, and progressive . . . the real achievements of mankind."

The trouble, though, Ayres relates, is that human nature has two sides——the other (ineptitude) being discernible in resistance to change, the fanciful, visionary, and mystical side of life. Such values are *relative,* often nihilistic—the essence of habits, customs, and the deeply ingrained mores of the community—the values derived from revelation and authority, the antithesis of scientific inquiry. These relative values (thus far in history) eventually succumb to scientific values, but only after long and bitter struggles, wars, or revolutions. Nevertheless, all calculable human achievement is the product of the "cumulative skill of hand and eye and brain." We don't achieve more rapidly because of our general failure to comprehend technological progress in such terms. In economics, the idea of full production is the total sum of the reality of freedom, but its application is inhibited by mystical conceptuologies concerning pecuniary capital. In law, the ideal is justice, but mystical ideas as to private property, the state, the family, etc., often resist logical analysis.

The development of technical equipment is a democratizing process, and it cannot be stopped unless we kill all the inventors; that no one desires to do, and the obdurate facts must be faced. Man's supreme scientific effort must then be directed toward the organization of his institutions in light of this technological continuum. Ours is a mass-production economy which is falling apart at the seams because it is still organized in terms of a totally outmoded, nonscientific, "natural"-rights Eighteenth Century philosophy concocted prior to the Industrial Revolution. Thus, the only possible way to save any sort of "free enterprise" is in terms of a limited capitalism based upon Twentieth Century philosophy à la Dewey and Ayres. Ayres's solution involves shuffling only a few blocks at the top of the institutional pile (increased higher-bracket income taxes devoted to complete social security); if he is not heeded, the whole pile comes tumbling down on our heads as in the days of Jericho. It is fervently hoped that advocates of "absolute capitalism" learn from Ayres in time.

DURWARD H. DYCHE

New York, November 11

Christmas in Seville

Dear Sirs: Have you ever seen Seville in December? It is a friendly, charming and beautiful city. Yes, in spite of the suffering of the people under the Franco dictatorship. Yes, in spite of the tension that exists when soldiers and Civil Guards line the streets, watching, watching. . . . It was 1945. The orange trees which grace the streets, the parks and the gardens were full of fruit. The flowers in the gardens of the old Alcazar were still in bloom. In the Cathedral, the Seises danced, sang and played the castanets before the High Altar in honor of the Immaculate Conception, in one of the most beautiful and ancient of Catholic rituals. It was a sublime ceremony in a sublime cathedral. In the streets, gorgeous looking girls passed by, appearing not to hear the *piropos* (flatteries) some of the young men made. "Your eyes are darker than Franco's future," I heard a young man say in a soft voice to a beautiful señorita.

I visited the American Consulate. "See those two men leaving the consul's office?" one of the clerks told me. "They are *guerrilleros.* They've been fighting in the Sierra Morena mountains since the end of the Spanish Civil War. They represent 24,000 men who are up in the mountains still fighting against Franco. They were selected to come here and hand the consul the guerrillas' Christmas greetings to the American people." I wondered how many Americans would ever receive these greetings. No publicity would be given to the incident except somebody's short dispatch to the State Department in Washington.

I followed the two *guerrilleros* in their shabby clothes and old *alpargatas.* They had sad, proud eyes and the indomitable spirit that so many Spaniards have. I walked up the Parque Maria Luisa which leads to the outskirts of the city. I said, "I am an American and I love freedom. I was told about your mission. Thank you. May you all have a *Felices Pascuas* too! Millions of Americans wish you the same. They have not forgotten you." The older of the two said, *"Y por que no hacen nada entonces?* (Why don't they do something then?). For us there can be no Merry Christmas as long as Franco is in power." I wanted to give them some hope, but I could not. During eight months in the Iberian Peninsula I had seen how we worked hand in glove with the British in keeping Franco in power. "I wish you luck." That is all I could say. As the two *guerrilleros* walked in the direction of Sierra Morena, I thought how the world had let them down and yet how full of the spirit of good will to men they still were.

With their spirit, they would have to win, in time.

ROBERT RENDUELES

Brooklyn, November 30

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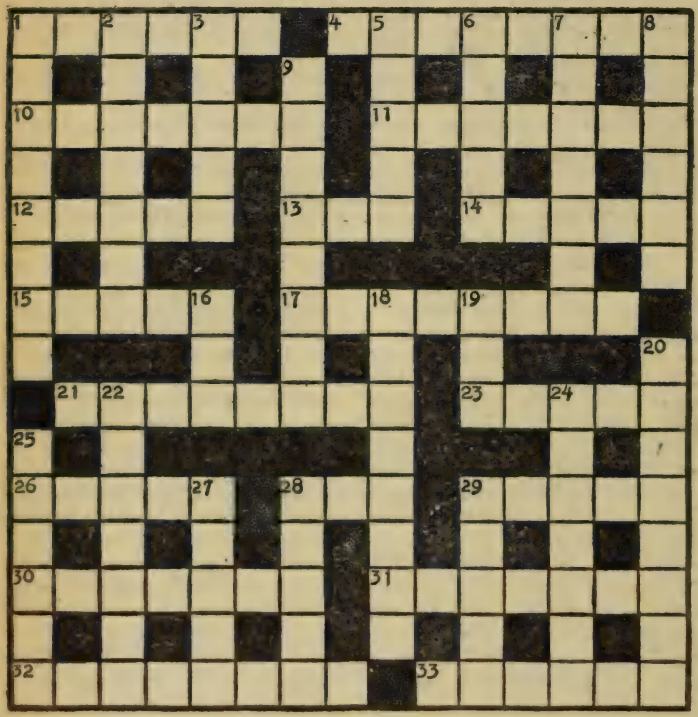
By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Operatic chauffeurs?
4 It's been the making of New Jersey
10 Make progress
11 Men rose for this American author
12 "Awake, my soul! stretch every -----, And press with vigor on"
13 A perversion of the truth
14 A proper name, yet a very common one
15 He'd adore to be a docker
17 Royal mail?
21 Sheets, pillow-slips, etc. (3 and 5)
23 Floral plate
26 Part of a peninsula in Europe
28 In heraldry, the fleur-de-lis
29 Trove is brought to light
30 A useful thing
31 Coal pit on a hill in Washington
32 Might describe a contest between two equally good teams of bell-ringers
33 Angelina's shorter sister

DOWN

1 Closely united, like Highlanders
2 A brown study
3 Yours affectionately, Ernest
5 Relation who is nice for the most part
6 A feminine, rather than a masculine, lock
7 In slits going the other way
8 The Mahatma
9 Expensive coat: but its owner has a good balance
16 Old cloth measure
18 A paragon? There's no such thing
19 Go
20 The little ships
22 The Artful Dodger was good at it
24 Thereat a dramatic change
25 Mounds conceal a man
27 Diana transforms herself into a water-nymph
28 "--- --, Macduff, And damned be him that first cries, 'Hold, enough!'" (3 and 2)
29 Modern English painter

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 190

ACROSS:—1 BRING UP; 5 RABBITS; 9 CHINA; 10 INK; 11 DELHI; 12 URNFUL; 15 SCOTCH; 16 SEA-COOK; 17 EYES; 19 WHIR; 21 FAIRWAY; 22 LAGS; 23 INNS; 25 STEELED; 27 CLASPS; 29 SUPINE; 30 EAGLE; 34 USK; 35 ELIDE; 36 SCYTHES; 37 POSTMAN.

DOWN:—1 BECAUSE; 2 ILION; 3 GRADUS; 4 PAIL; 5 RAKE; 6 BEDECK; 7 ISLET; 8 SLITHER; 13 LEVANTS; 14 SCORNED; 15 SOLACES; 18 EGG; 20 HEN; 22 LOCKERS; 24 SHEBEEN; 25 SPEECH; 26 DURESS; 28 ANGRY; 30 IDIOM; 31 MUGS; 32 SKIP.

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The Shape of Things

WE APPROACH THE NEW YEAR WITH HOPE—a tenuous hope—in man's ability to devise means to prevent his self-destruction. In much less time than it took to perfect the atom bomb, an international commission of scientists and policy-makers has come close to agreement on a system of atomic-energy control. It is against this background that one must view what transpired in the Atomic Energy Commission late last week. Taking little account of the six-months' labor of the commission, Mr. Baruch, head of the U. S. delegation, called for a showdown on a resolution embodying the essentials of the American plan with a specific demand for abolition of the veto in matters of punishment for treaty violations. The effect of such a resolution would have been to bypass the detailed reports the commission has been preparing. It would have made the commission a tail to Mr. Baruch's kite and flagrantly disregarded the disarmament resolution adopted after much debate by the U. N. Assembly. The Canadian representative, General Andrew McNaughton, who has played a consistently constructive role on the commission, saved the day by an amendment which, while accepting "the principles on which the findings and recommendations proposed by the representatives of the United States are based," referred the whole matter back to the working committee of the commission for redrafting, with instructions to take into account the U. N. disarmament resolution. The important result of the crisis is that the commission has asserted its authority over an attempt at godlike intervention by one of its members. It now has a chance to bring the first stage of its work to a satisfactory conclusion. We do not expect that its report will in itself provide the ramparts the world needs against atomic doom. But at least we have reason to hope that it will have laid the foundation.

*

THE COMPARATIVE ACCORD WITH WHICH the Security Council has accepted the United States resolution on Greece is more than welcome, though there should be no pretense that the terms of reference are broad enough to enable the United Nations to reach a solution of the real problem of Greece. Accepting the situation in that country as it is now, without reference to original responsibilities, it is certain that the present government is unrepresentative, tyrannical, and incompetent to lead Greece toward a prosperous and democratic way of life. Whatever may be the truth in Mr. Tsaldaris's charges against his Balkan neighbors, there can be no doubt that social discontent in Greece is deep and justified. Partisan submission, unaccompanied by governmental reform and the acceptance of a vigorous liberal program, will settle nothing but a diplomatic issue. We feel, therefore, that the Russians were right in insisting that the commission be empowered to probe into strife-provoking conditions within Greece. If the commission is to make proposals for averting a continuance of the present troubles, then to define them as merely border violations is sure to lead to Soviet dissent and possibly a resort to the veto. In any case, the Security Council's present decision does not exempt London and Washington from their duty of making the strongest recommendations to Athens. The Greek partisan movement has announced its conditions for a cessation of civil war. Some of them may be inacceptable to a broad middle-of-the-way government. Yet the basis for settlement exists. Even without direct negotiations between Athens and the partisans, a prompt and thorough liberalization of the government would put an end to the tragic waste of life and resources which threatens Greece with ruin.

*

JUAN PERON, THE ARGENTINE DICTATOR, has scored a major triumph by negotiating a commercial pact with Chile that should do much to advance his political, military, and industrial ambitions. The agreement goes far beyond the usual commercial treaty; so far, writes Frank Kluckhorn in New York *Times*, "that few here doubt it implies the closest political ties as well." President Gonzalez Videla of Chile, it is true, has declared that the pact is devoid of political significance but the terms tell their own story. Henceforth, the two countries will comprise a virtual customs union; they will use each others' ports freely, give mutual preferences to each others' aviation, shipping, and marine insurance. Chile is to receive a $150 million credit from Argentina to be used for the purchase of food, for public works such as the reconstruction of the trans-Andean railroad, and for the development of raw material and other

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resources required by Argentina to carry out its five-year industrial plan. Argentina, in turn, will enjoy priority in purchasing Chilean products and a preferred place in the Chilean market for its manufactures. All "concessions and advantages reciprocally granted remain excluded from the effects of most-favored-nation treaties" —even those with neighboring states. Such provisions are a direct blow at the ideal of non-discriminatory trade which the United States has been busily promoting and a strong protest from the State Department seems to be indicated. Nevertheless, we must recognize our own responsibility in driving Chile into Perón's arms. Our capitalists have alternately exploited and neglected that country, drawing fortunes from its natural wealth but doing little to establish a stable and progressive economy. A land without capital, it has turned to Argentina for aid in developing industry because it could obtain no adequate help from us.

*

PERON'S SUCCESS WITH THE CHILEANS IS ONE more indication that Ambassador Messersmith has been getting nowhere at all with his policy of honeyed indulgence. The pattern of Argentine statism becomes plainer by the week: a drastic military expansion, with compulsory training for all Argentines between twelve and fifty, a five-year plan of industrialization that is clearly geared to the needs of war, a program of aggressive economic expansion abroad and one-man rule at home. Messersmith has been called to Washington for discussions, and while the State Department is coy about details, it no longer pretends that the Ambassador is returning "for his health"—unless that term includes political well-being. Secretary Byrnes now indicates that the talks will center around a departmental matter. In view of the sharp note which he is known to have sent Messersmith only a month ago, it is not far-fetched to assume that this refers to the matter of the department's having one policy on Argentina and the Ambassador another. Senator Brewster of Maine, returning from a tour of South America, asks that this "schizophrenic" policy be clarified. It should be, of course, but the tenor of the Senator's remarks suggests the kind of "clarification" that goes with umbrellas.

*

A YEAR AGO, WE PRAISED MR. TRUMAN'S directive on China as bold and constructive. It is impossible to be similarly enthusiastic about the 1946 version of that statement, issued last week. While it shows that Washington has not weakened in its desire to promote a democratic solution in China, nothing in it is calculated to hasten such a solution. Some dramatic gesture was needed to break the logjam at Nanking, but the President's statement offers little except a long-winded defense of American policy. Only one new fact is disclosed: the Chinese government has not been permitted

to avail itself of the $500,000,000 credit granted some months ago—presumably because of its failure to set up a unified government. The beneficial effect of withholding financial support is offset, however, by the admission that other kinds of assistance, amounting to some $1,466,000,000, have been given since V-J Day. The President fails to recognize the stubborn fact that our policy of friendly mediation, however soundly conceived, has failed. While some satisfaction may be derived from Chiang Kai-shek's dramatic intervention at the National Assembly to prevent the right wing from reinstating the totalitarian 1936 draft of the constitution, the chance of ending civil strife through one-power mediation is slight. Because of the scale of American assistance to the Kuomintang, General Marshall has forfeited the confidence of the Communists and the Democratic League and convinced right-wing Kuomintang leaders that distrust of Russia will force the United States to support Nanking at all hazards. A modest reason for hope is provided in a suggestion which has just been advanced by Senators Murray and Flanders with the backing of a number of Far Eastern experts. They propose mediation in the Chinese struggle by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. While Nanking is understandably cool to the idea, the present moment would seem to be especially propitious for pressing it.

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EXCEPT FOR NEWSPAPERMEN, THERE IS NO class of wage-earner so wretched that its strikes go unnoticed in the press. Striking coal-miners, teachers, gravediggers, and pearl-divers all have their day in the papers, even if it isn't a good day; but let the men who *make* the papers walk out and a blanket of silence envelops them that would send a press agent to an early grave. A case in point is the strike of Newspaper Guildsmen against J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia *Record* and the Camden *Courier-Post*. Soon after the strike was called, the publisher stated his case not only in his own papers, put out by a skeleton staff of executives, but through paid advertisements in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the *Evening Bulletin*. Both these journals have refused to accept advertisements setting forth the Guild's reply. The strike has been marked by violence and police brutality that are normally page-one copy for any paper, and in the Stern papers fuel for trenchant and crusading editorials as well. But in the case of the Guild strike such incidents have been ignored by the Philadelphia press or given a stick on page six. Local radio stations, controlled by the papers, have flatly refused to match the time given to management with free time to the strikers. Aside from the merits of the Guild's demands—and they are moderate enough—Mr. Stern's conduct in the strike comes as a shock to those who have long thought of him as a friend of labor and a champion of civil liberties. He has repeatedly rejected compromises and refuses to hear of any wage increase greater than 12 per cent—in contrast to the 20 per cent raise given by the non-Guild Chicago *Tribune*, among others. And the man who has so often damned the ruthlessness of the "barons of industry" has had no word to say about the slugging of his own employees by Philadelphia police.

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EUGENE TALMADGE WAS PROBABLY A GOOD husband, a kind father, and a lover of animals. But politically he was sheer poison, and it would be hypocritical for us to pretend to feel anything but relief at the intervention of death to prevent his taking office as Governor of Georgia for the fourth time. The platform on which he stood was the reestablishment of "white supremacy" in the state by legislation designed to circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling that Negroes could not be barred from the primaries. In addition, he had promised to drop the prosecution of the Klan, which Governor Arnall has been vigorously pressing, and no doubt he would have made Georgia safe for its newest purveyors of intolerance—the Columbians. Talmadge is reported to have expressed a dying wish that his successor would keep his campaign promises. His followers are apparently backing his son Herman, the recipient of a large write-in vote at last month's general election, for selection by the General Assembly. The fact that the son sought such a vote in nominal competition with his father suggests that an attempt was being made to provide for the contingency which has now arisen. However, the constitutional position is extremely obscure, with every Georgian faction pressing its own interpretation. Fred Hand, speaker-designate of the General Assembly, says that a new election must be held as soon as possible, and that would certainly seem to be the most democratic method of settling the issue. It would at least give the people of Georgia a chance to retrieve the backward step which they took last summer.

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REPUBLICANS WHO WOULD BE PRESIDENT are forgetting that it may be as fatal for a candidate to grab for the nomination prematurely as it is for a starving man to rush food down his gullet. With the G. O. P. convention eighteen months away, we already have one avowed hopeful, three who do not choose to run but can't be pried out of their track suits, and any number of others who betray no sign of eagerness except that their tongues are hanging out. Harold Stassen, with a Willkie-like scorn for tradition, has honestly declared himself a candidate and opened a campaign office. What is more, he has told labor not to ask for more money now, advised management not to press for restrictive labor legislation, and urged consumers to refuse to buy at inflated prices. Without minimizing the refreshing quality of this performance, it is fair to point out that Stassen has nothing to lose by boldness. Poison to the

party leaders, his only chance is to make a daring appeal to the rank and file. Dewey, Taft, and Vandenberg are now on record with coy disavowals of an ambition that all three are plainly straining to realize. Taft forces, strong in the National Committee, have eased a pro-Dewey official out of her job as director of the women's division. John W. Bricker, whom Taft nominated for the Senate in the hope that he would sooner or later display his ineptitude, is already living up to expectations. Still to be sworn in, he has Washington buzzing with reports of his gauche performance at the Gridiron Dinner. Vandenberg has abandoned his post as adviser to Secretary Byrnes, a position that was compromising him with the McCormick faction of the party, and is consolidating his power in the Senate for a last fling at the nomination. Dewey, counted on for New York's forty-seven electoral votes, has been lining up the G. O. P. Congressmen of that state to support Charles Halleck, a Dewey man, as majority leader of the House, in order to offset Taft's advantage as majority leader of the Senate. And in California sits Governor Warren, happily convinced that all this throat-cutting can only leave more oats for a quiet dark horse.

Is There a Middle Way?

WHETHER the members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers have the drive and intellectual capacity to perform successfully the formidable tasks assigned to them, is a still unanswered question. Their first report shows they are at least excellent diplomats. It is full of seasonal cheer and good humor and includes a little something for everybody.

To the nation at large the report offers fair hope for some years of prosperity, subject to a possible minor recession in 1947. The *Wall Street Journal* school of thought gets a present of a caricature of Keynsian economics in which exclusive reliance on government fiscal measures to prevent unemployment is condemned as akin to the Roman formula of "bread and circuses." To balance the account, however, planners are comforted by an able analysis of the "Spartan" folly of believing that cyclical depressions are not only inevitable but morally valuable. And "management and labor, farmers, and financiers" are collectively wooed with the flattery of an appeal to "their practical wisdom."

A large part of the report is devoted to a defense of the Employment Act of 1946, to which the council owes its being, and to a discussion of the political and economic philosophies that measure embodies. The claim is made that the act reflects the general American inclination toward a middle way which avoids exclusive reliance in economic affairs on either private enterprise or government. Rejecting the view that the measure which finally emerged from Congress was a much-diluted version of the original, the report asserts that "it is in fact a broad enabling act of great flexibility as well as vigor." True, it does not "legislate any specific remedy into use," but it does clearly establish the "responsibility of the federal government to use all practical means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy . . . to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the stated purposes of the act—maximum production, employment, and purchasing power."

We agree with the council that the act, for all its weaknesses and omissions, is sufficiently broad and flexible to cover whatever actions are necessary to implement its goals. We are sure that if a new mass-unemployment crisis arises, public opinion will regard it as authorizing government intervention in the national economy on a scale that will dwarf the New Deal experiments of the thirties. But, as we see it, the value of the act must be judged not by the emergency use which may be made of it, but by the extent to which it helps to prevent emergencies from occurring. On this point the first report of the economic advisers is unhelpfully vague. They tell us that in the years immediately ahead the stimuli to production should be sufficiently powerful to obviate the need for "heroic measures"; they suggest that this period can be employed for planning a "gradual shift in expenditure and resource use" so that "more of those semi-luxuries, those welfare and culture goods," can be placed within reach of all. This sounds fine, but we would life to see the program spelled out more specifically in terms of education, housing, health, and so forth.

It must be recognized that the political climate just now is unfavorable to long-term planning of this kind. A spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers may hail the council's report as "an excellent document," but his pleasure is due to the fact that it appears to place no obstacles in the way of the "Operation Capitalism" on which Robert Lynd reports on page 748. The N. A. M., knowing full well that the current comeback of private enterprise will prove but fleeting unless a high level of employment can be sustained, is offering "practical leadership" for "the resumption of economic progress." In short, it is proposing to relieve the President and Congress of the responsibilities placed on them by the Employment Act. The present mood of both suggest that they will be only too happy to surrender their burdens.

It is probable, therefore, that despite the obvious good intentions of the Council of Economic Advisers it will not be permitted to work seriously on preventive measures; it will be called in for serious consultation only when "the sickness of an acquisitive society" forces itself very disagreeably on public attention. That is why we

find ourselves sharing Mr. Lynd's doubts about the practicality of a middle way or, as he puts it, of "a liberal compromise between modern monopoly capitalism and socialism."

Moscow and Iran

THE sudden collapse of the Azerbaijan Autonomous Republic, set up last year with Russian backing, has apparently confirmed those who have always maintained that the Tabriz regime lacked popular support. Others have seen in Moscow's seeming indifference a proof of weakness in the Soviet Union itself, and in some quarters there has been a too ready assumption that the Red Army is the only real mainstay of governments friendly to Russia. The Turkish leaders have regarded the downfall as a signal that they may now safely counter Russian pressure and have promptly suppressed opposition newspapers—Communist and liberal alike—and a number of trade unions.

Undoubtedly, events have proved that the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan was politically weak. Azerbaijan, which took a prominent part in the establishment of constitutional government in Persia in 1906, has long nourished the desire for autonomy. In a region where land rents often amount to two-thirds of the annual crops a demand for agrarian reform has also been strong. All this undoubtedly provided a basis for political action against the government at Teheran, dominated as it is by reactionary parties and individuals. Similarities of language and culture with the neighboring regions of Russia might have been expected to do something to offset the natural dislike of foreign intervention. And Russian strong-arm methods seem not to have been resented at first, for reports from Tabriz agree that in the early months of its existence the autonomous regime was welcomed by a great majority of the peasantry.

The same sources attribute its loss of popularity since then to abuses committed by the Democrats. The regime began "to take too much for itself." The peasants, willing enough to expropriate the landlords, apparently resented contributions to the government, as peasants have often done in other places. Again, in the backward mountain valleys where the warrior spirit is strong and whence support might have been drawn, the regime was compelled to rely on persons little adapted to organized political life. There may have been rural resentment of the urban Tudeh, virtually a Communist party, which enjoyed special privileges in Tabriz and other towns. As a total result, the hard-core troops on which the regime could depend were few in number, and the loosely organized militia had no will to resist the heavily armored columns of Teheran.

The regime has vanished, and the diplomatic picture in the Near East is somewhat clearer than it was. But the political result may be less desirable. Conservative gains in the general elections last Sunday, indicated by returns which are still incomplete, will mean a definite setback in Persia's political development. But the country has so long needed drastic reform that neither repression nor constitutional reaction can silence popular demands for change or guarantee a stable government in Teheran.

It remains to account for Russia's hands-off attitude toward its late protégé. Is this a sign of recently developed weakness? We do not doubt that opposition within the U. N., a decision to concentrate upon the central problems of Europe, and even the obvious economic difficulties in the Soviet Union may have been contributing factors. Yet, even assuming that Azerbaijan's resistance might have been stiffened by Russian pressure, the events of the past week have only pointed up the logic of a situation that has not changed. If Russia's primary intention was to serve its economic and strategic aims by seating Azerbaijan deputies in the Teheran parliament, then outright secession was never its aim. On the contrary, Russian interests require an early validation by the Teheran parliament of the oil deals in northern Iran. Qavam's refusal to call the necessary elections as long as Azerbaijan was cut off from the rest of Persia had already made an alternative Russian policy inevitable. The question now is, what course will the Soviet government follow in the future?

Before the First World War, British and Russian relations were regulated by a two-power agreement dividing Iran into exclusive "spheres of influence." It is known that Mr. Bevin proposed to Mr. Stalin that the old arrangement be revived in an amended form. Russia was invited to join with Britain and Iran in developing the Persian oil fields. The suggestion was turned down. If Mr. Stalin now reverts to this proposal he may find London in a different mood, for British influence is now much stronger in Teheran. Nevertheless, if renewed conversations on Iran do take place, the Russian government will have arguments to which Mr. Bevin might be wise to listen. Within the Soviet Union there is considerable support for a policy of reconciliation with Britain; the world situation, as well as the prospects for socialism in Europe and Labor control in England, will certainly profit by a rapprochement between Britain and the Soviet Union. Moscow's bargaining power is still great.

IN THE RUSSIAN ZONE

Nation correspondent Joel Carmichael, just back in Paris from the Russian zone of Germany, has written an exciting series of articles, the first of which will appear next week.

Mission to Madrid

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

OVER the past weekend, the British government, complying with the decision of the General Assembly, recalled its Ambassador from Madrid. In the present situation, with the Franco regime overwhelmed by internal difficulties, the news of Britain's prompt action surely created a profound impression in Spain. And in other countries many people may have jumped to the conclusion that the restoration of Spanish democracy was now well on the way. But unfortunately, during the same week, a contrary indication was given in an Associated Press dispatch from London, quoting a "government source" as saying that "members of the British diplomatic mission to Spain had been examining the possibility of whether a coalition government could be established . . . to replace the Franco regime and carry on until elections could be held." And lest there be any illusion that this meant a democratic coalition, the British spokesman said that the so-called interim government would be composed of representatives of Spanish groups ranging from "the right-wing centrists to the left-wing centrists." Americans may be somewhat confused by these terms, but Spaniards know that "right-wing centrists" mean monarchists and generals, while "left-wing centrists" are a handful of deserters from the Republic.

Britain's conspiracy began to take shape many months ago, as my article in the July 6 issue of *The Nation* revealed. The idea behind it was simply this: in the event British-American support of Franco finally proved inadequate to maintain him in power, the Caudillo was to be replaced by a military-clerical regime, leavened by a few nominal Republicans, which would hold "free elections." This was also the essence of the American, Colombian, and Cuban proposals which were voted down by the United Nations. A careful reading of those resolutions shows that the original Anglo-American strategy at the United Nations was to prevent a showdown with Franco; when that failed, the Big Two withdrew to their second line of attack—the British maneuver in Madrid.

A Spanish "Munich" was defeated in the Assembly when the nations voted not only to call back their heads of missions but to instruct the Security Council to continue to exercise vigilance over Spanish developments. The British and Americans supported the resolution *à contre-coeur*, the former because of the revolt against Bevin's Spanish policy inside the Labor Party, the latter because they too were faced with a revolt by many of the Latin American countries which were aligned against the Franco regime. But one of the characteristics of Anglo-American "democratic" foreign policy seems to be contempt for the decisions of the United Nations. At one point in the debate on Spain, Senator Connally warned the subcommittee considering the question that the United States would "not be bound by any resolution passed by the General Assembly." Later, under pressure, he modified this astonishing statement. The British were more cautious, but they wasted no time in putting in motion their second-string strategy. For it is a race against time. Popular pressure in England is increasing: the other day a delegation of the Trades Union Congress waited upon Mr. Bevin, just home from the Assembly meeting, to demand again a complete break with Franco. Inside Spain the U. N. resolution has created an explosive situation: on the one hand, it has driven Franco to abandon his democratic pretenses and emerge in full fascist regalia; on the other, it has given a tremendous push to the Spanish resistance movement. London cannot afford to wait. Before very long, the Security Council will be called upon to reexamine the entire issue; it must be confronted with a *fait accompli* in Spain.

The British plan depends upon the collaboration of Spanish *capitulards*. By an odd coincidence, at the very moment the A. P. dispatch came over the wires, Indalecio Prieto, the right-wing-Socialist leader and author of the "plebiscite" scheme frequently discussed in these pages, delivered a speech in Mexico calling for the withdrawal of his two ministers from the Giral Cabinet, characterizing the government in exile as a "corpse," and declaring that, despite the Republican tradition of Spanish socialism, the kind of political or economic regime set up in Spain was of secondary importance. Though it contained a few demagogic attacks on British and American policy toward Spain, his speech was a clear summons not for reorganization but for outright dissolution of the Republican government in exile.

But all these clever manipulations have overlooked one key factor—the Spanish people. Prieto's statement has caused a storm of resentment in Mexico among even his own followers. Several resolutions have been passed by different groups condemning his stand; one correctly points out that the proposal to dissolve the government in exile is an insult to Mexico, which engaged its diplomatic prestige in the establishment of that regime on Mexican soil, and to the countries that have recognized Giral. The reaction of Spanish refugees in France is equally bitter, and there is no doubt that Prieto's influence among Republicans in Spain, which has been considerable, is fast evaporating.

Until now, the Anglo-American policy of supporting reaction has failed everywhere in Europe. It will meet defeat in Spain as well—defeat that will be paid for in blood. And when the new civil war, for which Western diplomacy has opened the way, breaks over Spain in all its fury, British gentlemen inside and outside the Labor Party and American humanitarians like Senator Connally will no doubt once more express their "profound regrets."

An Old Southern Custom

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, December 20

THE grimy and somewhat incoherent story of Mississippi politics drawled into microphones propped up on a desk in the Senate caucus room is a clear warning of how easily democracy can degenerate into a sordid racket. These hearings before the Senate War Investigating Committee were described by one awed Congressional secretary as "a postgraduate course in how to make politics pay." I counted ten different ways in which the shrunken little Mississippi Senator is alleged to have collected funds or other things of value without, apparently, running afoul of federal law. Violations of Mississippi law were shrugged off by witnesses as of no importance.

The various donors, according to statements made to the committee, were war contractors, who put up the "heavy sugar," patronage appointees, business men who had been assisted in priorities, and even an elderly drug addict. Bilbo's former secretary, Ed Terry, testified that the Senator had him draw up a list of 100 names from whom they might solicit funds. The trail of that mysterious quality, "influence," wandered over Washington, through the War Department, Justice Department, Bureau of Narcotics, and War Production Board. According to Terry, Senator Bilbo tried to get the Department of Justice to call off its prosecution of Abe Shushan, Huey Long lieutenant, and appealed to the Commissioner of Narcotics to give a Natchez dope fiend a permit for two grains of morphine a day. The Shushan deal had a highly legal flavor. Abe "lent" Bilbo $3,000, and the Senator gave him his note for it. When Bilbo was unsuccessful in his efforts with the Justice Department, Shushan is alleged to have threatened to "sell" the note to Bilbo's political opponents. In the narcotics case Terry accused Bilbo of accepting $1,500 to arrange for the addict to get his morphine.

The Bilbo operations were conducted vaguely, and without incriminating records, by a few cronies. It was not until one of them, Ed Terry, had a falling out with the gang that the facts came into the open.

Senator Bilbo's role in the combine was that of vote-getter. Bilbo has stayed in office, election after election, despite frequent charges of corruption, through his rabble-rousing talents and the indifference of the so-called "respectable" element in his state. The legal brains of the outfit was Forrest Jackson, the sharp and personable Bilbo protégé. Ed Terry and Bob Gandy were the confidential operatives. They solicited, collected, and paid money and made backroom arrangements. One reporter at the hearing described Terry's day of testimony as "Terry and the pirates." The promoter and organizer was A. B. Friend, the husky and bluff war contractor and Bilbo campaign manager. Architects interested in the proposed Washington municipal stadium went to Friend for a cooperative deal. Bilbo was chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

This small group composed the informal committee which was set up in 1942 allegedly to support the candidacy of Wall Doxey for reelection to the United States Senate. The committee was so informal that it kept no records and had no bank account or treasurer. Bilbo kept thousands of dollars given him by war contractors, supposedly for the Doxey campaign, under his pillow. The largest donor was the war contractor "Big Boy" Newton, who tossed in $25,000. (Doxey testified that he knew nothing about this alleged contribution to his campaign.) Bilbo, Jackson, and Gandy have all been vague about how this money was distributed—when, where, and how much. The informal committee offered a way for Senator Bilbo to receive thousands of dollars which cannot now be pinned down as illegal payments by a war contractor to a politician in return for his "influence."

Another of the Senator's schemes for raising money was to solicit contributions for the Juniper Creek Baptist Church, which is located on his property. He was the custodian of the church funds and the church's actual owner. He also solicited funds for the parsonage, a house with five bathrooms and eight bedrooms. The current pastor, "Brother" Smith, has built his own home near the church, thus raising the question whether he ever hoped to live in the gorgeous parsonage.

Another Bilbo project was setting up a fund to pay his alimony. It was for this purpose that the Shushan "loan" was arranged. The Senator's former private secretary testified she was fired when her father refused to share in this "charity."

One war contractor, Mike Morrissey, had his own little way of expressing his appreciation for services rendered him by Bilbo. Morrissey took over the operation of the Senator's farms for four years at a loss of $48,000. He gave his friend a Cadillac for a Christmas present and constructed a lake for him. Other easy-spending benefactors gave Bilbo furniture for his "dream house no. 2." The boys also chipped in to defray extra expenses in Bilbo's Washington office. They often lent him money with no intention of trying to collect it.

A politician setting about deliberately to shake down persons for whom he might do favors could get many pointers from these hearings on Capitol Hill. In each case presented to the Senate committee some element is missing to prove conclusively that Bilbo or his associates wrung money out of war contractors or others. The Internal Revenue Department has been trying for almost a year to build up a case against the Bilbo gang on income-tax evasion. But, at least in the hearing, it has been extremely difficult to figure out how much money was received, how it was spent, and for what purpose. It is also difficult to determine which of the different sets of witnesses is lying and which is telling the truth.

The most damning testimony against Bilbo the man was given by the Senator himself. It was no proof of corruption or crookedness, but it showed a strange indifference to moral issues. Senator Ferguson was questioning Bilbo about money Terry collected from a Louisiana gambler. He said, "You knew he [Terry] had the money, and where he got it—from a gambler." Bilbo answered, "Well, he got the money. I didn't care who it was he got it from." At another point Ferguson compared the $25,000 Bilbo obtained from Newton with a small sum collected by Terry. Bilbo commented proudly, "Ah'm a good collector. Ah'm a better collector than Terry." About the gift of the Cadillac, the Mississippi Senator instructed Ferguson condescendingly: "It's just an old Southern custom. Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." Of the charge that he worked energetically to obtain lucrative contracts of the cost-plus, fixed-fee variety for members of his gang, Bilbo said virtuously, "I have done no more than has been done by practically all my colleagues in the Senate." In his written statement he said blandly of a contractor, "Bernie Friend is a great organizer, an excellent engineer, and a high-toned Christian gentleman. I ought to know his ability because he has successfully managed two of my campaigns for United States Senator."

The rest of his defense, which both Ferguson and Mead said had no bearing on the hearing, was that Negroes and Communists were trying to persecute him. He also claimed that payments to him were "loans" which he will repay.

Every day Senators not on the committee have been sitting back in the corners of the large chamber. Some are frankly awed by this testament. One freshman from a state long noted for its clean politics murmured, "This certainly is educational."

The final showdown will take place on the Senate floor in three weeks. There are many signs that both Republicans and Democrats, including some from the South, will vote to unseat the gentleman from Mississippi.

Capitalism's Happy New Year

BY ROBERT S. LYND

CRITICS of capitalism have long maintained that its acquisitive anarchy has proved too inefficient and too socially reckless to serve as a stable base on which to build a democratic nation's welfare. They claim, moreover, that these elements of instability are becoming rapidly more destructive with the growth of giant technology and the resulting need for coordination of the entire economic system.

But a reigning system of power sits heavily upon men's imaginations and creates its own defenses against the assaults of fact. Critics of capitalism therefore have been faced with the difficulty: Granted that there is "a deal of ruin" in a deeply rooted system like capitalism, how much evidence of its failure is necessary to refute its pretensions to permanence and superiority? And in this undefined situation how can those who dominate the system be compelled to assume unequivocal responsibility for delivering or failing to deliver specified results? That is, how can they be made to accept the conditions of a crucial test?

Such a test has now been publicly and collectively accepted by the American business system. When organized big business, led by its top strategy board, the National Association of Manufacturers, killed the OPA, it inaugurated Operation Capitalism. Acting and speaking through the N. A. M., big business shouldered aside the efforts of democratic government to control the economy and announced that it would itself do whatever was necessary for the public good and do it better than could any other system—particularly any kind of government planning or control. The November elections confirmed the power of big business to do the job in its own way, free from government interference.

The N. A. M.'s fifty-first annual Congress of Amer-

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ican Industry held in New York earlier this month was a prolonged roar of triumph. The congress told the world that American organized business "knows what it wants to do, where it is going, and how to get there," and that its broad, closely articulated program is "designed to carry heavy loads in the days to come." Having learned that a policy of "mere opposition" is inadequate to prevent the New Deal type of legislation, business says that it is now going to "stick its neck out" and provide the necessary "practical leadership." Brandishing the big stick of its power, it herds all of us into the fold. Even labor, it says, "is hungry for truth, hungry for leadership—so hungry it will follow anybody who comes along, in the absence of the honest leadership industry should provide."

The program business offers holds "the individual free-enterprise system" and "the welfare of the nation" to be indivisible. It proposes the restoration of a "voluntary economy" and, thereby, "the resumption of economic progress in America." We are promised "A Better Tomorrow for Everybody." For the N. A. M. pledges that "the great majority of American manufacturers are determined to produce as much as they can, as fast as they can, to sell at the lowest possible prices, and [as the result] America will enter the period of prosperity that everyone has been hoping for."

These are broad promises to a desperately insecure nation at a time when, as Anne O'Hare McCormick has said, "the tensions in this country are greater than they were in the depths of the depression of the last decade." They are intended to persuade the public to trust private business rather than a democratic government to take whatever measures may be necessary to secure our economic future. Any plan to insure a decent economic future for all Americans necessarily engages to bring about an immediate end of inflation; avoidance of a postwar depression; full employment, a stabilized high-level national income, and inclusive social security; more democracy not less; peace—not a balance-of-power, spheres-of-influence truce, but *peace*.

Why has business let itself be collectively committed to this thumping test? Large promises have often been made in the past by individual capitalists. Today it is the "party line" of the whole dominant front of American industry to which we are listening. The reason business has let itself in for Operation Capitalism is that the power struggle has reached the stage of in-fighting in which options are curtailed and the effort must be all-out. Business's hand is being forced by damage both to its prestige and to its ideological defenses. The depression of 1929 hurt capitalism as nothing ever had before in this country, hurt it in a way that is crucial in a democracy, by undermining public esteem for its capacity and for the reliability of its promises. The helplessness of business at that time and the enforced extensive participation of government in making our economy work built up a lively popular awareness that the government can do things about people's needs that business can't do.

The outer ring of business's ideological defenses has been breached by the emergence in full, successful operation elsewhere in the world of national planning, and particularly of socialist planning on a continental basis. This makes it impossible for business men any longer to scorn all criticism on the ground that there exists no competitor to capitalism outside the heads of utopian reformers. The inner citadel, too, is threatened by the logic of modern technology and managerial skills, which points away from the small separate operating unit characteristic of the private-enterprise system; in an economy dominated by diversified corporate giants like du Pont, the distinction between "private" and "public" diminishes. To the extent that big private business must look to government for secured profits, subsidies, and relief for its unemployed, its position is further weakened.

Pressures like these have forced big business into a continuous offensive. The results are seen in the growth of the N. A. M.-type of organization and policy-making since 1933 and the recent collective assumption of responsibility for Operation Capitalism.

Where does the intellectual "left" stand as regards all this? It has good grounds for suspecting that business cannot make good on its promises. What is called for is a broad, coherent policy dominated by the public interest as democratically defined, and this is precisely what capitalism has not been able to achieve; it did not even achieve it in a national emergency program like the NRA. The trouble is not that business men as a class are "wicked," "greedy," or "irresponsible," but that the dynamic system in which their lives are enmeshed and which determines their actions is not set up to serve collective democratic ends. It "works" only when men act as if they were greedy and socially irresponsible, engaged in a Hobbesian warfare of each against all.

The task business has taken upon itself is being pictured as a holy crusade. The "private-enterprise system" is identified in this campaign with democracy and all other convenient values. It is because the intellectual left does not confuse capitalism with democracy or planning with dictatorship that it must not allow itself to be drawn into this crusade. Nor must it simply sit it out, ticking off the score of capitalism's failure. The left has a two-fold task: (1) to identify and publicize the obligations American capitalism has undertaken and the tactics to which it will resort as it fails to achieve the promised stability; (2) to chart an alternative course, for lack of which the failure of business's plans may land us in fascism by default.

Because American capitalism has powerful ideological

and material tools with which to manipulate the American people if its business-as-usual strategy should fail, it is likely to adopt the following tactics:

1. Deny that it ever committed itself to certain objectives recently announced. From this it will be easy to slip over into implying that these objectives are unobtainable anyway, and that capitalism will bring us closer to them than we could get in any other way. A prime example of this tactic was business's precipitate abandonment of the concept of "full employment" on discovering that it depended on greater concessions than business was prepared to make. First the Committee for Economic Development turned thumbs down on "full employment" and set up a vaguer target, and then business saw to it that the United States led the successful fight in the United Nations to eliminate this dangerous goal as a commitment on the signatory nations.

2. Shift the responsibility for failure to others. This device is already in use in the drive to blame organized labor and the Soviet Union, respectively, for our domestic and international muddling in these first post-war years. Responsibility for the failure of veterans' housing is being shifted from the housing industry to the Democratic Administration; inflation is attributed to labor's wage demands; and we shall shortly hear that the drive for expanded world trade failed because the Soviet Union and countries in its sphere of influence refused to join the international trade agencies.

3. Cut beneath the whole level of concrete failures and redefine the issues. Instead of the pursuit of specific objectives—such as low prices, no depression, full employment, and peace—emphasis will be placed on the "vastly more fundamental" struggle for democracy against some inclusive bogy variously called collectivism, totalitarianism, or communism. The groundwork has already been laid for this by the current propaganda identifying the free-enterprise system with democracy, national planning with dictatorship, and so on.

4. Suspend specific democratic procedures because of the need to "restore law and order" and "save the American way of life." Such action has already been noted at the local grass-roots level in the methods of the Associated Farmers, the Mohawk Valley Formula, and similar drives to enlist local sympathies in support of anti-democratic power tactics. The logical next step is to mount such programs on a national scale.

5. Move into that amalgamation of big business and the state which we call fascism. This will be the pay-off on the present business clamor for the cessation of all government interference and the restoration of our freedoms. Nobody knows better than business the "freedoms" obtainable through government controls—of the right sort. One of the things to watch is the use of emergency powers on a national scale. An example of this is the increasingly anomalous prolongation of the Selective Service Act and the Smith-Connally Act, as convenient weapons for the control of labor. And it is but a step from these war powers to equally convenient peace-time powers, if an economic emergency is declared to exist. We shall probably see an intensification of present hindrances to the organization of third parties. In short, in fascism big economic power gains unchallenged authority to use public powers to achieve its own private version of what the nation needs. This is where the N. A. M.'s knowledge of "what it wants to do, where it is going, and how to get there" comes in.

6. Launch, if necessary, another world war to obliterate capitalism's failures. At present big business does not want another war and will settle for controls over labor and over any future New Deal tendencies. War hurts capitalism as a system by introducing government participation in financing, production, and marketing, by speeding up the monopoly tendency, and by encouraging big capital to diversify into the established commodity lines of smaller enterprisers. But war does not affect all sections of capitalist society equally; and as Brailsford pointed out a generation ago and as the balance sheet of this last war reveals, war can be vastly profitable to those powerful enough to be on the inside in the running of it.

To identify these tactics as they occur and to point out their common origin is the responsibility of the left. Also, now that business has accepted, on the barrel, the obligation to provide permanent and stable prosperity, the left must keep the score. And when the score shows—as it almost certainly will—failures heaping up into disaster, the left must be ready with an alternative program. If, as I expect, a liberal compromise between modern monopoly capitalism and socialism is found to be no longer possible, the program must point the way to American socialism.

The American intellectual left is ill organized for such a staggering responsibility. The grip of business and of conservative research foundations all but strangles independent critical thought in the social sciences in the United States. The British Labor Party has evolved from fifty years of organization, public discussion, and research on the left. In this country we have no such continuous tradition of Socialist dissent and inquiry as a basis for left programs. Brookings Institutions and Rockefeller Foundations do not do Fabian Society thinking. Our intellectuals generally are afraid to be thought "radical." Even labor in our as yet timid trade-union research departments is immersed almost entirely in immediate "service research." But no one in touch with American university graduate students can be unaware of the restless demand in this younger generation of social scientists for a chance to think without a bit in their teeth. It is labor and this younger intellectual group that must build a democratic program for America.

Winter Season in Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 19

WINTER has set in—with a severe frost but so far with little snow. If the snow continues light, winter crops may suffer. Christmas trees, or rather New Year's trees, have begun to arrive in the markets, also large boxes of tangerines from the south for the school children's New Year parties.

With the General Assembly and the Foreign Ministers' Conference ended, the average Russian feels that the international atmosphere is a good deal better than it was six or even three months ago. He is convinced that even if there are a few more very sticky patches ahead, especially during the discussion of the German problem, some compromise will be reached. In two years, perhaps sooner, the world will have settled down to some sort of reasonable *modus vivendi.*

The Russians have stated clearly their minimum security demands, by which they will stand, but no people are in a less belligerent mood. This accounts for Russia's decision to treat the Teheran-Azerbaijan conflict for the present as though it were a purely internal Iranian matter. No vital Soviet interests—such as the ratification by the Majlis of the Russian oil-concession agreement—are thought to be endangered. The terror against the Azerbaijanis is reported briefly in the Soviet press, but it is not made a major issue.

Unquestionably Moscow is gratified by the successful conclusion of the Foreign Ministers' discussions on the five peace treaties. Throughout these laborious talks the Russians were never willing to admit the possibility of a complete deadlock or breakdown; it was really, they say, a case of all parties concerned trying to get the best possible terms. Finally everybody consented to make certain concessions compatible with his fundamental interests, and so agreement was reached. In Paris there were moments of real danger because the Russians were convinced that a very unfair system of ganging up against them was being organized. At the subsequent meeting of the Foreign Ministers the Soviet delegation showed a willingness to make concessions in a spirit of give and take, but refused to be bullied into anything by "voting tricks." The agreements reached, it is hoped, will prepare the way for settlement of the admittedly more difficult problems of Germany and Austria.

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It is also hoped that not too many *faits accomplis* will have been recognized in western Germany before the Foreign Ministers meet in Moscow on March 10. Prominence was given in yesterday's press to the statement by Premier Friedrichs of Saxony to the effect that "German unity" and the preservation of the bloc of anti-fascist parties must be the people's two principal aims. Excessive autonomy is considered dangerous, since a more or less independent state like Bavaria might shelter a budding Nazi movement, as Thuringia did before 1933.

About the work of the United Nations proper, feelings are rather more mixed. An altogether exceptional amount of space was given to the U. N. deliberations in the Soviet press; sometimes almost three-quarters of the newspapers were devoted to reports from New York—three closely packed pages out of four. All this was read, and read thoroughly, by millions of people. The impression in Russia is very strong that the Soviet delegation was able to leave New York with a completely clear conscience and that Russia is by far the staunchest supporter of the U. N. and of all good causes. The Soviet delegation appears as the main champion of world opinion against Franco Spain, as the leader in the struggle against racial discrimination—witness South Africa's defeat—as the strongest supporter of a continuation of UNRRA in some form, and above all as the most sincere advocate of disarmament.

It is clear to the Russian reader that it was not the Soviet delegation's fault if the question of the troop census, raised by the Russians and enlarged by the Americans, has been buried for the present. With respect to the veto, the Russians are satisfied that the U. N. meeting clearly demonstrated that none of the big powers want it scrapped; the "nebulous" recommendation to the Security Council on its future use they regard as only a minor concession to its critics. This enormous buildup of the United Nations by the Russians is an extremely significant development.

Concerning relations with Britain and America a number of little things may be mentioned. There has been some criticism about Egypt, some annoyance over the merging of the British and American zones in Germany, a ferocious Zaslavsky article on Schumacher's visit to England, annoyance over "the campaign in the British press against the Potsdam agreements," which, in the words of one commentator, "would, if scrapped, lead to

the rebirth of German nationalism, as Schumacher and his Nazi cronies want." And, finally, Zilliacus is prominently quoted as denouncing the "secret Anglo-American union" and arms standardization. The pooling of food reserves in Austria is considered by many a promising sign that something similar may be agreed upon for Germany. The desire to create better relations with America is also evident—for example, in the references in Vishinsky's recent speech to the desirability of developing Soviet-American trade and his remark that credits to Russia are a good investment. Regarding trade with Britain, the prospects are still very uncertain. The Amalgamated Engineering Union's delegation, during its three weeks' visit to Russia, hoped to have conversations on the subject with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, but the meetings did not materialize.

Internally there are no startling developments. The stimulation of retail trade by the new functions given to the cooperatives under the November 9 decree has so far made little progress: only two shops and fifteen stalls have been opened in Moscow during the past month. The press declares that such results are totally unsatisfactory and assures the cooperatives that their new role in retail trade is not a temporary expedient, that they can confidently go ahead. It declares that they have "an immense role to play."

The tightening up of discipline is proceeding everywhere. The other day Mihailov, general secretary of the All-Union Komsomol, made an eloquent speech at Kiev on the duty of the Ukrainian Komsomols to increase production and efficiency. He said that in liberated Ukraine 70 per cent of the Komsomol members were of less than two years' standing, which naturally explains the ineffectiveness of many of them.

The labor shortage is indisputable, as was observed by the British union delegation, which last week visited the Donbas. Restoration is proceeding, but the destruction was so great that progress appears slow. The other day it was reported that the immense agricultural-machinery plant, Rostselmach, at Rostov had been repaired only 46 per cent. Some industrial sectors are certainly lagging. When I visited Rostselmach last summer I found that much of the work still consisted in clearing away rubble, and for lack of Russian workers the somewhat unproductive and ca-canny labor of German prisoners was used. However, Jack Tanner, leader of the visiting trade-union delegation, spoke very highly of the training schemes for apprentices in all plants, and he was certain that in a few years the difficulties caused by the shortage of labor would be overcome.

To fight crime heavier sentences are being passed on bandits and burglars. In Moscow a man named Gromov was sentenced to death for robbing passersby at night in the street, after threatening and in some cases wounding them with a knife.

On the "literary" front," there is little new. The indiscriminate ragging of writers by critics is being frowned upon. Writers are now told that they need not fear being bothered by petty criticisms. Occasionally some sharp remarks appear, however. The most popular writer of children's verse, Kornei Chukovsky, was attacked in the Central Committee's paper, *Culture and Life,* for his story "The Kingdom of Dogs." It is the story of an imaginary dogs' kingdom in which the canine king, wearing a golden crown, passes judgment on naughty boys who torment dogs. The critic objected to such "zoological morality" being preached to Soviet children.

A play which has just been announced and which has created some excitement is Simonov's "The Russian Question," the result of his recent visit to America. It dramatizes the conflict between a democratic, fair-minded young American journalist and a villainous newspaper proprietor. The whole thing is represented as a struggle between two sharply defined sets of ideas: peace lovers against warmongers; democracy, anti-fascism, fairness to the Soviet Union against the plans for an anti-Soviet crusade; the democratic spirit against the vicious warmongering press monopolies. The attitude toward the Soviet Union becomes in Simonov's play a sort of ultimate test of human decency and the "true democratic spirit in the present-day world." Simonov may not be a great or even a good writer, but he is important because what he writes nearly always reflects the thing foremost in the minds of most Russians. There is no doubt that the question of future Soviet-American relations is now of great concern.

Russian music remains one of the most fruitful creative fields. Here one has the sensation of living in something approaching a great creative epoch. One waits with excitement for outstanding and lasting works to appear. In the past few weeks alone Moscow has heard the first performance of works some of which may be put in that category, as Shostakovich's new quartet, whose finale has more purely musical loveliness than almost anything he has written, and loveliness is not a word usually applied to him. No less important is Prokofiev's new violin sonata, with exquisite strings and inexhaustible inventiveness of melody and rhythm. Most typical of Prokofiev's work is the scherzo with its touch of "hooligan swagger," reminiscent of the remarkable scherzo of the Fifth Symphony. On a different level is Khachaturian's new cello concerto, which suffers from an excess of old tricks of string concertos. If Khachaturian's music is almost too consistently "Armenian," the well-known Georgian composer, Balanchevadze, is apt to go to the other extreme. His new piano concerto is, with the exception of rare passages, disappointingly un-Georgian.

But with Prokofiev and Shostakovich intensely active, Moscow remains musically one of the most exciting places in the world.

Homeless America

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

II. Bailing Out the Builders

THE fight against the emergency housing program threatens to become the greatest assault upon government resources since the dissipation of the federal domain. A powerful lobby stands mobilized to rewrite the formula for house building so that builders and lenders will get the profits without taking the risks while the government will take the risks without getting the profits. If the lobby succeeds, housing may become the opening wedge for the socialization of losses in business.

The implications of the present fight will be better understood if its background is briefly reviewed. Up to the turn of the century a home owner would have welcomed a mortgage on his house no more warmly than a swarm of termites into its beams. The early movies depicting the mortgagee as a mustachioed villain threatening to foreclose unless he received the hand of the owner's daughter in marriage represented the prevailing view. But building costs rose, curtailing home buying; whereupon the mortgage lending institutions, perceiving a new outlet for their mounting reserves at lucrative interest rates, provided the additional means needed. Between 1922 and 1929, though the total value of urban real estate rose only 14 per cent and national wealth 20 per cent, urban mortgage debt increased 208 per cent.

Until the depression the mortgage system continued unchanged, the builder taking the risks in home building and the mortgage company putting up about two-thirds of the cost. When the crash came, foreclosures wiped out home equities at the rate of a thousand a day. Mortgage financing stopped; building fell off to a trickle. The Roosevelt Administration saw recovery held back by the lag in home building and set out to resuscitate it with the federal pulmotor. Housing agencies fanned out in all directions. A Federal Housing Administration insured mortgage loans to lending institutions up to 90 per cent of purchase price. A Home Owners' Loan Corporation lifted three billion dollars in mortgages from the bulging portfolios of the depression-shocked lending companies. A Home Loan Bank System, designed to "bring out hoarded savings," insured mortgage loans to building and loan associations, guaranteed their shareholders, authorized the government to buy their stock. A small appropriation was made for an experimental housing program for slum dwellers, and in 1937 an act authorizing the building of about 160,000 low-rent homes passed Congress without objection from real-estate or business interests.

Soon, however, builders and mortgage lenders awoke to the potentialities of government aid. The home builder had been the neglected little brother in the entrepreneurial family. He now saw that the 90 per cent insured mortgage allowed him to bail out with his investment while at the same time the small down payment enticed thousands of new recruits into home ownership. The mortgage lending institutions had formerly been obliged to take the risks of over-appraisal and devaluation. Now the government provided them with a method of absorbing their risks without affecting their gains. The builders and lenders rose to the occasion with all the lobbying strength they could muster. Adopting the prevailing idiom of social reform, they advocated more federal intervention than housing idealists ever dreamed of.

But while favoring social reforms noble enough on the surface, the lobby revealed its more practical ideas. Its plans called for (a) underwriting by government of the security of speculative investment in real estate; (b) the assurance of continuing profits to the nominal owners of rented property by rent-relief payments to low-income workers, which would then be handed over as rent to private owners; (c) the continuance and expansion of the FHA and the Home Loan Bank, under which preferred institutions could continue to exact exorbitant interest from home buyers without restraint; (d) the unleashing of another home-purchasing boom from which builders might profit without risk, while veterans and others were impressed into purchasing precarious equities without check by the government; (e) the cancelation of all priorities on materials, construction, sales prices, and rents of new housing. In short, the New Deal was to be reshuffled, with the cards stacked against the taxpayer and home owner.

The reasons why an important sector of business abandoned its traditional opposition to government interven-

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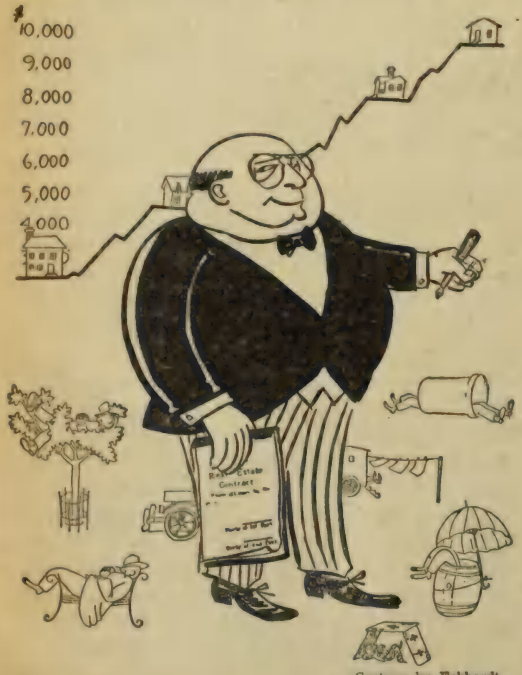
tion will become clear if we examine the operations of the mortgage-insuring agencies. FHA insurance of mortgage loans has not forced the lenders to make any appreciable cut in the interest rate; in fact, uninsured mortgage loans often carry a lower interest rate than those insured by the government. On government-insured repair loans interest is 9 per cent! Insured loans are parceled out to preferred lending institutions only. Competition that might stimulate interest reduction is stifled with the government's blessing. Practices which in other enterprises would be clamped down on as brazen violations of the anti-trust act are openly countenanced. Even the practice of excluding persons of unwelcome color or ancestry has been approved in FHA publications.

The Home Loan Bank System, too, was balm to the ailing building-and-loan associations. Posing as "cooperatives," these were little more than mortgage-lending *banking* institutions with self-perpetuating directorates. Before 1933 they had to take normal business risks in their mortgage loans. Now they could not only buy government-insured mortgages, but the government underwrote the investments of their depositors and shareholders. It discounted their mortgages for a premium of about 1½ per cent, while the associations were free to charge 5½ per cent and up. The resources of these institutions more than doubled in a few years.

When the war ended and the need for veterans' housing became pressing, Congress again rushed through a law designed to induce veterans to buy whether they could afford to carry the property or not. The need for any down payment was now eliminated. Again the government simply insured the lenders and underwrote their risks, without providing any security for the home-hungry veterans. The program was merely fresh evidence of the desire to get more deeds into the hands of citizens without regard for the aftermath. Low costs, ability to pay, decent standards, reasonable interest rates, sound city planning—all these were thrust into the background.



Cartoon by Eckhardt, Courtesy Austin Spectator

"The housing shortage will take care of itself as soon as materials get back on the market."

It is plain, therefore, that the benefits reaped by private building interests from government aid are the source of the present intense opposition to public housing. The prospect that the vast credits and funds of the government may be used for publicly sponsored undertakings is a powerful threat to the subsidization of private enterprise. Public housing agencies build as economically as the private builder. Instead of bailing out slum owners they have often bought vacant land for their projects. Bonds of local housing authorities, to the distaste of the mortgage lenders, have been sold competitively to underwriting houses at one-third the rate of yield the institutional lenders exact on FHA mortgages.

It is not surprising that in the line-up against the public-housing provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill are the home builders, the American Bankers' Association, the United States Savings and Loan League, 208 life-insurance companies, the Mortgage Bankers' Association of America, and the National Savings and Loan League. Herbert U. Nelson, arch-deacon of the lobby, put the issue plainly: "In our country we prefer that government activity shall take the form of assisting and aiding private business rather than undertaking great public projects of a governmental character." A Republican bloc in the House Banking and Currency Committee kept this bill from coming on the floor for a vote. President Truman's recent announcement of more mortgage insurance and less restriction on the home builder, and his appointment of the FHA administrator as boss of the government's housing program suggest that the Administration is now ready to capitulate to the lobby.

The only real opposition to the attempted raid on the federal treasury comes from the 800 housing authorities set up in forty of the forty-eight states. The members of these authorities are unpaid citizens, 75 per cent of them from business, banking, and the professions. They are backed by labor, civic organizations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Veterans' Committee.

The main issue is not whether there shall be public or private housing but whether the public or the private entrepreneur shall receive the benefit of government moneys and credit. The Washington real-estate lobby is fighting to divert the funds required for social under-

takings into private hands and to obtain government credit resources for private use. The struggle is not between those favoring socialization and those opposing it —Senator Robert A. Taft, who is sponsoring the housing bill, can hardly be called a socialist. The struggle is between those who favor the traditional role of government under a private-enterprise system and those who see in federal intercession an opportunity to make government the handmaiden of business.

Once the raid on the public funds has been carried out, the next move may be the appropriation of government powers—in fact, that has already begun. In states that have enacted "urban redevelopment laws" not only have government funds been put at the disposal of big private institutions but government powers have been surrendered to them on the pretext that slums are being cleared. The Stuyvesant Town project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York City has been given the benefit of a special power of eminent domain which authorizes the compulsory purchase of land as a "superior public use." Several public streets in the heart of the metropolis have been turned over to the company forever. Only one official, the city's Comptroller, is permitted access to these streets—and that only for the period of tax exemption. Handing out public moneys and public powers to private companies is now authorized in eleven states.

If the lobby wins its fight, the way may be paved for a remarkable innovation in government. For if business is to be freed of the responsibility, restrictions, and safeguards to which the government agency is subject, the "ism" describing the new era will be of a type more menacing than socialism. Already ominous signs of race discrimination have appeared in Stuyvesant Town.

Why is the public not awake to the danger? Because the housing issue is so complex that the average citizen is not able to distinguish the true substance of housing laws from the nobly worded but meaningless pronouncements of their preambles. Since the recognition of the federal government's welfare power by the Supreme Court the principles governing the use of federal subsidies have never been adequately defined, and each innovation is permitted to serve as a precedent for further raids upon the federal credit. Organizations fighting against the lobby, such as the National Public Housing Conference, are hampered by poverty and public apathy.

Much more than houses is involved in the housing question. The solution may provide the precedents for the type of economy in which we are to live. Housing is no longer an emotional issue to be fought out between those who are against slums and those who are for them. It will be seen in its true focus only when all the essential if wearisome details of a program have been laid before the public.

The Last Skyscraper

BY FREDERICK GUTHEIM

Here first the duties of today, the lessons of the concrete,
Wealth, order, travel, shelter, products, plenty;
As of the building of some varied, vast, perpetual edifice,
Whence to arise inevitable in time, the towering roofs, the lamps,
The solid-planted spires tall shooting to the stars.

SO WALT WHITMAN. But this original lover of Mannahatta does not translate too well. Else he might have made some things clear to the delegates to the United Nations Assembly who recently decided to build their headquarters in a derelict area along the East River. He gives sounder advice than the delegates received from their technical commission of expert planners. Or from the daily papers.

The best thing an editorial writer in the New York *Times* could find to say about this site was that it had plenty of rock under it. On the first page of the *Times* a more objective account noted the abattoirs, warehouses, parking lots, and Dead End kids. But clearly the United Nations are not interested in what they find on the site today. All that can be scraped clean. They are interested in getting down to the virgin rock and deciding what can be built there.

Having accepted, on the recommendation of the United States government and with the cooperation of the city of New York, the East River site offered by John D. Rockefeller, where does the U. N. go from here? The headquarters building must now be planned to accommodate all the U. N.'s many and varied activities. Only a Radio City type of development can fill the bill, a city of skyscrapers. But the U. N. city will stand within a city that already exists, and in one of the worst parts of the city.

What limitations does this impose? The site offers no possibility of expansion; and the U. N., we hope, is to be a growing organization. The site is too small to give much opportunity for an architectural setting, and space

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for many of the supporting services must be provided in the vicinity. But perhaps most important is the lack of what the French call *ambiance*—the lack of a suitable atmosphere, a congenial environment. In our language we have neither the word nor the idea.

The previous owners of this site, who assembled it with the idea of creating another and larger Radio City, appear to have relinquished their plan because the cooperation of the city was necessary not only to enable them to acquire some remaining small segments of property and to preempt space intended for a municipal park but to assure the construction of a loop subway line to the area. Quite a lot more will be expected of the city by the new owners.

In the highly professional report of the Headquarters Commission we find an analysis of the U. N.'s requirements. The housing needs of the U. N. community are set off against a bleak and cheerless summary of New York's housing situation. With 7,000 employees and their dependents, 4,000 transient visitors, and the necessary service population, this community is estimated to total 52,530 persons. On the five and one-half city blocks of the East River site, of course, no such numbers can be accommodated. The employees of the U. N., 40 per cent of whom earn less than $2,500 per year, will be fortunate if any housing is provided for them on or off the site, and the U. N. must begin to count on a permanent upward revision of the quota of American nationals it employs. The eighteen acres of land along the East River will meet only the barest requirements of the United Nations.

The General Assembly must have a hall seating 1,000 persons with space for 3,000 more in balconies; it must also have seven large committee rooms accommodating 400 persons, and ten smaller rooms for 30 to 100 persons. The Security Council will need its own chamber for 200, with space for 2,000 in balconies, and with seven large and two or more small committee rooms. The Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council will share a third hall seating 175, with 500 in the balconies, two large committee rooms, and five small ones. Nine specialized international agencies working closely with the U. N. will have staffs totaling 2,500, for which room must be provided. An estimated seventy permanent missions will have staffs totaling 1,875 persons.

Offices for the secretariat itself form of course the largest item. These will require 1,675,000 square feet. Two small halls for lectures, films, and so on will require 15,000 square feet each. A library of a million volumes, various restaurants, bars, and lounges, and radio and communication facilities complete the main features of the plan.

With Radio City in mind one need not doubt that this array of buildings can be erected on the chosen site. Some may even find encouragement in the fact that buildings so like their model will have a high degree of convertibility and a good resale value. Should the U. N. disintegrate, or be replaced by another and more effective form of world government, no embarrassing monument like that at Geneva need stand empty to remind us of our failure to create the Parliament of Man.

Whether New York City can bring about a sufficient measure of urban redevelopment to justify the U. N.'s gamble with this site is an open question. Few city planners will take a cheerful view of the possibility. New York real estate, particularly in Manhattan, is very sick. Despite the current false health of post-war conditions, it suffers from a chronic disease caused by the widespread movement toward metropolitan decentralization and over-inflated realty values. U. N. delegates, most of whom come from cities a good deal smaller than Buffalo, whose administrations have a large measure of control over land, may be forgiven for miscalculating the importance of this factor. But our own representatives have a heavy responsibility. It is too early to say that we have sold the U. N. a gold brick. But it is beginning to look that way.

Robert Moses apparently believes the U. N. will be satisfied if he rezones a fringe a block wide around the site. He can also be prevailed on, as a disciple of Baron Haussmann, to plan some monumental approaches to the U. N. headquarters. But corridor streets and pretty façades are not enough. More comprehensive planning, more municipal land ownership, and more directly controlled building plans are called for.

Fifteen years have passed since the last skyscraper of any consequence was built. The U. N. skyscrapers will undoubtedly be the last we shall erect.

In what now seems an ironic proposal Lewis Mumford, our most distinguished student of architecture and city planning, recommended last summer that the United Nations select some portion of a great metropolis and redevelop it as an example for war-shattered cities. The distinguished French technical representative on the Headquarters Commission, M. Le Corbusier, has boldly championed the idea of the "vertical garden city"—a skyscraper solution to the U. N.'s site problem. Are these brave conceptions to be mocked?

In constructing the thousand-foot skyscrapers of U. N. the technical abilities of American architects and engineers will be put to the test. Building technicians of other nations cannot seriously compete in manipulating this essentially American building form. No other engineers are qualified by training or experience to deal with the complex questions of heating, ventilating, air conditioning, elevators, escalators, and the myriad mechanical devices that make the skyscraper possible. The only architectural expression admissible will be a tight and economical functionalism not materially different from the rent barracks of Manhattan. The possibility of

an international architectural competition is an absurdity.

Since American architects will inevitably determine the form of the buildings, the U. N. Headquarters Commission might be well advised to place the design problem in the hands of the Public Buildings Administration. The recently retired supervising architect of the PBA, George Howe of Philadelphia, is admirably qualified for this task by his experience in designing for the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society a skyscraper more modern than any in New York. Or the PBA might make use of the experience of New York's outstanding exponent of skyscraper design, Wallace K. Harrison, codesigner of Radio City, who has for months been at work on the development of this very East River area for Webb and Knapp. With such designers, and a determined effort on the part of the New York City Planning Commission, it may yet be possible to erect on this most difficult and unpromising site a building that can speak to the world.

"The Republic of India"

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, December 17

IN MANY ways it has been a memorable fortnight, crowded with big events—the opening of the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, Nehru's magnificent speech outlining its objectives, and the parliamentary debate on India in London.

Nehru returned from his dramatic flight to London disappointed but not embittered. "We hungered for a message of cheer and cooperation from Britain," he said, addressing the Constituent Assembly, "and it has been a blow to me that obstructions and new limitations not mentioned previously have been placed before us." "It hurts," he added simply. America, Australia, and China sent messages of good-will which the chairman read out on the opening day, but none came from Britain.

Nehru touched a deep chord when he spoke of the five thousand years of India's past that seemed to be crowding round him. "I feel overwhelmed by the mightiness of the task," he said in a voice shaken with emotion. The absence of the Moslem League's seventy-five representatives he noted with regret and expressed the hope they would take their places soon, because India's future, as he visualized it, was not confined to any group or party: "The welfare of four hundred million people is our common concern." In a passionate appeal "for imaginative daring" on the part of the British government, he declared that he challenged no one's *bona fides* and would continue to seek Britain's cooperation.

He repeated these sentiments yesterday and today in addresses before Benares University and the annual gathering of British business men at Calcutta. Let's forget Britain's past misdeeds, he pleaded; India cannot afford to cut all its visible and invisible connections with Britain of the past 150 years. He warned, however, that future Indo-British relations would depend on Britain's policy and conduct toward India.

The Constituent Assembly is considering as its first real item of business Nehru's resolution outlining what should be the basic features of the permanent constitution. India, according to this conception, will become an independent sovereign republic comprising all British India, the Indian princes' territories, scattered possessions under French or Portuguese administration, and possibly, if they desire it, regions like Burma and Ceylon. The constitution will guarantee social, economic, and political justice to all citizens and provide adequate safeguards for minorities, backward classes, and the untouchables. Certain definite powers and functions will be assigned to the central government by federated autonomous units which will exercise all residual authority.

The present deliberations of the Constituent Assembly are held in an atmosphere of great uncertainty. Until Jinnah returns from London and summons the executive of the Moslem League to reconsider its boycott, one cannot say whether or not the League's representatives will participate in the Assembly. Jinnah wants definite assurance from the Congress leaders that they accept without reservations the British Cabinet's long-term plans. The Congress leaders will recommend that certain disputed passages be referred to the federal court.

Equally unpredictable is the attitude of the princes. Many among them seem frightened by the term "independent sovereign republic" and the assertion that sovereignty even in constituent units is derived from the people. The British Cabinet has urged a negotiating committee of the princes or their prime ministers.

Thus at the moment the Constituent Assembly represents only British India, not the princes' territories—and not even the whole of British India, since the Moslem League is not participating. Churchill, in the course of the parliamentary debate, offensively raised the question whether such an Assembly was competent to make decisions affecting the whole of India. The Labor Cabinet

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would not answer the question directly. It indorsed Jinnah's interpretation of its long-term plan and asked the Congress leaders to accept it, adding the important reservation that the British government cannot impose on unwilling parts of the country a constitution framed by an Assembly from which a section of the people has held aloof.

This statement has set many minds thinking. The Moslems believe it implies that provinces with Moslem majorities need not accept a constitution framed in their absence. The princes find the principle applicable to their territories unless they reach an agreement with the Constituent Assembly with regard to representation. By the simple process of abstention the Moslems and the princes believe they can compel the present Constituent Assembly to limit its attention to six provinces. Congress leaders will make every reasonable concession to obtain the cooperation of the Moslem League and the princes.

One cannot say at this stage how far their efforts will prove successful. Up to now Jinnah has been able to get the support of all members of his party. A section, however, remains critical of his barren and uncompromising policy. Forming a minority of the population in several provinces, the Moslems cannot accept his suggestion to exchange populations as a preliminary to the establishment of Pakistan. They realize they must learn to live on terms of friendliness with their Hindu neighbors. The recent terrible riots have taught both Hindus and Moslems that violence settles no problem.

There is a similar lack of unanimity among the princes. The Hindu and Sikh princes, with some exceptions, would welcome a general settlement with the Congress leaders.

All reactionary elements in India are likely to take heart from Churchill's mischievous utterance predicting widespread strife and chaos. Nehru has promptly answered his point about whether the British troops are to be used to put down Moslems and untouchables. The demand for their immediate withdrawal will be all the more insistent in the future.

The Congress Party has an enormous social program beginning with the abolition of the landlord system and the emancipation of the peasantry. It favors a considerable measure of state control of industry. It seeks the introduction of popular government in the princes' territories. The question is: Does the British Labor government genuinely desire to help the Congress leaders to achieve these great reforms? Parliamentary debates in London a week ago have been most disappointing in this respect. Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Alexander, among the Labor ministers, were apologetic. They seemed to say to the Tories, "We are not doing anything very different from your party's policy." Men like Nehru expected a bold and clear-cut departure from the Churchillian conception of imperialism.

In the Wind

BEAT THE YOLKS of a dozen eggs: "Errors and sophistries," a professor of philosophy of Boston College recently told a group of educators, "are supported by big names whose prestige the devil has carefully built up—names like Russell, Whitehead, Dewey, Kant, Hume, Bergson, Freud, Marx, Einstein, Bridgman, and their like."

ADD ONE CUP of sugar: Institutional advertisement of the State of Mississippi in a recent New York *Times:* "Come to Mississippi! You will find a friendly, cooperative spirit. . . . Bring the family."

ONE PINT of brandy: Recently discovered advertisement in an old issue of *Architectural Forum:* "Wire Your Houses for Electric Ranges! Electric Range is 2-to-1 Choice Among Upper Two-Thirds of White Farmers."

ONE PINT of rye: A Citizens' Committee "to represent public interest" was appointed by Mayor Beach of Oakland, California, during the recent general strike. Its members were the publisher of the local Hearst paper, a political boss, the president of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, a bank president, a former president of the Oakland Key System bus line, two department-store general managers, and the president of the United Employers of Oakland.

BEAT THE EGG WHITES and fold in: From the leading editorial in the Pittsburgh *Press,* a Scripps-Howard newspaper, on the morning the coal strike ended—"John L. Lewis surrendered. Appropriately enough, it was the fifth anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor."

ADD ONE PINT (86 cents' worth) of whipped cream: "Emotional impact that lingers long," reads an advertisement for a new French movie version of "Carmen." "Passion abundant . . . Lusty as you could wish . . . French dialogue . . . English subtitles . . . Released by Superfilm . . . The Stirring Screenplay of Mérimée's Classical Story . . . starring VIVIANE ROMANCE . . . (Background music by Georges Bizet)."

SPRINKLE WITH NUTMEG: Bobby Sox Smith, a hero of Okinawa from Queens, New York, told a New York *Times* reporter he needed a home. Smith and his wife have been angling for the apartment of Gerhard Eisler, the alleged American Communist leader who is now under investigation by the FBI. Eisler happens to live in the same building as Smith's parents. "But," Smith told the *Times* man, "his wife is still there. Besides, some of the FBI men who've been tailing him want that apartment, too."

CHILL AND SERVE: "Animals in the zoo," says Dr. George M. Uhl, Los Angeles health officer, "have better housing than some of Los Angeles's human residents." Happy New Year!

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"From Portal to Portal"

WE SHALL be hearing this sonorous phrase very frequently during the next few months, for the problem it represents is going to engage the attention of both Congress and the courts and, in addition, is certain to figure in collective bargaining. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Supreme Court has ruled, the forty-hour statutory week must be measured "from portal to portal"—that is to say, from the time a worker enters his employer's premises to the time he leaves. This decision has opened the door to millions of claims for unpaid time worked aggregating billions of dollars.

The act, passed in 1938, provided that hours worked in excess of forty a week must be paid for at time-and-a-half rates. Unfortunately it did not define "compensable time," and most employers assumed that they need not include in the pay period time spent by the worker in getting to his working place after punching the clock, in changing clothes when special garments were required, in cleaning up after work, in returning to the entry at the end of the shift, and in waiting his turn to clock out. In small workshops and factories this span of unproductive time may be of little consequence, but in large modern plants, covering a huge acreage, it can add appreciably to the length of the working day. Moreover, since it is difficult to keep individual records of the exact time when employees actually start work, many employers deduct an arbitrary allowance from the hours clocked. In the Mount Clemens Pottery Company case the Supreme Court noted that the firm calculated compensable time from the succeeding quarter-hour after employees punched a time-clock when going in and from the preceding quarter-hour when going out. "Thus an employee who punches in at 6.46 a. m., punches out at 12.14 p. m., then punches in again at 12.46 p. m., and finally punches out at 4.14 p. m., is credited," said the court, "with having worked the eight hours between 7 a. m. and 12 noon and between 1 p. m. and 4 p. m.—a total of 56 minutes less than the time recorded by the time clocks."

This problem first came before the courts some years ago when a claim was made against the Tennessee Coal Company for payment of time spent in underground travel in iron-ore mines. In 1942 the Supreme Court found for the workers, and three years later, in the Jewell Ridge Coal Corporation case, it concluded that there was no substantial difference between underground travel in iron mines and coal mines. Finally, on June 10, 1946, the court, reversing the decision of a district judge in the Mount Clemens Pottery Company case, held that the "portal to portal" principle applied to industry in general.

This decision has been criticized for the broadness with which it interpreted the intentions of Congress, but it is certainly one that appeals to both equity and common sense. For once a man enters his employer's premises, his time, obviously, is not his own. He cannot control the location of his working place, and if assigned to one ten or fifteen minutes distant from the gate he should be compensated for the time spent in reaching it. Equally, if the nature of his work requires the wearing of special clothing, he should be paid for the minutes spent changing. To a considerable extent the amount of non-productive time in a factory is under the control of employers. They can arrange in a big plant for more entries so that internal walking is minimized, can instal more time-clocks and reduce waiting to punch in and out. According to *Business Action*, organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce, many firms are planning just such improvements now that the Mount Clemens decision has given them an incentive to do so. When unproductive time represented merely a loss to workers, the additional investment involved was not, it seems, justified.

Employers are now looking to Congress for some relief from the burden of retroactive claims which the court's findings threaten to place upon them. In the years since 1939 a great many industrial workers have been putting in more than forty hours a week and so are entitled to payment at overtime rates for any uncompensated time worked; moreover, the act provides for additional damages equal to the amount due. It is alleged that many small firms would be bankrupted and even the strongest would find their financial position seriously damaged. The government also would probably be called upon to make very large reimbursements to cost-plus war contractors—an estimate of five billion dollars has been published—and would be deluged with claims for tax refunds. Possibly the extent of the Treasury's liability has been exaggerated for propaganda purposes, but the scale of the sums involved is illustrated by suits against two of United States Steel's many subsidiaries asking for $120,000,000.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that state statutes of limitations vary in their incidence. Thus in Wyoming a worker can seek recovery of sums due over an eight-year period, while in Colorado there is retroactive liability for only one year. Such variations in standards confer competitive advantages on violators of the law in many states.

Yet another problem is created by the fact that the courts have held waivers of individual claims under the Fair Labor Standards Act to be inadmissible. Consequently a settlement of retroactive claims negotiated between an employer and a union cannot be regarded as binding. Yet the filing of millions of individual claims could choke the courts for years.

Clearly, some kind of legislation to tidy up the whole situation is required. But a bill which was introduced last session by Representative Gwynne of Iowa and is likely to be revived early next year certainly goes too far. It provides for a maximum of two years' liability for back pay, not only in the case of "portal to portal" claims, but in other damage suits under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Thus it would benefit employers who had deliberately cheated their workers as well as those who may fairly claim to have sinned inadvertently by continuing customary practices. Labor organizations will have to be vigilant lest, under cover of meeting an extraordinary situation, an effort is made to weaken the Fair Labor Standards Act.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THAT American radio is a powerful sales force no one can deny in the face of its continuing successes. Yet United States broadcasters have never got around to selling America to the rest of the world.

Before the war the networks and a handful of the larger stations took some steps toward developing short-wave transmitters, planning eventually to have these programs sponsored. The war stopped all that, and about the best thing accomplished was the loose affiliation of American networks with similar though inferior organizations in Latin America. Today the short-wave transmitters are leased by the government, the hookups between networks here and those south of the border are dormant, the only radio word from the United States comes through the recently inaugurated short-wave broadcasts of the State Department, and the best job of selling these United States is being done by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

BBC broadcasts are fitted for this job by a basic difference in approach. The primary purpose of the American broadcaster is to get more listeners for the advertiser; he feels no obligation to extol the virtues of his country to the world. The BBC's overseas service, which was organized in 1935 to combat the short-wave radio propaganda of Germany and Italy, started with this premise: "There's no use trying to sell England to the world unless England understands the world." To help England to understand the United States the BBC has from the very beginning had a production staff here to feed what it calls "the eastbound service," from the United States to England. And always it has tried to produce shows that would tell each country about the other.

In the beginning the BBC sent its programs over here by short wave. Then surveys showed that it was reaching less than half of one per cent of the available listeners and that most of these were either short-wave addicts or Englishmen away from home. So it changed its methods and got American stations to rebroadcast its programs. The war played into its hands, for most of the non-network radio correspondents who went to Europe found the army transmission facilities inadequate and turned to the BBC to get their broadcasts home. Moreover, rebroadcasts of the BBC's short-waved newscasts, documentaries, and features enabled many a non-network station to cover the war.

Today, because it is short of dollars, the BBC has had to curtail its eastbound production staff, but it has come up with a technique of exchange programs that has actually increased the number of programs being sent out. Of the "eastbound shows" the following are typical:

"American Commentary," a weekly commentary on the United States by an American. Raymond Gram Swing started the series in 1935. He was succeeded by Elmer Davis and Alastair Cooke. Currently Joe Harsch of CBS and Clifton Utley of WMAQ are performing.

"American Letter," a weekly broadcast by Alastair Cooke on anything interesting or significant in American life or thought. Mr. Cooke has described life in a New England town, discussed the economic problems of the South, and attempted to explain the average American.

"Transatlantic Quiz," a weekly ad-lib show in which questions are asked on one side of the Atlantic and answered on the other. It tries to find out which panel knows most about the other's country. On this side the speakers have been Christopher Morley and John Mason Brown; in London, Denis Brogan, a professor of political science, and David Niven, the actor.

Among the "exchange" programs, the following have been heard recently:

"Birmingham to Birmingham," in which the people of the two cities learned about each other. WAPI in Birmingham, Alabama, put together a program that included interviews with typical residents, descriptions of the town, on-the-spot accounts of a steel mill and coal mine, and the like.

"Columbus to Manchester." In this the underlying theme was cotton. WDAK in Columbus, Georgia, did a program about the growing, ginning, and selling of cotton. Manchester presented a show about its cotton mills.

WLW-BBC compared a Welsh settlement in Ohio with the town in Wales that the settlers originally came from.

WGY-BBC have a monthly program on farming. A topic is chosen, and questions are submitted by farmers within range of WGY in Schenectady, New York, and the BBC Scottish service; then each side brings farmers and experts to the mike to answer the questions.

KDKA-BBC offers a monthly exchange between youngsters in Pittsburgh and their counterparts in the Midlands.

In all these exchanges each side gives the other a detailed blueprint of what is required. Last summer WHCU, Ithaca, had a one-shot exchange program about county fairs that tied-in with a big local fair. But it won't send across its part of the fair program until next spring when the big fairs are held in England. The beauty of the exchange deals is that time is not of the essence.

Of course these are just samples. The BBC uses some two hours a week of programs about America, not including special talks and documentary bits for BBC programs.

Finally, the BBC has some fifty-odd stations in this country that regularly carry some BBC feature or special program. One network has an exchange program. The BBC, however, has two American programs that go to their full network, in addition to a host of others that are broadcast locally. Whereas a minority of American stations carry the BBC programs, every BBC outlet on the network carries ours.

For American broadcasters the BBC shows are usually an opportunity to grab some publicity or to get a good special feature at little cost. For the BBC and the British listener American material is part and parcel of a good program service, letting people know what is going on in the world.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Seaman's Luck

The sick one in a fo'c'sle fevered
And creaking on a sour sea,
In dreams conjures a calm landfall,
The morning star in a bay reflected.

Gray and cold, the ocean damp
Blows from the forward hatch in gusts;
The humid engines throb and tramp.
Are his dreams death's forethoughtfulness,

Or will the bridge bring out of mists
The lofty land, the cloudy sweet
Fields of the old land, old kingdom?
He dreams he never knew those lawns

Nor, bashful, his embowered home,
The veined leaves dusky in the air,
Nor heart at ease in sighing summer,
His woman cool beside his knee—
The sunset flush upon
Her cheek's classic inclination.

ROBERT FITZGERALD

Jazz and Categories

SHINING TRUMPETS; A HISTORY OF JAZZ. By Rudi Blesh. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

MR. BLESH, who used to lecture on jazz at the San Francisco Museum of Art, has now written a big, useful, but grandiose book on the subject. He is an articulate enthusiast, and he has a good deal of fascinating scholarship to impart. He works earnestly at the major job that faces anyone who would address the tyro on jazz—constantly leading him away from the desolate commercial music that dominates the radio and phonograph, and toward the really gifted, ardent playing. Mr. Blesh demonstrates with more detail than I have seen before that the influence of West African tribal music is central in jazz, and that sacred and secular Afro-American song led directly to the jazz band. He writes clearly about musical forms and assists his text with all manner of scholarly apparatus—including a wonderfully evocative photograph of a colored funeral procession, with brass, in Gretna, Louisiana.

This reviewer is further pleased to find that Mr. Blesh's taste in jazz often closely approaches his own. Mr. Blesh belongs among those *aficionados* who especially admire the improvised polyphony developed by New Orleans Negroes in the first two decades of the century: the great names include Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Johnny Dodds, etc. This tradition has recently been represented by New Orleans veterans of the period, including the sixty-five-year-old Bunk Johnson and Kid Ory. But any such heartful, spirited playing today is all but drowned in the din of music commercially geared or desperate for novelty, or both. The big "swing" bands deal very largely in mechanical formulas, such as the "riff." The little "salon swing" combinations deal in cold ingenuity. The newest fad, which somewhere or other acquired the perfectly appropriate name "re-bop," deals in "screwiness"—it is "salon swing" freaked up with dissonantal harmony (Mr. Blesh does not deign to mention it, or else he went to press before its tortuous inventions reached his ears). I will take a stand with Mr. Blesh in favor of lyric spontaneity—genuine song. The old New Orleans jazz masters had it. It was essential to jazz in its capital city, and still seems so to many "reactionaries" today.

Unfortunately, Mr. Blesh is rather wooden about all this. His critical tack reminds one of the German methodologists. He has a system. Thus, having set the old New Orleans heroes up as his criteria, he declares, in effect, that anything outside the New Orleans style is not "real jazz." There are many of us who feel that the lively and various art of music will always mock such pigeonholing. Mr. Blesh, for instance, has unkind things to say about the famous Bix Beiderbecke, who did not play like a New Orleans Negro (he was a Davenport, Iowa, white man): "Objectively considered, Beiderbecke's playing is weak. . . ." Having no notion how to reach Mr. Blesh in his objectivity, I can only assure him that, subjectively, many people quite devoted to New Orleans music have also found Beiderbecke a choice musician indeed. If his is not "real jazz" they will reject Mr. Blesh's category rather than Bix.

In short, Mr. Blesh often gives the impression of paying more attention to his system than to specific musical performances. But those who will concentrate on specific performances rather than on formulas may hear remarkable playing, in various accents of the jazz language, not only from the New Orleans Negroes and from Beiderbecke, but from Joe Smith, J. C. Higginbotham, Fats Waller, Bud Freeman, Earl Hines, Floyd O'Brien, Red Nichols, Miff Mole, and many others. The improvisatory, fugitive art of jazz has many kinds of musical pleasure to offer, depending on what talent is present and their spirit of the moment; when conditions are favorable in this regard, striking music may even be heard from such unlikely groups as big "swing" bands, "salon swing" ensembles, or "re-bop" combinations.

Mr. Blesh has not only a system. He also has a purpose. He talks repeatedly of musical "progress." He admires jazz, among other reasons, because it is "modern" or even farther along than that: ". . . jazz, in the New Orleans sense, is still far in advance of the times." He will not rest with jazz as a musical language which may be used intensely and poetically; he must have it conquer all. And like most critics who are not content to illumine an art, but must also pound the drum for it, his style is sometimes deafening:

> Jazz music relates . . . to the concepts, the discoveries, the motivations of our time. For one thing, its ceaseless

movement and its free melodies in combined variation are analogous to pure movement in time and space. Like natural process, jazz has no real beginning, no real end.

Our modern "serious" music is not contemporary in any such sense. Even in its most radical form it is conditioned by earlier and outmoded concepts of form and energy, of time and space. Looked at objectively [sic], it has no direction to take, implicit in its own past development, which will make it contemporary with the vast speculation, the uneasy, ceaseless, and portentous movements of our time. To achieve meaning it must place a forever incipient rhythmic and melodic movement into the pathway of polyphony. This movement is improvisation; with it, Western music as we know it disappears and its composers, too.

This kind of pompous semantic tangle does not, fortunately, occur very often in the book—on page after page Mr. Blesh is a lucid instructor. But if his ruminations have persuaded him to hope for a future without the composer, I can only say that I hope to continue enjoying both Ma Rainey's blues and the written works of architectonic musical minds. I daresay there will be interesting future activity in both traditions.

WILDER HOBSON

The Unmoved Mover

LABOR AND THE LAW. By Charles O. Gregory. W. W. Norton and Company. $5.

THIS book exhibits a kind of legal ambivalence characteristic only of the more astute constitutional lawyer. On the one hand, Professor Gregory recognizes that law, especially in labor cases, is what the judges say it is; on the other, he advocates the thesis that our legal system is a supra-human referee unaffected by the emotional and class interests of men. This viewpoint might be acceptable if justices and lawmakers were platonic philosophers capable of separating themselves from the tumult of organized pressures. That this is not so has been recently emphasized by the furor over coal in Judge Goldsborough's chambers.

Professor Gregory's perspective is clear and sure when he deals with cases at least fifty years old. His discussion of the theory of criminal conspiracy and the common law reveals an enviable comprehension of the class basis of legal doctrine. Industry had to be encouraged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; if there was a choice to be made between the civil rights of the factory owner and of the worker, the courts were bound to protect the former. This, as the author says, was the only sensible course to take. Only when workingmen began to secure for themselves the privilege of voting were the political scales upset and the right of labor to seek its own economic destiny grudgingly acknowledged.

The chapter on the injunction bears rereading today. It is a workmanlike survey of the use to which this pernicious instrument has been put, and it emphasizes the fact that many courts were only too anxious to issue injunctive orders on the basis of some personal distaste for a union's program. In fact, most of Professor Gregory's treatment of pre-New Deal experience is sound. He recognizes the severe and often unfair limitations placed on labor unions and takes a keen delight in excoriating the pettifogging opinions of the judiciary.

But this conception of the law absolute does not allow for any bias. Thus, the exclusion of unions from the Sherman act is said to be a dangerous precedent, for some of labor's activities have become harmful to both consumers and the national economy. In actuality, says the author, the Supreme Court has done unionism a disservice by allowing it too much economic power. The only way out for a court "mired so deeply in its own complicated circuity of words" is by the infusion of new members or by Congressional legislation directed at the "market restraints of labor."

Continuing in the same vein, Professor Gregory discovers that peaceful picketing is a dubious kind of social conduct which ought to be regulated by the individual states. If that is not done, he warns, we shall live in a climate of economic absolutism dominated by organized labor. That, of course, is something to be feared.

The central thesis of this book is not at all obscured by the author's philosophy of state above all. His own bias seems obvious. He would have us accept the belief that government mediates between labor, management, farmers, and consumers. Government, however, is of these groups, not over them. And law and judicial opinion almost always depend on which one exerts the strongest pressure.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Chopping a Teakettle

THE WILD FLAG. By E. B. White. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

THE flowers of the earth are the wild flag, the true banner of internationalism. There is a better phrase for it in Yiddish: *hacken a tcheinik*, which means to chop a teakettle, or in American idiom, to talk up a breeze—of nonsense. E. B. White, in these paragraphs testifying to the *New Yorker's* conscience, proves himself a master-craftsman; not only does he chop away with an unfailing stroke, but he manages to keep a cloud of steam issuing from the spout as he works.

There is no such thing as urbanity without partisanship. Appearances to the contrary, the *New Yorker* has always upheld a set of values—the values, to be sure, which are sacred to its own bourgeois sophistication. Until recently, cuteness has been this magazine's only form of prayer; it has worshiped its own tone with the cute, the coy, the cunning remark. The scheme of its prayer has been not to call forth but to conceal the god. The *New Yorker* did not believe in committing itself bluntly, and it made cute fun of those who do. But with the advent of the war, conscience, which where the middle class is concerned is best defined as the fear of dispossession, demanded that it justify the ways of its god to man. Then behold, the Lord of Park Avenue and suburbia, the Supreme Profile, revealed His full face and declared Himself in favor of world government.

But He has need of His cloud, which is where Mr. White's services come in; for if it is His own fear and trembling that the cloud hides, still it will appear that it hides His wrath. ("These editorials . . . were written sometimes in anger,"

says Mr. White.) "A Chinese farmer in a rice paddy would have to feel, between his toes, not only the immediate wetness of his own field but the vast wetness of the fertile world," saith the Teakettle, apropos of the obligation that world government would put on each man to take "the entire globe to his bosom." "The special feeling of an Englishman for a stream in Devonshire or a lane in Kent would have to run parallel to his pride in Athens and his insane love of Jersey City." Note well this last parable. A false god would have said Brooklyn; but only the true Teakettle, than Whom there is none more uptown, would have known when to say Jersey City.

The *New Yorker's* task is to convert its own apostates: they whom it sustained in archness and in coyness and in the *bon ton* of small talk, on whose middle brows it laid its blessing, exalting their emptiness—they shall now receive the Word. Thus it is that we have world government praised and national sovereignty denounced on every page, but nothing about actual politics. It is *bon ton* to mention fascism and racism and come out against them. But capitalism, imperialism, world markets, the profit system, exploitation, revolution, socialism—these words have a sweaty air; they suggest crowded downtown East Side meeting halls with their folding chairs and smoke in the dingy room, the stain in the armpits of the excited speaker. (And if these images are clichés—for which reason, among others, the *New Yorker* avoids the reality for which they stand—they are no triter than the more aseptic middle-class images that the *New Yorker* does employ: politics must keep abreast of science, our ideas must be as long-range as the latest bomber.) The limits of tone are the limits of class. There is a good reason why the *New Yorker* liberal must simper as he does. What his sense of urbanity allows him to say corresponds exactly with the limits of what his sense of politics—if he had any—would allow him to do. A fundamental revision of society, a practical consideration of the revolutionary measures necessary to the establishment of world government are in bad taste—and small wonder. The bourgeoisie will never give up its tone without a struggle.

But Mr. White asks very little. "If these topical paragraphs add an ounce to the long-continuing discussion of nationalism and throw even as much as a flashlight gleam on the wild flag which our children, and their children, must learn to know and love, I am content."

Block that metaphor! ISAAC ROSENFELD

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Amiable Past

GOVERNOR COX'S "Journey Through My Years" (Simon and Schuster, $4.50) is a pleasantly old-fashioned volume of political reminiscence. It has somewhat the tone of the late nineteenth century, when politicians could still put their own pens to paper but the results tended to dissolve into anecdotes and affability. Governor Cox's memories both of people and of events are sensible and undiscriminatingly good-tempered rather than incisive or penetrating. Only occasionally, as in his account of his fight for the League of Nations or his fight against Gene Talmadge in Georgia, do ancient emotions disturb the even tenor of his prose.

The portrait of Roosevelt suffers from the prevailing amiability. Cox picked him sight unseen as vice-presidential candidate in 1920, and they remained in friendly if intermittent contact till Roosevelt's death. Cox was broadly sympathetic with the New Deal, though he disapproved of its labor policies and of the FEPC and used to urge the President to "cast a smile on business." His account of the London Economic Conference betrays a certain asperity and differs from Professor Moley's version; but on the whole the Governor has handled Roosevelt, and everyone else, with the same genial discretion which prevents him, for example, from disclosing his final conversation with Wendell Willkie. He thereby indulges admirable personal traits with callous disregard for the future historian. An unregenerate Yankee must further regret that an ex-governor of Ohio, evidently corrupted by the fact that he runs an excellent newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia—or by the fact that he once represented Vallandigham's district in Congress—sees fit to refer twice to something he calls the War Between the States.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

A Stock Life

IN SPITE of its stately format Herbert Weinstock's new life of Handel (Knopf, $5) is neither an important nor a particularly interesting biography. It is a chronicle account of Handel's career, rewritten from secondary sources in a pedestrian term-paper prose style, and adds nothing to our rather scrappy knowledge of Handel as man or musician, while omitting a good deal available elsewhere. Its principal merits are that Mr. Weinstock prints entire the small correspondence that is extant, and quotes *in extenso* many contemporary press notices, where Flower and others content themselves with excerpts. About Handel's personality Mr. Weinstock appears to have formed no opinion—at least he ventures none, either by statement or by organization of material—while he handicaps the reader's attempt to form one by omitting any mention of such important data as the interesting inventory of Handel's house. The short discussions of the music give no particular evidence of personal reaction or insight, and Mr. Weinstock's method of dealing with its few controversial aspects—such as the origins of the

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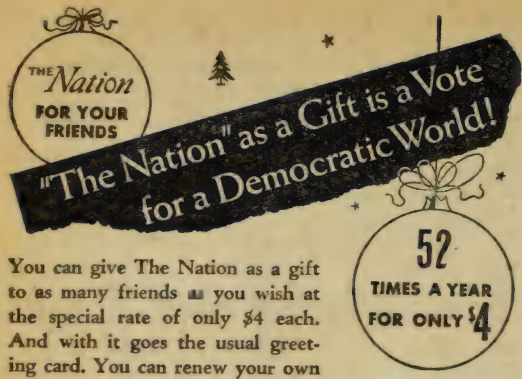

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"Water Music" and the question of plagiarism—is to straddle the nearest fence. Except "Jeptha," none of Handel's musical autographs, most of which are extant, are discussed, and there is not even a complete catalogue of Handel's works. In fact, aside from the bare account of the events of Handel's existence, Mr. Weinstock appears to suffer from the belief that modern readers of biography are afraid of a straightforward presentation of the known data, and so he falls back either on simplification, as in mentioning Handel's astrological dating of scores, or on silence. The extra features claimed by the blurb—among them "many entertaining vignettes" of Handel's time, its *mores*, and his associates—are, unfortunately, meager and dull; Flower's pompous biography is superior in this respect. Finally, the presence of trivial but elementary errors—Handel's first use of the double bassoon is misdated, and Dr. Pepusch's share in the "Beggar's Opera" is exaggerated, on the strength of an unfortunate quotation from Burney—suggests that Mr. Weinstock is none too well grounded in the period.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

Sex and Authority

WILHELM REICH approaches a central intellectual problem—the relationship between our two most seminal and revolutionary systems, Marxism and Freudianism—by rejecting much of both. But he retains their essential revolutionary spirit, and unlike many recent psychiatrists trying their hand at sociology, he does not evade difficulties with facile phrases about "adjustment" and "progress."

His main contribution, "The Mass Psychology of Fascism" (Orgone Institute Press, $4.50), is a detailed demonstration of the correlation between political authoritarianism and sexual suppression. Acceptance of the Führer principle in politics he sees as an outward aspect of a character structure cowed by the father image and fearful of its orgastic potentiality. "The goal of sexual suppression is that of producing an individual who is adjusted to the authoritarian order and will submit to it in spite of all misery and degradation." Especially brilliant is Reich's historical account of the parallel development of political totalitarianism and sexual irrationality under the Hitler and Stalin dictatorships.

Reich's power as social analyst is not sustained in his programmatic sections. He sees nature as an intrinsic good, accessible if the authoritarian clamps on natural sexuality are removed, and succumbs to that characteristically self-condemnatory and self-compensatory theory of distraught intellectuals, that the proletariat has greater sexual health than other classes. He is thereby led to regard orgastic potency as the major prerequisite for social reconstruction. His elevation of the sexual factor to historical primacy leads him to abandon Marxian categories for sexually evaluative categories. Since he now rejects all political activity, Reich can propose nothing but the attempt to live according to his principles—which means either individual self-improvement or utopian communities that are necessarily futile.

Reich's picture of the orgastically potent man as the true revolutionary ignores class status and interests, and ends in sexual utopianism. But his analysis of the relationhip between society and sexual norms is valuable and brilliant.

IRVING HOWE

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Films

JAMES AGEE

STUFF the following with sage and serve hot, with soda-mints, to men of sufficiently good will:

"It's a Wonderful Life," Frank Capra's first film since those he made for the army, is one of the most efficient sentimental pieces since "A Christmas Carol." Often, in its pile-driving emotional exuberance, it outrages, insults, or at least accosts without introduction, the cooler and more responsible parts of the mind; it is nevertheless recommended, and will be reviewed at length as soon as the paralyzing joys of the season permit.

"Wanted for Murder," an English melodrama, stars Eric Portman as a middle-class mother's boy who can't keep his hands off the throats of working girls, of whom he strangles several before Scotland Yard catches up with him. To have held out so long, he is remarkably careless at his work, dropping a marked handkerchief near one corpse, a shard of cigar near another, and the balance of the cigar in Inspector Conway's ash-tray. He even knocks the head off his late, mad uncle, "The Happy Hangman," who is on exhibit at Madame Tussaud's and under whose influence the hero does his killing. Neck-deep as he stands in a blizzard of such manna, Roland Culver manages to make the Inspector seem capable and subtle as well as likable. Mr. Portman, who suggests a cross between Paul Henreid and Louis Calhern, gives the maniac a dangerous, melancholic grace. Both men seem to me considerably more persuasive than most of the bench-dogs who are paid to charm women in American films; but not being a woman—not even an American woman—I am ill-qualified to judge. This is a pleasant, unpretentious thriller of the second or third grade, with oddly contradictory streaks of good and crude directing, and some beautifully exciting shots of Hyde Park as a police cordon clears away the rattled crowds and closes, through the twilight, for the kill.

"Till the Clouds Roll By" is a little like sitting down to a soda-fountain de luxe atomic special of maple walnut on vanilla on burnt almond on strawberry on butter pecan on coffee on raspberry sherbet on tutti frutti with hot fudge, butterscotch, marshmallow, filberts, pistachios, shredded pineapple, and rainbow sprills on top, go double on the whipped cream. Some of the nuts, it turns out, are a little stale, and wandering throughout the confection is a long bleached-golden hair, probably all right in its place but, here, just a little more than you can swallow. This hair, in the difficult technical language of certain members of the Screen Writers' Guild who exult in my non-professionalism—political as well as cinematic—would, I suppose, be called the "story-line." The story is enough of the life and not very hard times of the late Jerome Kern to make you want either not to hear any of it at all or to get the real story instead. Besides the story, however, the picture contains something over twenty stars and featured players, many of them nice people, and they sing no less than twenty-two of Kern's songs. If, as I do, you like a good deal of his graceful, nacreous music, the picture is pleasantly, if rather stupefyingly, worth all the bother. The songs are nearly all sung with care and affection, though not one that I have heard before is done here quite as well as I have heard it elsewhere. The most surprising defection is the failure, twice around, to give "Old Man River" any of the pulse and momentum which go so far toward making it Kern's best song. Both Sinatra and a colored singer do it, instead, with all misplaced reverence, as if they were retranslating at sight, out of Tacitus, the Emancipation Proclamation. This I realize is called *feeling* the music; for that kind of feeling I prefer W. C. Fields's cadenza on the zither, which was rendered in sparring-gloves.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN A conversation, a few weeks ago, which began with Balanchine's latest ballet and eventually got to Toscanini's recent performances, Carl Van Vechten remarked that he spoke as one who knew Toscanini's great period at the Metropolitan. "The first year there were both Mahler and Toscanini dividing almost the entire repertory between them. In those days Toscanini would conduct a 'Tristan' or a 'Götterdämmerung' that was overwhelming; but the thing to hear was his performance of early Verdi—of 'La Traviata.'" As it happened, only a few days after this conversation Toscanini conducted a performance of "La Traviata" for N. B. C., and millions of us got an idea of what Mr. Van Vechten had talked about.

Millions of us, that is, for whom this opera had been a discontinuous series of sections pulled out of shape by the vocal exhibitionism of competing stars, heard for the first time phrases in which even the tenor's and soprano's high notes were part of the plastically modeled contours—heard whole acts which by such plastic continuity in pace and sonority from phrase to phrase and section to section were made into organically coherent entities. I have a strong suspicion—having not yet checked with Mr. Van Vechten—that this performance was in some ways different from the ones he heard Toscanini conduct at the Metropolitan. I suspect that, although basically the same in style, in those days the performance was slower and had an operatic rhetorical expansiveness, and that now it is swifter, tenser, and—after Toscanini's long preoccupation with symphonic music—closer knit and more compressed. The style, then, is the same, but refined, clarified, and—as a friend observed of the wonderful performance of Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony earlier in the year—"apotheosized." As for the effect, there were moments which I thought would have gained by the earlier expansiveness, but others which unquestionably gained by the new urgency.

The performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 in which Toscanini invited Dame Myra Hess to play brought surprises. He is fanatical about tempo—about setting the right tempo, about maintaining it unchanged once it has been set; and his strong convictions make him inflexible: years ago they caused him to cancel the performance of a concerto in which a greater pianist than Dame Hess was to play. It was amazing, therefore, to have him, this time, allow her to slow down the first movement after the orchestral introduction, which he had taken even faster than in the performance with Rubinstein two years ago; and to have him also accept in the second movement a tempo much slower than that of the Rubinstein performance, and slower, I am certain, than he liked.

As for her performance of the solo part, I recall being charmed by the lovely sounds and phrases she produced from the piano when she first came here; but in later years her playing became sentimental and affected (as in the recorded performance of the Schumann Concerto), and even pompous (in concert performances of the F minor So-

nata and—if I remember correctly—B flat Concerto of Brahms, the G major Concerto of Beethoven). In her Telephone Hour broadcast this year, after a spirited performance of a Bach Gigue, she went through the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488 with the sensitive-fingered placidity of a talented conservatory pupil, only to shock one in the cadenza with some of the archly prettifying phrasing of the matured Myra Hess. And in the performance of the Beethoven concerto with Toscanini she produced the necessary vigor—and little else—in the fast movements, but surprised one with inflection of the cantilena of the slow movement that imparted to it no tensile strength, and no firmness or sharpness of contour.

Mention of the Telephone Hour reminds me that having been paying considerable attention to this program in recent months I wondered at Mr. Lou Frankel's recommendation of it on his "worth hearing" list several weeks ago: "Week in and week out this is one of the finest musical programs in radio." Having in fact been paying attention to all such programs I wondered again at his later recommendation of Harvest of Stars: "Good music by Frank Black and good singing by James Melton. . . ." (As an ordinary citizen I have ventured to wonder at some of Mr. Frankel's non-musical recommendations—for example, of Arthur Godfrey, or of even the best Mr. and Mrs. team.) Harvest of Stars on December 1 offered Ruiz's "Amor," "Home on the Range," Gershwin's "Strike up the Band," Kern's "Why Do I Love You?," and Grofé's "On the Trail." And without meaning that Gershwin and Kern are bad, I would point out that they are not what music-lovers usually mean when they say "good music." The music they mean is not offered on the countless network studio programs like Harvest of Stars, which feature big-name performers in popular and semi-classical music.

Only the Telephone Hour occasionally varies the formula with a little "good music"—like the two Bach pieces and the movement of Mozart's K. 488 played by Dame Hess, the movements from a Bach sonata for unaccompanied violin played by Heifetz. It is, then, the best of the programs of this kind; but it is not "week in and week out . . . one of the finest musical programs of radio"; it is not even good week in and week out. Trading in eminences, it repeatedly presents Kreisler and Hofmann, whose eminence no longer rests on ability to play well. Moreover it presents Kreisler playing things like "Stars in My Eyes" and "The Rosary," and on the other hand Hofmann in a first movement of Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto with exposition and development sections sliced out. And if Dame Hess plays Bach and Mozart it is after a movement from Glazunov's "Scenes de Ballet"; if Traubel sings the finale of "Tristan" it is after the ballet music from Goldmark's "Queen of Sheba."

Outside of the Metropolitan Opera and the Philadelphia Orchestra on Saturdays, the New York Philharmonic and the N. B. C. Symphony on Sundays, the Boston Symphony on Tuesdays, the networks offer very little "good music"—a few half-hours, most of them late at night or early Sunday morning. C. B. S. offers Invitation to Music at 11:30 Wednesday nights, a program from the Juilliard School at 11:30 Thursday nights, a Biggs organ recital at 9:15 Sunday mornings; N. B. C. an operatic program at 11:30 Thursday nights; A. B. C. a string quartet at 11:00 Sunday mornings (not on WJZ New York); M. B. S. the Pro Arte Quartet at 2:00 Saturdays (not on WOR New York), and the Cleveland Symphony that Mr. Frankel mentioned, for all of an hour on Saturdays at 6:00 (so that one can't use it to "relax . . . after dinner").

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THIS year's Whitney Annual (through January 16) is no worse than last year's—which amounts almost to an improvement, since each of the Annuals in the three or four years previous had been worse than the one before it. That, apparently, is what American painting, sampled wholesale, has been like. But this is not a new discovery.

Of course, the fault lies chiefly with the artists themselves, and I am sure that not even the notorious egoism of painters has prevented some of them from recognizing that. Yet in view of the *evenness* with which the Whitney shows have been bad, the suspicion grows that a more considerable part of the blame than one used to think is assignable to those who run the place. Their lack of strong-mindedness, of serious bias, of any intense and constant perception of the tasks of modern art and of the direction in which it solves them best, their eclectic conformism, their eagerness to receive and their dread of finding, their affable timidity—all this creates something in its own image, and that image is any Whitney Annual as a whole. The same goes, with some modifications, for the people who run the Museum of Modern Art, the Carnegie Annual, the Pepsi-Cola shows, and so on. Obviously, American art is in the wrong hands.

However, the responsibility has to be placed even deeper. Primary is the fact that the selection of our museum directors and curators is not susceptible to the pressure of any real opinion from outside the academic world. There exists in this country no self-assured, self-intelligible class of connoisseurs and amateurs of art with defined and independent tastes. Collectors, critics, and simple enthusiasts depend on slogans, worded and unworded, that they cull from everything except their own experience.

Perhaps the fact that we have been the pupils of France in art for the last thirty years helps account for this. But even more important, I think, is the absence of a stable leisured or a self-confident intellectual class in this country, prepared to rally to each other's help against the attrition of journalism, fashion, publicity, and kitsch. As it is, the "art world" in America remains a parody the object of which varies—now the fashion world, now the literary world, now the night-club world, now Miss Dickinson's garden. And when it comes closest to the reality of that with

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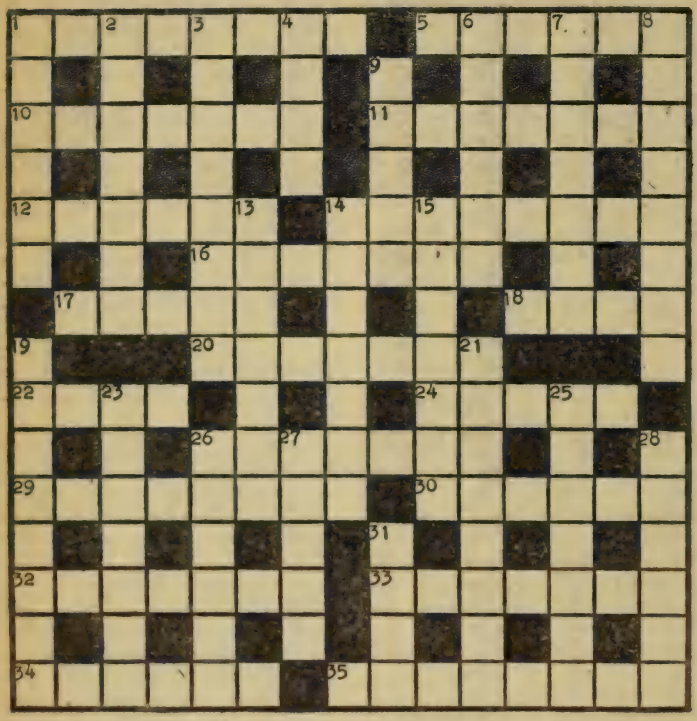
Crossword Puzzle No. 192

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Neither a pantomime nor a movie is any longer this
5 Lodges (4 and 2)
10 Generated by water power?
11 Separation that is "such sweet sorrow"
12 Compels payment in full
14 Ranks below an embassy
16 "Forgiveness to the ------- does belong; But they never pardon who have done the wrong"
17 In which men jump over each other in an effort to change places
18 "---- in doubt, win the trick" (Hoyle's rule for card-players)
20 Broke out
22 Adored, if not truly adorable
24 Five in a Scottish dance. It's a riot!
26 Non-clerical
29 Something has been added—this perhaps
30 He puts Levi first
32 What musical instrument was made of terra-cotta?
33 They don't come out on Sundays
34 The more thorough the tanning, the better he likes it
35 Convergences which often reveal only divergences

DOWN

1 Made short in port
2 She looked in vain for her lover to come—by bridge or boat, presumably
3 A harrowing period for the country (4-4)
4 An imprecation
6 Ignorant, as far as book learning is concerned
7 Beastly
8 By no means a heathen in music
9 Hand that gives the V sign
13 What the surly dog did
14 A heavy payment (4 and 3)
15 Maid-of-all-work
19 Dance with which a Scot might celebrate the fall of a Baltic port
21 Abandoned
23 Not baby's little fist (3 and 4)
25 A case of pronounced suppression
26 A delicacy in France and Germany
27 A West Indian
28 They enlarge one's vision
31 Tool which is sometimes curtailed

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 191

ACROSS:—1 CARMEN; 4 KNITTING; 10 ADVANCE; 11 EMERSON; 12 NERVE; 13 LIE; 14 SMITH; 15 STEVE; 17 KINGPOST; 21 BED LINEN; 23 PETAL; 26 SPAIN; 28 LIS; 29 OVERT; 30 UTILITY; 31 CAPITOL; 32 DINGDONG; 33 ANGELA.

DOWN:—1 CLANNISH; 2 REVERIE; 3 ERNIE; 5 NIECE; 6 TRESS; 7 INSTILS; 8 GANDHI; 9 SEALSKIN; 16 ELL; 18 NONESUCH; 19 PEP; 20 FLOTILLA; 22 EVASION; 24 THEATRE; 25 OSMUND; 27 NAIAD; 28 LAY ON; 29 ORPEN.

which it deals, it parodies the stock market.

As for the paintings at the Whitney, their shortcomings lie not so much in their execution as in their conception. Everybody knows more or less how to paint. Examine any picture, and you will see a good amount of knowledge and manual competence in it, if not sensitivity. And you will even see enough of that. Everybody knows what has *already* made painting great. But very few know, feel, or suspect what makes painting great anywhere and at any time—that it is necessary to register what the artist makes of himself and his experience in the world, not merely to record his intentions, foibles, and predilections. The same tastes that lead one to prefer scrambled eggs to fried are not enough to furnish the content of a picture. The trouble with American art is that it substitutes pretension for ambition.

The best painting at the present show is Jackson Pollock's "Two." Those who think that I exaggerate Pollock's merit are invited to compare this large vertical canvas with everything else in the Annual. Mark Tobey, too, is represented by a strong picture, but in the presence of the Pollock the minor quality of his achievement, original as it is, becomes even more pronounced than before.

I also liked Edward Hopper's landscape despite the crudeness of its greens and the academic superficiality of its facture. A special category of art should be devised for the kind of thing Hopper does. He is not a painter in the full sense; his means are second-hand, shabby, and impersonal. But his rudimentary sense of composition is sufficient for a message that conveys an insight into the present nature of American life for which there is no parallel in our literature, though that insight itself is literary. Hopper's painting is essentially photography, and it is literary in the way that the best photography is. Like Walker Evans's and Weegee's art, it triumphs over inadequacies of the physical medium; and the main difference between them is that while Evans's and Weegee's subjects do not give them time enough to calculate focus and exposure, Hopper simply happens to be a bad painter. But if he were a better painter, he would, most likely, not be so superior an artist.

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